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WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM *the Third, by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Whereas Our truſty and well-beloved,* Awnſham Churchill *and* John Churchill, *of our City of* London, *Bookſellers, have humbly repreſented unto Us, That they have been at a very great Expence and Charge in purchaſing ſeveral New* Engliſh *Manuſcripts of Voyages and Travels, and in tranſlating divers other Books of Travels and Voyages out of ſeveral Languages into* Engliſh, *and in engraving Maps and other Plates for the ſame, intending to print the ſaid Voyages and Travels in* Engliſh, *in ſeveral Volumes in* Folio, *with new Diſcourſes and Obſervations thereupon, which may be of great Advantage as well to Trade as Navigation; which ſaid Manuſcripts and Books are as follow,* viz. Baumgarten's *Travels into* Egypt, Arabia, Paleſtine *and* Syria: Brawern *and* Herckeman's *Voyage to* Chili: Monck's *Voyage to* Greenland: Navarette's *Hiſtorical, Political, Moral and Religious Account of* China: Beauplan's *Deſcription of* Ukraine *on the Confines of* Poland: Merolla's *Voyage to* Congo: Mich. Ang. de Gatti *and* Denys de Carli's *Voyage to* Congo: *The Diſaſters and Death of ſeven Sailors who winter'd in* Greenland: Wagner's *Journey from* Moſcovy *to* China *over Land:* Peyrere's *Voyage to* Greenland, *and his Relation of* Iſeland: Nieuhoff's *Voyages: Sir* William Mounſon's *Collection of Voyages and Naval Affairs:* Philip's *Voyage to* Guinea: *Sir* Thomas Roe's *Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies: *A Relation of a* Dutch *Veſſel ſhipwreckt upon the Coaſt of the Iſle of* Quelpaert's, *and a Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Corea: Ovalle's *Hiſtorical Relation of the Kingdom of* Chili: Ten-Rhyne *of the cape of* Good-Hope, *and of the* Hottentots: Morinus's *Travels to the Mines in* Hungary: Borry's *Relation of* Cochin-China: Oviedo's *Chronicle and Hiſtory of the* Weſt-Indies: Fernan Colon's *Life of* Chriſtopher Columbus *his Father: The two Volumes in* Folio, *one in* Quarto, *and one in* Octavo, *of* Melchiſedec Thevenot *ſen. his original Voyages, which have not been already in* Engliſh: Gemelli's *Voyage round the World:* Baldeus's *Deſcription of the Coaſt of* Coromandel, Malabar *and* Ceylon: Sepp *of* Paraquaria, *and* Del Techo *of* Paraquaria, *&c. And they having humbly beſought Us to grant them Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole printing aud publiſhing the ſame for the term of fourteen Years: We being graciouſly inclined to encourage an Undertaking of ſuch publick uſe and benefit, are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt, and do therefore hereby give and grant unto them the ſaid* Awnſham Churchill *and* John Churchill, *and either of them, their Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, Our Royal Licence and Privilege for the ſole printing and publiſhing the ſaid Collection of Voyages and Travels before-mentioned, for and during the term of fourteen Years, to be computed from the day of the date hereof, ſtrictly charging, prohibiting and forbiding all Our Subjects to repint or abridge the ſaid Books, or any part of them, or to copy or counterfeit the Sculptures or Maps thereof, either in great or in ſmall, during the ſaid term, or to import, buy, vend, utter or diſtribute any Copies or Exemplars of the ſame, or any part thereof reprinted beyond the Seas within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of them the ſaid* Awnſham Churchill *and* John Churchill, *or one of them, their, or one of their Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns firſt had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein, will anſwer to the contrary at their Peril, and ſuch other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted: Whereof the Maſter, Wardens and Company of* Stationers, *of our City of* London; *the Commiſſioners and Officers of Our Cuſtoms, and all other our Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take notice that due Obedience may be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified. Given at Our Court at* Hampton-Court *the ninth day of* December 1700. *In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command.

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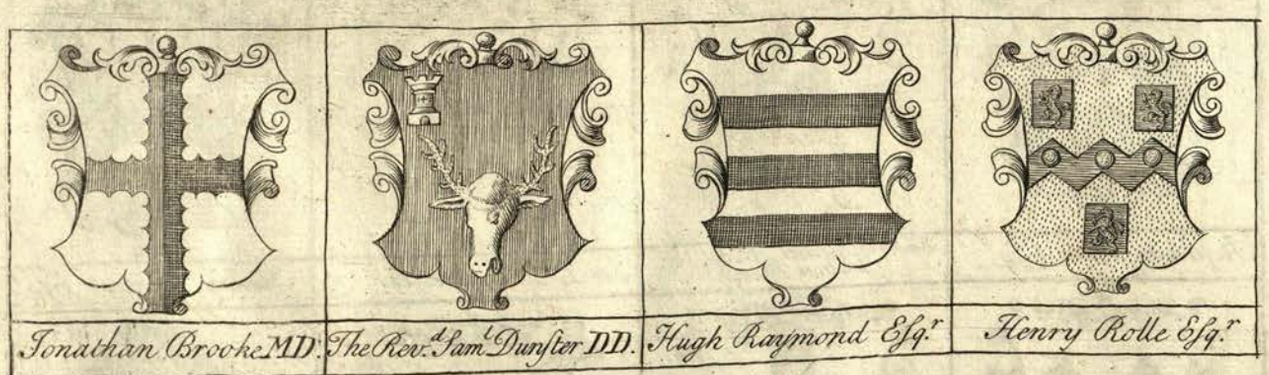

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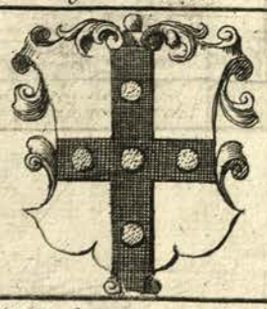

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THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

WE think it neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that it was not poſſible to publiſh this collection of voyages and travels within the time mentioned in our propoſals, by reaſon of the difficulties we met with, as well in finding out perſons fitly qualified to tranſlate from ſo many languages, as in getting the cuts prepared: yet we hope we have made ſufficient amends, by adding a conſiderable number, no leſs than a hundred and fifty ſheets and cuts more than we promiſed. Particularly we have inſerted Baldæus's *deſcription of the coaſts of* Malabar *and* Coromandel, *and iſland of* Ceylon; *and inſtead of abridging* Gemelli, *as we propoſed, we have on better advice choſen to give him intire: which neceſſarily delayed the publication of theſe volumes, and at the ſame time put us to much greater expence than our propoſals obliged us; though the buyer does not pay one farthing the more. We might indeed have made quicker diſpatch, and performed what we undertook at leſs charge, could we have contented ourſelves with abridging any of the pieces we have given intire, or with leaving out ſome of thoſe cuts (as poſſibly there are a few, which in ſome men's opinion might have been ſpared) but we would not aſſume the liberty of preſcribing to the publick how much of an author they ſhould read, nor determine which figures are uſeful, and which ſuperfluous; ſeeing thoſe who read for their diverſion have different taſtes, and thoſe who read for inſtruction have different views.*

We take this occaſion likewiſe to inform the publick, that ſince the undertaking of this deſign, divers other relations, ſome in manuſcript, others printed, no leſs curious than uſeful, are fallen into our hands; which by the advice of learned and judicious friends we have reſolved to prepare for the preſs with all poſſible expedition, and to publiſh them in one or more volumes in folio, printed on the ſame kind of paper with theſe. In all which we ſhall not preſume to abridge the originals, but fairly and candidly deliver whatever our authors have thought fit to be inſerted in their ſeveral pieces.

An Account of the BOOKS contained in this COLLECTION.

Vol. I. *THE firſt volume begins with* Navarette's *hiſtorical, political, moral, and religious account of* China. *The author was a* Dominican *friar ſent over by his order in the year* 1646. *to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical function in the* Philippine *iſlands. But finding no great encouragement to continue in thoſe iſlands, he ventured over into* China, *where he ſpent ſeveral years in the ſervice of the Chriſtians he found there, learning the* Chineſe *language, reading their hiſtories, ſtudying the points in controverſy among the miſſionaries, and thoroughly qualifying himſelf to give a juſt account of that mighty monarchy. He wrote in* Spaniſh, *and was never tranſlated till now: thoſe that have read him in the original give a high commendation of his learning, judgment, and ſincerity; for in handling the particulars mentioned in the title of his book, he delivers nothing but upon the beſt grounds, as an eye-witneſs, where he could be ſo, or elſe upon the authority of* Chineſe *hiſtories, which he ſearched and very well underſtood, or upon the information of credible perſons; ever mentioning on which of theſe the reader is to rely for the truth of what he relates. He often quotes his ſecond volume, calling it,* of controverſies, *the main ſubject of it being thoſe points ſtill in diſpute among the miſſioners; this book (as we are informed) was printed, but by*

the intereſt and artifice of the jeſuits, the edition was ſeized by the inquiſition before it was publiſhed, ſo that very few copies of it got abroad.

He gives us an exact hiſtory of the empire of China, *both ancient and modern; a deſcription of the country and people, perfect in all circumſtances; a genuine tranſlation of the morals of* Confucius *their great philoſopher; a full view of the* Chineſe *learning, and a judicious explication of their opinions in religious matters: in which he is ſo careful and particular, that no other author whatſoever has given ſo complete an account of the religion of that nation. He likewiſe makes ſome conſiderable remarks on the controverſies betwixt the Chriſtian miſſionaries, which are indeed the ſubject of his ſecond volume, that, as has been ſaid, was never made publick. Nor does he confine himſelf to* China, *but in his way thither delivers many curious obſervations he made in his voyage to* New Spain, *and gives a very good account of that country, as alſo of the* Philippine *iſlands (where he made a conſiderable ſtay) of the iſlands lying about them, and of other parts of* India; *and the accidents he met with in his return home, which was in the year* 1673. *after he had been abroad twenty ſix years. On his arrival in* Europe *he repaired to the court of* Rome, *upon the matter of the controverſies between the miſſionaries; where he was treated with all the honour due to a perſon of his merit: and ſoon after his return to* Spain, *he was promoted to an archbiſhoprick in* Hiſpaniola.

Baumgarten, *whoſe travels we have here into* Egypt, Arabia, Paleſtine, *and* Syria, *was a* German *nobleman, as appears by his life prefixed to his travels. His journal was not publiſhed by himſelf, but after his death collected from his own and his ſervant's obſervations, both of them having kept diaries of all they ſaw; and therefore are two ſeveral witneſſes for the truth of what is delivered. Here is not only a deſcription of the countries abovementioned, but a great deal of their ancient hiſtory inſerted; and what renders the relation yet more agreeable, is the great variety of occurrences in this voyage well worth the relating. In particular, we are obliged to him for his account of the diſcipline and manners of that ſtrange and unparallel'd ſociety of men, the* Mamalukes, *who for a long time held the dominion of* Egypt, *and of whom there is ſcarce to be found any where elſe a tolerable relation. His obſervations on the lives of the chriſtian religious men in thoſe parts, will be delightful to the curious reader, as will alſo his remarks on the ſuperſtitions of the* Mamalukes, Arabs, *and other infidels. This author travelled in the year* 1507. *His journal never appeared before in* Engliſh. *The* Latin *copy here tranſlated was corrected by* Joſeph Scaliger's *own hand.*

Henry Brawern *and* Elias Herckemann *were ſent to the kingdom of* Chili *by the* Dutch Weſt-India *company in the years* 1642, *and* 1643. Brawern *was ordered to endeavour to ſettle among the* Indians *of that country, who were then revolted from the* Spaniards, *as may appear by the advertiſement before the voyage; but he died there, and ſo that deſign came to nothing. The main thing in this journal is an account of the voyage, and a deſcription of the iſland of* Caſtro *lying off the ſouth coaſt of* Chili, *as alſo of the river of* Baldivia *in that kingdom.*

The next tract in order in this collection, is a deſcription of the iſland of Formoſa *near the coaſt of* China, *where the* Dutch *had a conſiderable fort. Of the author we know no more, but that he was miniſter to the* Dutch *in that iſland. The deſcription is but ſhort, yet contains the moſt material points uſually treated of in ſuch relations.*

The remarks on the empire of Japan *give a particular account of the revenues of the emperor and all the great men of that empire. The reſt of it may almoſt as ſoon be read as characterized, and is therefore left to the reader's cenſure.*

Captain John Monck's *voyage into the northern parts, was performed by order of* Chriſtian IV. *king of* Denmark, *in the years* 1619, *and* 1620. *The particular preface to it mentions the moſt material points, which otherwiſe might have required to be inſerted here; but need not be repeated in two places. What may be added concerning the captain is, that he was one of the ableſt ſeamen of his time, having been bred to the ſea, and being well qualified for the employment, as having excellent natural parts, improved with all that was neceſſary to make him capable of ſuch enterprizes. Beſides, he was of a bold and daring ſpirit, proper to attempt thoſe dangerous diſcoveries, and hardy to endure all the rigours of thoſe frozen climates. But what is his greateſt commendation in this place is, that he was a man of truth and integrity, as may appear by his narrative, in which all that have followed him could find nothing to contradict.*

To Beauplan's *deſcription of* Ukraine *ſo particular a preface is prefixed, that little more can be added. In general, the Reader will find many things both moral and natural, that are rare and remarkable. He lived in that country about the year* 1640. *He was excellently qualified to give this deſcription, being a mathematician and an engineer; and he has performed it ſo well, that nothing ſeems to be wanting but the map, which he tells us was ſeized with his papers by the king of* Poland.

The two voyages to Congo *in* Africk *were performed, the firſt by* Michael Angelo *of* Gattina *and* Denis de Carli *of* Piacenza, Capuchins

Capuchins *and miſſioners into that kingdom, in the year* 1666. *The firſt of theſe died there, after he had ſent theſe particulars in letters to his friends. The other returned into* Italy, *where he compoſed a ſmall book from which this is tranſlated. It begins with their voyage from* Italy *to* Liſbon, *and thence to* Brazil, *which introduces a brief account of that country; and then ſailing over to* Africk, *treats of the* Portugueſe *town of* Loando *on that coaſt, of the behaviour and manners of the people, their way of travelling, the product of the country, of the ſeveral princes, the proceedings of thoſe and other miſſioners, the ſtate of religion; and laſtly, remarks in the author's travels through* Spain *and* France *in his return home. More particulars whereof may be ſeen in the tranſlator's preface before the voyage.*

The other voyage to the ſame country was performed by F. Jerome Merolla da Sorrento *in the year* 1682. *who was alſo a miſſioner. The veſſel he went in being by contrary winds carried to the ſouthward of the cape of* Good Hope, *the father delivers all that is remarkable in running along that ſouthern coaſt of* Africk, *till his arrival at the port of* Angola. *Then he enters upon his buſineſs, with the diſcovery of* Congo, *and firſt miſſions to thoſe parts; deſcribes the river* Zaire, *relates the proceedings of the miſſioners, the ſuperſtitions and cuſtoms of the* Blacks, *ſomething of the wars betwixt the* Portugueſes *and the* Blacks, *and of the attempts of the* Dutch *and* Engliſh *to breed enmity betwixt thoſe two nations. He deſcribes the beaſts, birds, fruits, and plants of* Congo, *and has many curious things not taken notice of by the former miſſionaries.*

The firſt volume concludes with Sir Thomas Roe's *journal, a valuable piece. He was ſent embaſſador by king* James *the firſt to the* Great Mogul, *in* 1615. *at the charge of the* Eaſt-India *company, to ſettle peace and commerce. Not travelling for his pleaſure, but only following the* Mogul's *court to ſolicite his buſineſs, he had not the opportunity of ſeeing and delivering many things which other travellers meet with in their rambles: but on the other ſide, being in that high poſt, he was the better able to give us a true account of the court of that mighty monarch, to ſhew us all the cuſtoms and manners of it, and to inſtruct us in their policies, arts and maxims of ſtate, which common travellers are not allowed to pry into. There is little cauſe to ſuſpect the truth of his relation, becauſe by his very method he appears to have been a ſincere man, and he wrote for thoſe who had buſineſs daily with others that came from* India, *and might eaſily have diſproved him. For a fuller account of this work we refer to the preface before the journal itſelf.*

The ſecond volume commences with the voyages and travels of Mr. John Nieuhoff, *a* Dutch *man, and employed by the* Dutch *company to the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies. *They are divided into three parts. The firſt to* Brazil, *anno* 1640. *in which he ſays he went merchant ſupercargo to a ſhip of the* Weſt-India *company. That he was a man well qualified for a traveller, ſufficiently appears by the excellent accounts he has left of thoſe countries he treats of. His deſcription of* Brazil *is ſo exact and full, that he has left nothing for the diligence of thoſe who have come after him; for beſides the general map, there are draughts of the towns of* Arecite *and* Olinda, *and cuts off all the ſtrange beaſts, birds, ſerpents, inſects, trees, plants, and of the* Indians *themſelves, all taken upon the ſpot. To which he adds the tranſactions in the war betwixt the* Dutch *and* Portugueſe *in that country, he being there in the height of it, that is, from* 1640, *till* 1649. *The ſecond part contains the author's travels in the* Eaſt-Indies, *begun in the year* 1653. *In the way thither he deſcribes the iſlands of* Cabo Verde, *giving draughts of two of them, call'd* S. Anthony *and* S. Vincent; *and then a map of the cape of* Good Hope. *Thence he ſails to* Amboyna, *of which, and of the* Molucco *iſlands, as alſo of* Formoſa, *he leaves nothing worth relating untouched. The ſame he performs from* China *all along the coaſt of* India *and* Perſia; *ſo plainly repreſenting all things obſervable or ſtrange there, that with the help of his cuts we ſeem to be converſing with the people of thoſe parts, to ſee all their towns and living creatures, and to be thoroughly acquainted with their habits, cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions. But when he comes to* Batavia, *the metropolis of the* Dutch *dominions in the* Eaſt, *he there ſpares no labour or coſt to expreſs the greatneſs of that city; and this not only with words, but with abundance of fine draughts, repreſenting, beſides the town and harbour, the church, the markets, the town-houſe, the hoſpital, and many other places and ſtructures. All the habits of thoſe parts are alſo repreſented, and in ſhort the whole work contains eighty two cuts, which being all drawn to expreſs the truth, and not by fancy, illuſtrate the work, and render it extraordinary valuable. All this is interwoven with handſome diſcourſes of the wars betwixt the* Dutch *and* Indians *in ſeveral parts; and many remarks of their hiſtory, both political and natural. The third part is a voyage to the eaſt ſide of* Africk, *in the year* 1672. *which is very ſhort and imperfect, the author Mr.* Nieuhoff *being unfortunately killed in the iſland of* Madagaſcar *by the natives.* Vol. II.

After Nieuhoff *follow* Smith's *adventures, travels and obſervations. They begin with travels*

travels in the Low-Countries, France *and* Italy, *proceeding thence to the wars betwixt the* Turks *and* Tranſilvanians, *where the author ſerved; and being taken priſoner and carried into* Tartary, *he ſpeaks ſomewhat of that country; and making his eſcape from the* Tartars, *he croſſed all* Europe, *and paſſed into* Barbary: *Hence he went to* Virginia, *the* Summer-iſlands *and* New-England, *and has left us the hiſtory of the* Engliſh *ſettlements in thoſe places, and their ſtate from the year* 1624, *to* 1629. *thence he paſſed to the* Leeward-iſlands, *of which he likewiſe gives an account.*

Next to Smith's *adventures, the reader will find two journals of men left in the frozen regions of* Greenland *and* Spitzbergen, *to winter there, and make ſome obſervations on thoſe countries. The firſt of theſe is of ſeven ſailors, who voluntarily conſented to ſtay in the iſle* Maurice, *on the coaſt of* Greenland. *Theſe kept an exact diary, ſetting down the wind, weather, and all other particulars they could obſerve, from the twenty ſixth of* Auguſt 1633, *till the twenty ninth of* April 1634. *The method is plain, and ſuch as might be expected from ſailors; and as there is nothing in the relation that ſeems incredible, ſo neither is there any ground to call the truth of it in queſtion, becauſe they all died one after another, and left this behind them without any alteration: and doubtleſs as they felt themſelves declining, they would have had no inclination to impoſe on the world. The ſecond journal is of ſeven other* Dutch *ſailors, left to winter at* Spitzbergen, *in the year* 1634, *where they alſo kept a diary from the eleventh of* September *till the twenth ſixth of* February, *when being ſpent with the ſcurvy, and their limbs benumbed with the winter's cold, they could not help themſelves, and like the others were all found dead at the return of the* Dutch *fleet in* 1635.

The next is a brief relation of a ſhipwreck in Spitzbergen *in* 1646, *and of the taking up of four of the men who eſcaped, after a wonderful manner; yet three of them died ſoon after, and only one returned home.*

The deſcriptions of Iceland *and* Greenland, *were written about the year* 1645, *by Mr.* la Peyrere, *a learned* Frenchman, *author of the book about the* Præ-Adamites, *ſecretary to the* French *embaſſy at* Copenhagen, *at the requeſt of the ingenious Monſ.* de la Mothe la Vayer, *and ſent to him: Of* Iceland, *a country long inhabited, though ſo cold and northerly, he delivers ſomething of antient hiſtory, beſides the deſcription of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In* Greenland *he follows much the ſame method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the moſt accompliſhed narratives we have of thoſe parts, and eſteemed as ſuch by Monſ.* de la Mothe la Vayer, *who was a very competent judge.*

The next in order is captain Tho. James's *voyage,* anno 1631. *for the diſcovery of the north weſt paſſage into the* South-ſea: *ſetting ſail in* May, *he ran into the latitude of* 63 *degrees and upwards; where, in* June *and* July, *he gives an account of ſuch wonderful ſhoals of ice that came about his ſhip, that it is much to be admired how he got clear of them. 'Tis very obſervable throughout the voyage, that we ſhall ſcarce meet with ſo continual a ſeries of ſtorms, and all ſorts of hard-ſhips, miſeries and calamities, as this captain ran through; who after ſtruggling till* September *with tempeſts, cold and uninhabited ſhores, at laſt was driven upon a deſert frozen iſland, and there forced to winter in miſerable diſtreſs. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in thoſe quarters, and his obſervations on it are curious, and were very uſeful to Mr.* Boyle, *in the experiments he made about cold. But the general eſteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will ſufficiently recommend it; he returned ſafe home with moſt of his crew.*

The Muſcovite *embaſſador's journey by land from* Moſcow *to* China *in* 1645, *is ſo ſhort, that it requires little to be ſaid of it, but that it deſcribes the way from* Moſcow *to* Peking, *and ſhews us that this city is the ſame with the ſo much talked of and little known* Cambalu, *miſtakenly ſuppoſed to be in* Tartary. *This embaſſador being never admitted to audience, could learn nothing of the* Chineſe *court, and therefore does not pretend to inform us of any thing that relates to it.* Wagner's *travels in* Braſil *and the* Eaſt-Indies *about* 1633. *which are annexed to this embaſſy, are as ſhort, and may ſo ſoon be read over, that it is needleſs to give a character of them.*

The life of Chriſtopher Columbus *has a ſhort preface to it, partly the author's, and partly the tranſlator's, which is ſufficient to inform the reader both of the contents of the book, and the value of it above others that treat of the ſame ſubject. And indeed nothing can be deſcribed more authentick, if we will give credit to original papers, and thoſe from ſo good a hand as the admiral himſelf and his own ſon, who bore part with him in ſome of his enterpriſes. But we muſt not omit to obſerve, that under the title of his life, is contained the narration of all that was done in the diſcovery of the* Weſt-Indies *in his time, about* 1492, *beſides abundance of curious remarks, ſcarce to be found in any other author that writes on this ſubject.*

Greaves's *account of the* pyramids, *needs little to be ſaid of it. The univerſal approbation it has received is a greater character than can be here given it; the judicious monſ.* Thevenot *ſet ſuch a value upon it, that he tranſlated it into* French. *In a word, it is the moſt accompliſhed narrative we have of*

thoſe wonderful piles, and may ſpare all other travellers the trouble of writing of them: He has ſaid all that can be expected, he inſtructs us who were the founders of the pyramids, the time of erecting them, the motive and deſign of them, and then deſcribes them exactly, and gives draughts of them. His Roman *foot and* denarius *added to his pyramids, is another piece of excellent literature, to give light into the weights and meaſures of the antients.*

Chriſtopher Borri's *account of* Cochin-China, *where he lived about the year* 1620, *cloſes the ſecond volume: 'tis ſhort, but contains many curious things, being full of matter, without ſuperfluity of words to ſwell it to a volume. There is a ſmall preface of the tranſlator's before it, giving an account of the whole work in very few lines.*

Vol. III. *The hiſtorical relation of the kingdom of* Chili, *by* Alonſo de Ovalle, *about the year* 1646, *has the firſt place in the third volume. 'Tis the only good account of that kingdom; the author, being a jeſuit, inſerted the relations of ſeveral miracles in this work, which the tranſlator has in great meaſure retrenched; for the reſt, his veracity is unqueſtioned. The author himſelf is ſo modeſt, as to excuſe any fault that may be found with his work, alledging its being written at* Rome, *where he was procurator for thoſe of his order in* Chili; *and being ſo far from home, ill provided with papers and all materials for compoſing a hiſtory of this ſort: but whoſoever reads it, will find more ground for commendation than need of excuſe, nothing of the kind being more compleat, full and accurate. Something might be here ſaid as to the particulars contained in this book, but that the author and tranſlator have done it already in two ſeveral prefaces before the book. The tranſlator gives the author and his work that honourable character they deſerve. The author in his preface ſums up the contents of his book, declares how ſincerely he has dealt, in order to deliver nothing but the truth; gives his reaſons for what he ſays relating to* Peru *and* Mexico, *and laſtly demonſtrates how this work may be diverting and uſeful to all ſorts of readers.*

After Ovalle *follow ſir* William Monſon's *naval tracts. He was a gentleman well deſcended, but of ſmall fortune, as he confeſſes, which made him take to the ſea, where he ſerved many years in ſeveral capacities, till merit raiſed him to the degree of an admiral, firſt under queen* Elizabeth, *and then under king* James *and king* Charles *the firſt; for he lived till the civil wars, with an untainted reputation for conduct and bravery. Being bred from his youth at ſea, and being a man of excellent natural parts, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon to make a doubt of his capacity in maritime affairs. His integrity will ſufficiently appear to any that reads him, for he every where carries ſuch a viſible ingenuity in what he delivers, that it plainly appears to be written with a true zeal for the publick, and without prejudice or affectation. The excellent advice he gives to his eldeſt ſon, is a good inſtance of his virtuous inclination; and the ſmall eſtate he declares he leaves him, after ſo many toils and dangers, plainly ſhews the honeſty of his life. Thus much as to the author; as to his tracts there is a preface before them, to which the reader is referred, for other particulars not touched upon in this place. The firſt book is chiefly a collection of every year's actions in the war againſt* Spain, *on our own and the* Spaniſh *coaſts, and in the* Weſt-Indies. *Here the reader is not to expect a full narrative of theſe affairs, for many of them are ſo brief that no more is ſaid of them, but the force they are undertaken with, and the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe; yet the deſign is to ſhew the reaſons, either why they miſcarried, or why ſo little advantage was made where they ſucceeded. In ſome he is more particular than in others; and what perhaps may be ſtill of uſe, he at laſt ſets down the abuſes in the fleet, and the methods for redreſſing them. His ſecond book contains ſomewhat of the method of the firſt, beginning with fatherly inſtructions to his ſon; whence he proceeds to the peace with* Spain, *which put an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed againſt pirates. He inveighs againſt the* Dutch, *ſhews the ill management of a deſign againſt* Algier, *and makes very notable remarks on the attempt upon* Cadiz *by king* Charles *the firſt, propoſing methods how* Spain *might have been much more endamaged, with other particulars about the ſhipping of* England, *and ſovereignty of the ſeas. The third book treats only of the admiralty, that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral, to the meaneſt perſons employed aſhore, and to the cabbin-boys at ſea; and from a compleat fleet to the ſmalleſt veſſel, and part of it, with inſtructions for all officers, the ſize of all ſorts of guns, all ſorts of allowances on board the king's ſhips, and excellent directions for fighting at ſea; an account of all the harbours in theſe three kingdoms, with many more curious matters accurately handled. The fourth book is of another nature from any of the reſt, being a brief collection of* Spaniſh *and* Portugueſe *diſcoveries and conqueſts in* Africk, Aſia *and* America, *with ſome voyages round the world, and ſomewhat of* Engliſh *and* French *plantations. The fifth book is full of projects or ſchemes, for managing affairs at ſea to the beſt advantage for the nation. The ſixth and laſt treats of fiſhing, to ſhew the infinite addition of wealth and ſtrength it would bring to* England, *with all inſtructions neceſſary for putting ſuch a deſign in execution.*

This

This third volume ends with the deſcription of the coaſts of Malabar *and* Coromandel, *and the iſland of* Ceylon *in the* Eaſt-Indies, *about the year* 1649, *by* Philip Baldæus, *a* Dutch *miniſter, who lived ſeveral years in thoſe parts. The preface to the work gives a general idea of it, and of the author, to which the reader may recur to avoid repetition, but for his further information let it be obſerved, that he firſt gives a brief account of the actions and conqueſts of the* Portugueſes *in thoſe parts, and then an ample and full relation how the* Dutch *expelled them; where we ſhall find more particulars concerning thoſe affairs than have been hitherto made publick in* Engliſh, *which is a very conſiderable piece of hiſtory. And though he only promiſes to treat of the coaſts of* Malabar *and* Coromandel *on the continent, yet to lead the more methodically into it, he begins with the deſcription of* Cambaya, *the treaties of the* Dutch *with the* Great Mogul, *the trade of ſeveral* European *nations along that coaſt; and leads us even into the Red Sea, deſcribing many places of note upon thoſe ſhores, and even up the inland country, acquainting the reader at the ſame time with all that is requiſite to be known of the* Mahometans *in thoſe parts. Hence he deſcends to treat of all the great* peninſula *on this ſide* Ganges, *of its product, the rivers* Nile *and* Ganges, *and more particularly than any other has done of the* Malabar *language. After this he proceeds to* Ceylon, *where he enlarges more than upon the reſt, as having lived longeſt there, and concludes with a large account of the idolatry of the* Eaſt-India *pagans.*

Vol. IV. *The firſt voyage in the fourth volume is that of Dr.* Francis Gemelli Careri *round the world, a piece of extraordinary curioſity, altogether new, and but lately publiſhed in* Italian *in ſix* octavo *volumes, and now firſt in* Engliſh, *the author returning home from his long travels but at the end of the year* 1698. *His learning, as being a doctor of the civil law, and his excellent natural qualifications, have rendered his work ſo complete, that indeed it ſeems to be one of the moſt excellent pieces of this nature now extant. Nothing can be more diverting, as having that extraordinary variety which the whole compaſs of the earth affords, and that in the nobleſt and beſt parts of it. An air of truth appears throughout it, there being nothing but what is told with much modeſty, and what is probable and natural enough in itſelf; beſides, that the moſt part of what is here related may be found diſperſed in many other travellers, who ſaw but pieces of what* Gemelli *took a view of entire. His remarks and obſervations are extraordinary curious, becauſe he was not only capable to make them, but had leiſure, that being his only buſineſs, and money to carry him through. In fine, he has an excellent brief collection of hiſtory annexed to every part of his travels, which informs the reader of the antient as well as preſent ſtate of the countries there ſpoken of. He is exact for the moſt part in ſetting down the diſtances of places, a great help to future travellers. His accounts of plants and fruits peculiar to the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *with the draughts and repreſentations of them, is a good help to natural hiſtory, together with his other deſcriptions, and his obſervations of cuſtoms, manners, habits, laws, religions, and all other things in thoſe vaſt regions he paſſed through. In particular, what he ſays in that part of his voyage which is from* Aquapulco *till his leaving the continent of* America, *is, beſides what is in* Gage, *almoſt the only account we have of the inland parts of that continent. There is a preface to the work which gives a full account of it.*

An account of the ſhipwreck of a Dutch *veſſel on the coaſt of the iſle of* Quelpaeut, *which happened in the year* 1653, *together with the deſcription of the kingdom of* Corea. *This was originally writ in* Dutch *by one that calls himſelf the ſecretary of the ſhip then loſt, who lived thirteen years in thoſe countries, and at laſt made his eſcape with ſome others. It was thought worthy to be tranſlated into* French, *and now laſtly into* Engliſh. *'Tis the only account yet extant of the kingdom of* Corea, *which lies on the eaſt of* China, *being a* peninſula *joined to that mighty empire by a ſmall neck of land: and it is no wonder we ſhould be ſo very much ſtrangers to this country, ſince beſides its remoteneſs, the author tells us they admit of no ſtrangers; or if any have the misfortune, as he had, to fall into their hands, they never return home, unleſs they can make as wonderful an eſcape as he did. The relation itſelf is not ſo long as to require very much to be ſaid of it, beſides that it has a particular preface annexed to it by the tranſlator, to which the reader is referred.*

Next follows a relation of a voyage from Spain *to* Paraguay, *about* 1691, *by F.* Antony Sepp, *and F.* Antony Behme, German *jeſuits; with a deſcription of that country, the remarkable things in it, and reſidences of the miſſioners. We have a particular account of their voyage; they landed at* Buenos Ayres, *of which town they give a very good deſcription, and of the great river of* Plate *which runs by it; and proceeding up into the country from* Buenos Ayres, *they treat diſtinctly of the ſeveral cantons of* Paraguay.

After this is placed a fragment tranſlated out of Spaniſh, *concerning the iſlands of* Salomon *in the* South-ſea, *diſcovered by the* Spaniards, *about* 1695, *but hitherto never conquered or inhabited by any* European *nation.*

tion. It was inſerted in Thevenot's *collection of voyages. Both the beginning and concluſion are wanting; which, it ſeems, have periſhed through the negligence of thoſe intruſted with the original papers. However, by good fortune, as much has been preſerved, as ſerves to give us ſome knowledge of thoſe iſlands, and of the nature and diſpoſition of their inhabitants. And becauſe ſo little is known of thoſe places, this fragment was judged not unworthy a place in this collection.*

The hiſtory of the provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira, Urvaica, *and* Chile, *was written in* Latin *by F.* Nicholas del Techo *a jeſuit. The antecedent account of* Paraguay *by F.* Sepp, *has lightly touched upon part of this ſubject, but that only relates to one of the provinces here named; whereas this extends from the* North *to the* South-ſea, *and includes all that vaſt tract of land in* America, *lying ſouth of* Peru *and* Braſil. *The greateſt part of theſe countries has not been ſo fully deſcribed, nor the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe ſavage* Indians *ſo fully made known, as they are by this author, who ſpent no leſs than twenty five years among them. But to avoid repetitions, what more is performed in this work, may be ſeen in the particular preface before it.*

Pelham's *wonderful preſervation of eight men left a whole winter in* Greenland 1630, *is the ſixth treatiſe in this volume. The preſervation was indeed very remarkable, eſpecially conſidering how unprovided they were left of all neceſſaries for wintering in ſuch a diſmal country, it being accidental, and no way deſigned. This narrative has nothing of art or language, being left by an ignorant ſailor, who, as he confeſſes, was in no better a poſt than gunner's mate, and that to a* Greenland *fiſher; and therefore the reader can expect no more than bare matter of fact, delivered in a homely ſtile, which it was not fit to alter, leſt it might breed a jealouſy that ſomething had been changed more than the bare language.*

Dr. John Baptiſt Morin's *journey to the mines in* Hungary, *about* 1650, *is a very ſhort relation, as containing not full two ſheets, of thoſe mines, the ore they afford, the damps, the ſprings in them, the miners, the manner of diſcharging the water, and other particulars relating to them.*

Ten-Rhynes *account of the cape of* Good Hope, *about* 1673, *and of thoſe barbarous* Hottentots, *the natives of that country, is very curious. After a ſhort deſcription of the cape and table mountain, he deſcribes the birds, beaſts, fiſhes, inſects and plants found in that part of the world; and then ſuccinctly treats of the people, their perſons, garments, dwellings, furniture, diſpoſition, manners, way of living, and making war, traffick, ſports, religion, magiſtrates, laws, marriages, children, trades, phyſick and language.*

The fourth volume concludes with captain Richard Bolland's *draught of the ſtraits of* Gibraltar, *in* 1675, *and his obſervations on its currents.*

AN

Introductory Diſcourſe,

CONTAINING,

The whole Hiſtory of Navigation from its Original to this time.

by John Locke.

OF all the inventions and improvements the wit and induſtry of man has diſcovered and brought to perfection, none ſeems to be ſo univerſally uſeful, profitable and neceſſary, as the art of navigation. There are thoſe that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty GOD, ſince the firſt veſſel we read of in the world, was the ark *Noah* built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon ſuch a controverſy, where ſome will aſk, why it ſhould be believed there were not ſhips before the flood as well as after, ſince doubtleſs thoſe firſt men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whoſe days are reduced to fourſcore years, and all beyond them only miſery or dotage? It is impertinent to ſpend time upon ſuch frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to hiſtory, on which all our knowledge of what is paſt depends, we ſhall find that navigation had but a mean and obſcure original, that it was gradually and but very leiſurely improved, ſince in many ages it ſcarce ventured out of ſight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till theſe latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is ſtill doubtleſs capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received ſince its firſt appearance in the world.

Pancir. *Part.* 2. *Tit.* 10. p. 233.

Schefferus de Mil. Nav. vet. p. 19.

The firſt veſſel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the ark made by GOD's appointment, in which *Noah* and his three ſons were ſaved from the univerſal deluge. But this ark, ſhip, or whatever elſe it may be called, had neither oars, ſails, maſts, yards, rudder, or any ſort of rigging whatſoever, being only guided by Divine Providence, and having no particular port, or coaſt to ſteer to, only to float upon the waters, till thoſe being dried up, it reſted on the mountains of *Ararat*, as we read in *Gen.* viii. 4. From this time till after the confuſion of tongues there was no uſe of navigation, there being as yet no ſufficient multitude to people the earth, and thoſe men there were having undertaken to build the tower of *Babel*, from whence they were diſperſed into all other parts of the known world. Theſe firſt travellers doubtleſs met with many rivers before they came to the ſea, as plainly appears by the ſituation of *Babel*, generally agreed upon by all that treat of ſcriptural geography; and thoſe rivers they paſſed in a hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a ſort of baſkets covered over with raw hides, being the eaſieſt that occurred to invention, and ſufficient for their preſent purpoſe, which was only to paſs on in their way to other parts, without the proſpect of trade or commerce, which cannot be ſuppoſed to have then entered into their thoughts. What veſſels they built when they came to the ſea no hiſtory deſcribes, and therefore it would be a raſhneſs to pretend to any knowledge of them. That they were ſmall, ill rigged, and only durſt creep along the ſhores, is out of all diſpute; if we conſider that many ſucceeding ages were no better furniſhed, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their ſhipping, and induſtriouſly laboured to improve the art of

navigation. Not to ſpeak therefore of what is abſolutely fabulous, or only ſuppoſititious, let us come to the firſt ſailors famed in hiſtory; and touching thoſe times of darkneſs lightly, deſcend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we ſhall find *Neptune* covering the *Mediterranean* ſea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father *Saturn*, ſuppoſed to be *Noah*, as *Neptune* is to be *Japheth*; and to him is aſcribed the firſt building of ſhips, with ſharp ſtems, or heads ſhod with iron or braſs, to run againſt other ſhips and ſplit them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie board and board. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ſhips, and ſteering them to *Glaucus*, affirming it was he that built and piloted the ſhip *Argo* in *Jaſon*'s expedition againſt the *Tyrrhenians*; which others attribute to *Argos*, making him the builder and pilot. Theſe notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned *Bochartus* in his *Geographia Sacra*, *p.* 819, 820. where he ſhews that the ſhip *Argo* ought properly to be called *Arco*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue ſignifies *long*, a name given it becauſe it was the firſt long ſhip built by the *Greeks*, who learned it of the *Phœnicians*, and called it by their name, whereas all the veſſels uſed by them before that time were round. This ſhip *Argo*, or rather galley, he ſays had fifty oars, that is twenty five on each ſide, and therefore muſt be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the *Greeks* had round veſſels before that time, and all we can reaſonably conclude is, that this ſhip or galley *Argo*, or *Arco*, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage, which rendered it famous, as if it had been the firſt ſhip. But it is certain there were many fleets, ſuch as they were, before this time; for the *Argonauts* expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years: whereas we find *Semiramis* built a fleet of two thouſand ſail on the coaſts of *Cyprus*, *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and had them tranſported on carriages and camels backs to the river *Indus*, where they fought and defeated the fleet of *Staurobates* king of *India*, conſiſting of four thouſand boats made of cane, as *Diodorus Siculus* writes*. About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, *Jupiter* king of *Crete*, or *Candia*, with his fleet ſtole away *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor* king of the *Sidonians*. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, *Perſeus* went on the expedition by ſea againſt *Meduſa* in *Africk*. Now to return to the *Argonauts* ſo much celebrated by the poets, upon the ſtricteſt examination into truth, we ſhall only find them inconſiderable coaſters in the *Mediterranean*, and ſet out by the publick to ſuppreſs pirates, though fabulous *Greece* has extolled their expeditions beyond all meaſure. Next follows the *Trojan* war about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thouſand one hundred and forty ſail of all ſorts, ſtill creeping along the ſhores, without daring to venture out of ſight of land.

* *L.* 2. *Antiq. cap.* 1.

Now leaving the *Greeks* it is fit we return to the *Phœnicians*, who are the ſame the ſcripture calls the *Philiſtines* or *Canaanites*, as is largely proved by *Bochartus*, certainly the earlieſt and ableſt mariners in thoſe firſt ages: they made the greateſt diſcoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in moſt of thoſe countries ſo diſcovered, and ſettled trade and commerce in the moſt diſtant regions. There can be no greater teſtimony of their wealth and naval power than what we find in holy writ, *Ezek.* xxvii. where the prophet ſpeaking of *Tyre*, ſays it is ſituate at the entrance of the ſea, is a merchant for many iſles, its ſhip-boards are of fir-trees of *Senir*, their maſts of cedars, their oars of oak of *Baſhan*, their benches of ivory, their ſails of fine embroidered linen; and ſo goes on through moſt of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ſhips, and all things belonging to them. This, though from the undeniable oracle of ſcripture, were no ſufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not all hiſtories full of their many expeditions. The firſt was on the coaſt of *Africk*, where they founded the moſt powerful city of *Carthage*, which ſo long contended with *Rome* for the ſovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into *Spain*, and not ſo ſatisfied, coaſted it round, ſtill purſuing their diſcoveries along the coaſts of *France*, and even into this iſland of *Great Britain*, where they afterwards had a ſettled trade for tin, and ſuch other commodities as the country then afforded, as may be ſeen at large in *Procopius*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and many other ancient authors. *Pliny*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 69. with others affirms, that in the flouriſhing times of the republick of *Carthage*, *Hanno* being ſent out from thence to diſcover ſouthward, ſailed quite round *Africk* into the Red-ſea, and returned the ſame way; and that *Kimilco* ſetting out at the ſame time northwards, ſailed as far as *Thule* or *Iceland*. Both theſe relations are in part rejected by moſt authors as fabulous, becauſe it does not appear that the utmoſt extent of *Africk* was ever known till the *Portugueſes* in theſe latter times diſcovered it; and the very northern parts of *Europe*

were not thoroughly diſcovered even in the time of the *Roman* greatneſs. However; no doubt is to be made but that they ſailed very far both ways, and might perhaps add ſomething of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertakings. Nor were they confined to the *Mediterranean* and weſtward ocean, it was they that conducted *Solomon*'s fleets to *Ophir*; and we read in 1 *Kings* ix. 27. that *Hiram* (who was king of *Tyre*, and conſequently his men *Phœnicians*) *ſent in the navy his ſervants, ſhipmen that had knowledge of the ſea.* And again, *chap.* x. *ver.* 11. *And navy alſo of* Hiram *that brought gold from* Ophir. Thus we ſee the *Phœnicians* traded to *Ophir* before king *Solomon*, and for him. To enter into the controverſy where this *Ophir* was, is not proper for this place, but the moſt probable opinions conclude it to be ſome part of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and indeed there is not the leaſt ſhew of reaſon to place it elſewhere. How they performed theſe long voyages without the help of the compaſs, or magnetical needle, would be another no leſs difficult inquiry, conſidering they could not always ſail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within ſight of land, whence tempeſts at leaſt would often drive them into the open ſea; but this is eaſily ſolved by all authors, who with one conſent inform us, that they were directed by the courſe of the ſun in the day, and by the ſtars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the *Phœnicians* exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from *Pliny*, lib. 5. c. 12, and 19. where he ſhews that mankind is obliged to the *Phœnicians* for five things of the greateſt uſe, *viz.* Letters, the knowledge of the ſtars, the art of navigation, military diſcipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the ſtars they recovered themſelves when loſt in foul weather, and knew how to ſhape their courſe acroſs ſpacious gulphs, and bays, which would have ſpent them much time in coaſting round. However it muſt not hence be inferred that they were capable of traverſing the vaſt ocean betwixt *Europe* and *America*, as ſome would endeavour to make out; becauſe it is well known that voyage even with the help of the compaſs was at firſt thought impracticable, and when diſcovered, for ſome time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reaſon alledged for the poſſibility of their ſailing to the *Weſt-Indies*, which is the certainty of the trade, winds blowing always at eaſt within the tropicks, makes againſt them, becauſe had thoſe winds carried them thither, the vaſt difficulty in returning the ſame way would deter them from that enterprize, they being altogether ignorant, and we may ſay incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*.

The *Greeks*, though occaſionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the *Phœnicians* in maritime affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their maſters in this art, but ſoon excelled them, and gave them ſeveral notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though much inferior in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the *Perſians*, whoſe fleets were all managed by *Phœnicians*. One inſtance or two may ſerve for all; the firſt is the famous battel of *Salamis*, where the confederate *Greeks*, whoſe whole force conſiſted but of three hundred and eighty ſhips, defeated thirteen hundred of the *Perſians*, with inconſiderable loſs to themſelves, and incredible to their enemies, as may be ſeen in *Plutarch*'s lives of *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, in *Diod. Sic. lib.* XI. *Herod. lib.* VII, and VIII. and others. Again, the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Cimon* lorded it along the coaſts of *Aſia*, where cloſely purſuing the *Perſian* admiral *Tiraunſtes*, he obliged him to run his ſhips aground, of which he took two hundred, beſides all that periſhed on the ſhore. And not ſo ſatisfied, *Cimon* proceeded to *Hydrope*, where he deſtroyed ſeventy ſail, which were the peculiar ſquadron of the *Phœnicians*; for which particulars ſee *Thucydid.* lib. I. cap. 11, and 12. *Plutarch in vit. Cimon*, and *Diod. Sic.* lib. XII. Theſe victories were the bane of *Greece*, which growing rich with the ſpoils of the *Perſians* fell into thoſe vices it had before been a ſtranger to, and which broke that union which had preſerved it againſt the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, and ſeveral others, where thoſe little ſtates confederating one againſt another ſet out many numerous fleets, and ſtrove for the ſovereignty of the ſea, till having ſufficiently weakened themſelves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flouriſhing times, and even in adverſity, when driven from home by diſaſters, they never ceaſed ſending out colonies upon all the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*, and particularly of *Aſia*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy* and *Sicily*. In all which countries they ſo far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under *Alexander the Great*, the founder of the *Grecian* empire, there are ſome things ſo ſingular that they well deſerve a place here. That theſe latter ages may not boaſt of the invention of fireſhips,

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we find in *Curtius*, *lib.* IV. that at the ſiege of *Tyre*, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ſhip heavily aſtern with ſand and ſtones, to the end the head might riſe high above the water, and prepared it for their purpoſe with combuſtible matter, they drove it violently with ſails and oars againſt the mole, where they ſet fire to it, the ſeamen in it eſcaping in their boats. The mole being in a great meaſure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly deſtroyed. Thus we ſee the *Tyrians* ſucceſsfully invented the firſt fireſhip we read of in hiſtory. The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign in relation to navigation, was his ſailing down the river *Indus* into the *Indian* ocean, where we may by the by obſerve the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the ſailors, who, as *Curtius*, *lib.* IX. teſtifies, were all aſtoniſhed and beſide themſelves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence the ſame author tells us, *Alexander* ſent his admiral *Nearchus* to coaſt along the ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he ſhould diſcover. *Nearchus* accordingly keeping along the *Indian* and *Perſian* ſhores, and entring the *Perſian* Gulph, returned to him up the river *Euphrates*, which was then looked upon as a wonderful diſcovery, and a great maſterpiece of that admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from *Alexander*. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in *Curtius* quoted above, and in *Plutarch in vit. Alex.* *Purchas* in his firſt Vol. *p.* 86, 87, 88, gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of *Nearchus*, taken out of *Arianus*, *lib.* VIII. who delivers it as *Nearchus*'s journal of the expedition.

Next to the *Phœnicians* and *Greeks*, the *Romans* became ſovereigns of the ſea; yet not all at once, but after hard ſtruggling with the *Carthaginians*, then in the height of their power, having by their naval force made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of *Spain*, and the coaſt of *Africk*, of many iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, and being intent upon the conqueſt of *Sicily*. This iſland furniſhed theſe mighty cities with an occaſion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a deſire of ſovereignty. The *Romans* were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, inſomuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the *Carthaginians* cruizing on the coaſt of *Italy*, as we find in *Polybius*, *lib.* I. one of their *Quinquereme* galleys happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, who by that model built an hundred of the ſame ſort, and twenty *Triremes*. Whilſt the galleys were building, they exerciſed the ſeamen in rowing upon the dry ſhore, cauſing them to ſit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands and an officer in the middle, who by ſigns inſtructed them how they ſhould all at once dip their oars and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was lanched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but ſluggiſh and unweildy, they invented an engine to grapple faſt with the enemy at the firſt ſhock, that ſo they might come to handy-ſtrokes, at which they knew themſelves ſuperior, and prevent being circumvented by the ſwiftneſs of the *Carthaginian* galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called *corvus*, it conſiſted of a large piece of timber ſet upright on the prow of the veſſel, about which was a ſtage of ſeveral aſcents of boards well faſtened with iron, and at the ends of it two maſſive irons ſharp-pointed. The whole could be hoiſted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoiſted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to ſhock ſhip to ſhip, they let it run down amain into the enemy's veſſel, with which its own weight grappled it ſo faſt that there was no breaking looſe; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's veſſel by the help of the aforementioned ſcaffold; all which may be ſeen more fully deſcribed in *Polybius* above quoted. By the help of theſe engines *Duillius* the *Roman* admiral overthrew *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, though ſuperior to him in number of veſſels and experience in maritime affairs, taking his own *Septireme* and fifty other veſſels, with great ſlaughter of his men, though he himſelf eſcaped in his boat. This was in the year of *Rome* 493. In 497. *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Volſo* conſuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thouſand men; the *Carthaginians* had then in their fleet one hundred and fifty thouſand men under the conduct of *Hamilcar*, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ſhips taken, and ſixty four ſunk. Thus far the ſea had proved favourable to the *Romans*; but in the year of *Rome* 499. having ſet out a fleet of three hundred *Quinqueremes*, they loſt one hundred and forty by ſtorms, which made them reſolve to lay aſide all naval enterprizes, keeping only ſeventy ſail of ſhips to ſerve as tranſports, till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in *Sicily* decline, the *Carthaginians* being abſolute maſters at ſea, they again ſet out two hundred ſail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow with the loſs of ninety three galleys. Reſolving

now

now to put an end to the war, they again fit out two hundred *Quinqueremes*, built by the model of a *Rhodian* they had before taken, and with them gave the *Carthaginians* ſuch a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a diſhonourable peace. This was the riſe of the *Roman* power at ſea, which they after not only held, but increaſed as long as their empire ſubſiſted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; thoſe that deſire to ſee more may read them in *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and many other authors who deliver them at large; thus much having been ſaid only to deduce the ſucceſſion of navigation from one people to another. Now though the *Romans* at this time gained the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and held it for ſome ages, yet we do not find that they applied themſelves to new diſcoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the *Phœnicians* had before made known, their greateſt voyage being that which *Pliny*, *lib.* VI. *cap.* 23. gives an account of, being from *Egypt* to *India* beforementioned, to have been frequently performed by the *Phœnicians*, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place is, to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral ſorts of galleys called *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, *Quinqueremes*, and ſo forth, whereof mention was made above. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* agree, that *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* was the firſt that invented the *Trireme* galley, about three hundred years after the deſtruction of *Troy*. *Pliny* will have it, that *Ariſtotle* a *Carthaginian* firſt built a *Quadrireme*, and *Neſichton* of *Salamis* a *Quinquereme*; but *Diodorus* contradicts it, attributing the invention of the *Quinqueremes* to *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian*. *Pliny* further adds, that *Zenagoras* the *Syracuſan* built the firſt veſſel of ſix ranks, *Neſigiton* one of ten, *Alexander the Great* is reported to have proceeded to twelve; *Philoſtephanus* makes *Ptolomy Soter* the firſt that made one of fifteen ranks, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* of thirty, *Ptolomy Philadelphus* of forty, and *Ptolomy Philopator* of fifty. Thus we have the original of them all; but what ſort of veſſels theſe were, that is, how the ſeveral degrees or ranks of oars were diſpoſed, has been much controverted, and is a moſt difficult point to be determined. The ſhortneſs of this diſcourſe will not allow much canvaſſing of the point, yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give ſome ſatisfaction to the curious. *Moriſotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*, p. 608. poſitively affirms, that each of theſe veſſels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, ſo that the *Trireme* had three, the *Quinquereme* five ranks; and ſo every one according to its name, even till we come to *Ptolomy Philopator*'s *Teſſeraconteres*, which he aſſerts, had forty ranks of oars placed one over another, wherein he agrees with *Baiſius*, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor *Leo*, whoſe words are theſe; *Every ſhip of war muſt be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one higher, and the other lower.* This which to him ſeems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be veſſels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the poſſibility of having twenty or forty, which muſt of neceſſity riſe to ſuch a height as would look more like a mountain than a ſhip; and thoſe upper oars muſt be ſo long, and in proportion ſo large and unweildy, that no ſtrength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have theſe ſeveral ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in height; that is, ſo many in the prow, ſo many in the midſhips, and ſo many in the poop: whence will follow that *Ptolomy*'s galley had forty ſeveral ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from ſtem to ſtern, which, allowing but a ſmall number of oars to each of theſe ranks, will quite outrun the length aſſigned that veſſel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by *Stewechius*, *Caſtilionius*, and ſeveral others; but ſir *Henry Savil* is of another mind, and ſuppoſes theſe ranks not to lie in length from head to ſtern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which muſt appear prepoſterous, becauſe allowing ſo many ranks this way, that is athwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth ſolution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the veſſel had its name from ſo many men tugging at one oar, that is three in a *Trireme*, five in a *Quinquereme*, and ſo of the reſt; which indeed as far as ſix or ſeven men to an oar has the moſt reſemblance of truth: but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult to reconcile either to the breadth of the veſſel, not to be ſuppoſed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men, becauſe though the firſt man next the ſide of the galley had the oar under hand, yet the end of it when it came to the fortieth muſt of neceſſity riſe above his reach. Theſe two objections are again anſwered, the firſt by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and ſo the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the ſecond by allowing an aſcent from one ſide of the galley to the other for each ſeat or ſtanding of thoſe that rowed; and for the ſoldiers and ſailors, we muſt imagine a deck over the heads of the ſlaves at the oar. This carries much of

reaſon, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that deſcribe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of *Schefferus de militia navali, lib.* II. *cap.* 2. where allowing a competent diſtance according to the length of the veſſel betwixt each bank of oars, he ſuppoſes the firſt row to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not diſtinguiſhed by a deck, but raiſed ſo high by their feat that their feet reſted againſt that which was the back of the bank below them, and ſo one above the other in thoſe intervals, which takes off much of the height, that muſt have been, allowing them ſeveral decks, and conſequently ſhortens the upper oars in proportion; yet cannot at all leſſen the difficulty that will occur upon plying ſo many oars, which will come to dip ſo cloſe together in the water, that it ſeems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confuſion, not to mention many more inconveniences obvious enough to every man's reaſon that has ſeen any veſſels of this nature: and therefore it is beſt to determine nothing amidſt ſuch uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which ſhall beſt ſuit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving theſe obſcurities, it is better to proceed upon the hiſtory of navigation where we left off, and ſee in what ſtate it continued from the time of the *Romans* laſt ſpoken of till the fortunate diſcovery of the magnetical needle, from which time is to be dated its greateſt advancement, as will be viſible in that place.

As long as the *Roman* empire continued in ſplendor, it ſupported what it had found of navigation, but added little or nothing to it, that people being altogether intent upon making new conqueſts, and finding ſtill more work than they were able to compaſs upon dry land, without venturing far out to ſea. But when the barbarous nations began to diſmember that monarchy, this art inſtead of improving, doubtleſs declined, as did all others. The firſt of theſe barbarians were the *Goths* and *Vandals*, of whom no great actions appear on the ſea, their fartheſt expeditions on this element being in the *Mediterranean*, betwixt *Italy* and *Africk*, *Spain* and the iſlands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The *Saracens* were next to them as to order of time, though much ſuperior in naval power, yet contained within the ſame bounds, and conſequently did nothing more memorable. After the *Saracens* may be reckoned the *Normans*, who for ſeveral years infeſted the coaſts of *Britain* and *France* with their fleets from *Norway*, till having ſettled themſelves in *Normandy*, they ran out plundering all the coaſts of *Spain*, and entering the ſtraits conquered a great part of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the whole iſland of *Sicily*. Still theſe, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coaſters, and ſatisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of navigation, eſpecially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profeſſion. Other nations famous at ſea were the *Genoeſes* and *Venetians*, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for ſeveral years; and the latter, till the *Portugueſes* diſcovered the way by ſea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, had all the trade of thoſe parts in their own hands, either brought up the Red ſea into *Egypt*, or by caravans to the ſea-port towns of *Aſia*. We might here mention the expeditions of *Engliſh*, *French*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, and other nations, but ſhould find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at ſea, they all ventured ſometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade, but all in the ſame manner creeping along the ſhores, without daring to venture far out to ſea, having no guides out of ſight of land but the ſtars, which in cloudy nights muſt fail them. It is therefore time to leave theſe blind ſailors, and come to the magnet or loadſtone, and to the compaſs or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and eaſy in the blackeſt night as in the brighteſt day. To come then to the point.

The loadſtone, or magnet, ſo called from the *Latin* word *magnes*, had this name given it becauſe found in the country of *Magneſia*, which is a part of *Lydia* in *Aſia*; or becauſe the *Magneſians* firſt diſcovered its vertue of attracting iron: for both theſe reaſons are given by the learned *Bochartus Geogr. Sacr.* p. 717. What other vertues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place. But it is certain the *magnet* has two poles anſwering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obſtructs) to lie parallel. This property is confined to it ſelf, but communicative, as daily experience ſhews us in the nautical needles, which by the touch of this ſtone partake ſo much of its nature, that the point ſo touched, unleſs otherwiſe hindered, will always look towards the north-pole. Let the learned naturaliſt plunge himſelf into the inſcrutable abyſs of nature to find out reaſons for this ſympathy; it ſhall ſuffice here to ſhew the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the diſcovery of this moſt wonderful ſecret. The *Magneſians*, as was ſaid above, were counted the firſt diſcoverers of the loadſtone's vir-

tue of attracting iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the north-pole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the beſt modern inquirers into antiquity, who upon diligent ſearch unanimouſly agree they cannot find the leaſt ground to believe it was known before, rather than give credit to ſome few writers, who rather ſuppoſe ſuch a thing to have been uſed by the *Phœnicians*, than pretend to prove it, having nothing but their own fancies, raiſed upon weak and groundleſs ſurmiſes, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion in *Bochart. Geog. Sac.* p. 716. and in *Purchas*'s pilgrims, p. 26. is *Fuller* in his miſcellanies, *l.* 4. *c.* 19. yet neither of them mentions any proof or ſtrong argument he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reaſon reject him. Theſe two authors, and *Pancirol. lib.* ii. *tit.* 11. do not forget the verſe often urged out of *Plautus in Mercat.*

Hic ſecundus ventus nunc eſt, cape modo verſoriam.

Which *verſoria* ſome will have to be the compaſs. But there is nothing ſolid in this argument, it is only catching at ſtraws, when all hiſtory and practice of former ages make againſt it. Hiſtory, becauſe it could not but have made ſome mention of a thing ſo univerſally uſeful and neceſſary; and practice, becauſe it is well known no ſuch voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compaſs. It has ſufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages they were but coaſters, ſcarce daring to venture out of ſight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the ſtars: and what is ſtill more, it is manifeſt they ſcarce ventured at all to ſea in the winter months. That this is ſo, appears by *Vegetius*, *lib.* IV. where ſpeaking of the months, he ſays, The ſeas are ſhut from the third of the ides of *November*, to the ſixth of the ides of *March*, and from that time till the ides of *May*, it is dangerous venturing to ſea. Thus much way ſuffice to ſhew the compaſs was not known to antiquity, let us ſee when it firſt appeared in the world.

Its ancient uſe being rejected by general conſent, there have ſtill been ſome who have endeavoured to rob the diſcoverer of this honour: among them *Goropius*, quoted by *Moriſotus*, will have this invention attributed to the *Cimbrians*, *Teutonicks* or *Germans*, for this weak reaſon, becauſe the names of the thirty two winds about it are *Teutonick*, and uſed by almoſt all *Europeans*. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of *Europe*, and therefore go as far as *China* for it, alledging that *M. Paulus Venetus* brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is aſſerted without any the leaſt authority, only becauſe *Paulus Venetus* travelled into *China*, and when afterwards the *Portugueſes* came thither, they found the uſe of the needle common among all thoſe eaſtern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundleſs ſuppoſitions, the general conſent of the beſt authors on this ſubject is, that the magnetical needle or compaſs was firſt found out in *Europe* by one *John Gioia*, whom others call *Flavio Gioia*, of the city of *Amalfi*, on the coaſt of that part of the kingdom of *Naples* called *Terra di Lavoro*. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300. and though the thing be of ſuch ſtupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove ſo greatly profitable to the firſt finder, whoſe bare name is all that remains to poſterity, without the leaſt knowledge of his profeſſion, or after what manner he made this wonderful diſcovery. So wonderful that it ſeems to contradict the opinion of *Solomon*, who ſo many ages ſince ſaid there was nothing new under the ſun; whereas this certainly appears, though ſo long after him, to be altogether new, and never ſo much as thought of before, which cannot ſo plainly be made out of any other of thoſe we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to inſtance in a few things, we find the uſe of fire-ſhips among the *Tyrians* in the time of *Alexander the great*, as was mentioned before out of *Curtius*, *lib.* IV. and therefore not repeated here. Our ſea-charts, on which latter times have ſo much valued themſelves, are of ſuch ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet *Moriſotus*, p. 12. ſays that *Eolus* gave *Ulyſſes* a ſea-chart drawn on a ram's ſkin, that is, a parchment. Again, *p.* 14. the ſame author out of *Trogus* obſerves, that *Democedes* the *Cratonian*, employed by *Darius Hyſtaſpes* to view the coaſts of *Greece*, ſent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads and ſtrong-holds exactly marked down. Then, *p.* 215. he ſhews out of *Ælianus* and *Ariſtophanes*, that there were maps of the world in *Socrates*'s time. This, he ſays, was about the eightieth *Olympiad*, and then quotes *Strabo*, who from *Eratoſthenes* affirms, *Anaximander* the *Mileſian* was the firſt that made geographical tables about the fiftieth *Olympiad*. Sheathing of ſhips is a thing in appearance ſo abſolutely new, that ſcarce any will doubt to aſſert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will ſoon appear in two inſtances. *Leo Baptiſti Alberti* in his book of architecture, *lib.* V. *cap.* 12. has theſe words. *But* Trajan's *ſhip weighed out of the lake*

lake of Riccia *at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had lain ſunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I obſerved, that the pine and cypreſs of it had laſted moſt remarkably. On the outſide it was built with double planks, daubed over with* Greek *pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a ſheet of lead faſtened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus* in his geography ſays, this ſhip was weighed by the order of cardinal *Proſpero Colonna*. Here we have caulking and ſheathing together above ſixteen hundred years ago; for I ſuppoſe no man can doubt that the ſheet of lead nailed over the outſide with copper nails was ſheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being uſed rather than iron, which when once ruſted in the water with the working of the ſhip, ſoon loſe their hold and drop out. The other inſtance we find in *Purchas*'s pilgrims, *vol.* I. *lib.* IV. in captain *Saris*'s voyage to the court of *Japan*, p. 371. where the captain giving an account of his voyage ſays, that rowing betwixt *Firando* and *Fuccate*, about eight or ten leagues on this ſide *Xemina-ſeque*, he found a great town where they lay in a dock a *junck* of eight or ten hundred tun burden, ſheathed all with iron. This was in the year 1613. about which time the *Engliſh* came firſt acquainted with *Japan*; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of ſheathing of them, or the *Portugueſes*, who were there before, but were themſelves ignorant of the art of ſheathing.

Now to return to the magnetical needle, or ſea-compaſs; its diſcoverer, as has been ſaid, appears to be *Flavius*, or *John Gioia* of *Amalfi*, and the time of its diſcovery about the year 1300. The reaſon of its tending to or pointing out the north, is what many natural philoſophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their ſtudy has brought them only to be ſenſible of the imperfection of human knowledge, which when plunged into the inquiry after the ſecrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them occult qualities, which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us. Yet theſe are not all the wonders of this magnetick virtue. The variation of it is another as inſcrutable a ſecret. This variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or leſs either to the eaſt or weſt; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the ſame in the ſame place, and is found by obſerving the ſun or ſtars. The cauſe of this variation ſome philoſophers aſcribe to magnetical mountains, ſome to the pole itſelf, ſome to the heavens, and ſome to a magnetical power even beyond the heavens; but theſe are blind gueſſes, and fond oſtentations of learning without any thing in them to convince ones reaſon. There is nothing of it certain but the variation alone, there is a variation of the variation, a ſubject to be handled by none but ſuch as have made it a peculiar ſtudy, and which deſerving a peculiar volume is daily expected from a moſt able pen. But let us leave theſe myſteries, and come to the hiſtorical part, as the principal ſcope of this diſcourſe; where we ſhall find, that though the uſe of the needle was ſo long ſince found out, yet either through its being kept private by ſome few perſons at firſt as a ſecret of great value, or through the dulneſs of ſailors, at firſt not comprehending this wonderful phenomena; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known ſhores; or laſtly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to diſcover: whether for theſe, or any other cauſe, we do not find any conſiderable advantage made of this wonderful diſcovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it, who firſt uſed it upon the ſea, and how it ſpread abroad into other parts. This is not a little ſtrange in a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the hiſtories of nations ſhould not mention when they received ſo great an advantage, or what benefit they found at firſt by it. But ſo it is; and therefore to ſhew the advancement of navigation ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to begin ſeveral years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This ſhall be performed with all poſſible brevity, and by way of annals, containing a ſummary account of all diſcoveries from year to year: yet leſt the diſtance and variety of places ſhould too much diſtract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the *European* northern diſcoveries ſhall be firſt run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, ſhall follow the *African*, and ſo of the *Eaſt-India* or *Aſiatick*, the one being the conſequence of the other; and in the laſt place ſhall appear the *Weſt-Indian*, or *American*. The firſt part of the northern *European* diſcoveries is all taken out of *Hakluyt*, beginning with the neareſt after the diſcovery of the needle, quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An. 1360. *Nicholas de Linna*, or of *Linn*, a friar of *Oxford*, who was an able aſtronomer, took a voyage with others into the moſt northern iſlands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all thoſe northern parts, which at his return he preſented to king *Edward* III. This friar made five

voyages

voyages into thoſe parts: for this he quotes *Gerardus Mercator*, and *Mr. John Dee*, *Hak*, p. 122. And this, though it is not there mentioned, being ſixty years after the diſcovery of the compaſs, we may look upon as one of the firſt trials of this nature made upon the ſecurity of the magnetical direction in theſe northern ſeas. Yet after this for many years we find no other diſcovery attempted this way, but rather all ſuch enterpriſes ſeemed to be wholly laid aſide, till

An. 1553. and in the reign of king *Edward* VI. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was ſent out with three ſhips to diſcover *Cathay* and other northern parts. He ſailed in *May*, and having ſpent much time about the northern iſlands ſubject to *Denmark*, where he found no commodity but dried fiſh and train oil, he was forced about the middle of *September*, after loſing the company of his other two ſhips, to put into a harbour in *Lapland* called *Arzina*, where they could find no inhabitants, but thinking to have wintered there were all frozen to death. However the *Edward*, which was the ſecond ſhip in this expedition, and commanded by *Richard Chancellor*, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having loſt Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, made its way for the port of *Wardhouſe* in *Norway*, where they had appointed to meet if parted by ſtorms. *Chancellor* ſtaid there ſeven days, and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage ſo fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of St. *Nicholas* on the coaſt of *Muſcovy*, where he was friendly received by the natives, being the firſt ſhip that ever came upon that coaſt. *Chancellor* himſelf went to the court of *Moſco*, where he ſettled a trade betwixt *England* and *Muſcovy*, with *John Baſilowitz* the great duke, or *Czar*, then reigning. This done, *Chancellor* returned home with the honour of the firſt diſcoverer of *Ruſſia*.

An. 1556. *Stephen Burrough* was ſent out in a ſmall veſſel to diſcover the river *Ob*: he ſailed in *April*, and in *May* came upon the coaſt of *Norway*; whence continuing his voyage, in *July* he arrived at *Nova Zembla*, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to ſhape his courſe for the river *Ob*. He ſpent ſome time in ſearch of it, but coming to the ſtraits of *Weygats* found no paſſage, and the ſummer-ſeaſon being almoſt ſpent, returned to *Colmogro* in *Muſcovy*, where he wintered, deſigning to proſecute his voyage the next ſummer, but was countermanded, and ſo this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558. *Anthony Jenkinſon* ſailed for *Muſcovy* with four ſhips under his command: he left his ſhips, and travelled by land to *Moſco*, where having been nobly entertained by the *Czar*, he obtained his paſs, and continued his journey through *Muſcovy* acroſs the kingdoms of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, where ſhipping himſelf on the river *Volga* he ſailed down into the *Caſpian* ſea, having travelled by land about ſix hundred leagues in the *Czar*'s dominions from *Moſco*. On the *Caſpian* ſea he ſpent twenty ſeven days, after which landing, he proceeded five days journey by land among a ſort of wild *Tartars* with a caravan of one thouſand camels; then twenty days more through a deſert, ſuffering much through hunger and thirſt. This brought him again to another part of the *Caſpian* ſea, where formerly the river *Oxus* fell into it, which now he ſays runs into another river not far from thence, called *Ardock*, which runs towards the north and under ground above five hundred miles, after which it riſes again, and unburdens itſelf in the lake of *Kitay*. Hence he continued his diſcovery amidſt thoſe countries of *Tartars* to *Boghar* in *Bactria*, whence he returned to *Moſco*.

An. 1561. He returned to *Muſcovy* with letters from queen *Elizabeth* to the *Czar*; and taking the ſame way as before down to the *Caſpian* ſea, croſſed over it into *Hircania*, where being nobly entertained, and conducted by the princes of that country, he paſſed through to the court of the king of *Perſia* at *Caſbin*, where he obtained ſeveral privileges for the *Engliſh* nation, and returned home in ſafety the ſame way he went.

An. 1580. Mr. *Arthur Pet*, and Mr. *Charles Jackman* ſailed in *May* from *Harwich* in two barks to make diſcoveries in the north-eaſt beyond *Weygats*. In *June* they doubled the north cape of *Norway*, and having ſpent ſome days in that part of *Norway*, continued their voyage into the bay of *Petzora*; where *Jackman*'s veſſel being in no good ſailing condition he left *Pet*, who proceeded on to the coaſt of *Nova Zembla*, where in *July* he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at laſt came to the ſtraits of *Weygats*: there he drew as cloſe as the ſhoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and a half water, and ſending his boat to ſound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the ſtrait, and therefore returned the ſame way he came. A few days after *Pet* met with *Jackman* again in ſome diſtreſs, as not being able to ſteer, his ſhip's ſtern-poſt being broken, and the rudder hanging from the ſtern. Having remedied this the beſt they could for the preſent, they both ſtood northward to endeavour to find ſome paſſage that way; but meeting with much ice, they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and re-

ſolved to turn again to *Weygats*, there to conſult what was further to be done. All the way thither they met with ſuch quantities of ice, that ſome days they were not able to make any way. Being come again upon the *Weygats*, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpoſe as before, the ice obſtructing their progreſs. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it neceſſary to quit their deſign for the preſent. Accordingly *Pet* being parted from *Jackman*, arrived ſafe in the river of *Thames* about the end of *December* this ſame year: *Jackman* put into a port in *Norway* betwixt *Tronden* and *Roſtock* in *October*, where he wintered. In *February* following, he departed thence in company of a ſhip of the king of *Denmark*'s towards *Iceland*, and was never more heard of. The *Engliſh* having made theſe unſucceſsful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the *Dutch* growing powerful at ſea, reſolved to try their fortune, hoping the failures of the *Engliſh* might help to point out to them what courſe they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly,

Hitherto out of Hakluyt.

An. 1594. The ſtates fitted out three ſhips, commanded by *William Barentz*, *Cornelius Corneliſſen* and *John Hugens:* they all ſailed together, but *Barentz* ran further up to the northward than the others, till he came into ſeventy eight degrees of latitude, and in *Auguſt* met with much ice, and abundance of ſea-monſters, at which the ſeamen being diſcouraged they reſolved to return home. The other two ſhips diſcovered ſome iſlands, and at laſt a ſtrait or paſſage capable of the greateſt ſhips, and about five or ſix leagues in length: being paſſed it, they came into an open and warmer ſea, and upon the coaſt of *Tartary* near the river *Ob* or *Oby*, a very fruitful country. This they called the ſtrait of *Naſſau*, and might have gone further but for want of proviſions. This done, they came back the ſame way very joyful to *Holland*, *Meteren*. hiſt. of the *Low-countries*, lib. XVIII. This we ſee poſitively delivered; but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only muſt think it ſtrange, that if ſuch a ſtrait had been once found it ſhould never be met with ſince, though often ſearched for, and once by the ſame perſons that pretended to have been the firſt diſcoverers, as may be ſeen in the year 1596. yet we ſee this aſſertion repeated by the ſame author, who takes it from the relations of the ſailors, and in the ſame place before quoted ſays, that

An. 1595. The ſtates being much encouraged by the relation of theſe diſcoverers, fitted out ſeven ſhips, ſix of them to proceed on their voyage to *China*, *Japan*, &c. this way, and the ſeventh to bring back the news of their being paſſed the ſtrait; but they met with too much ice at ſtrait *Naſſau*, coming to it too late by reaſon of the contrary winds they had in their paſſage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many particulars more than they knew before; but they returned *re infecta*, *ubi ſup.*

An. 1596. The *Dutch* not diſcouraged by the former diſappointment, fitted out two ſhips under the command of *William Barentſen* and *John Corneliſſen*, who ſailed on the eighteenth of *May*, and on the nineteenth of *June* found themſelves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they ſuppoſed to be *Greenland*, with graſs, and beaſts grazing like deer, *&c.* and leſs cold and ice than in 76 degrees: they turned back to an iſland they had before called the *Iſland of Bears*, becauſe of the many bears they ſaw in it, and there parted company. *Corneliſſen* went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a paſſage eaſt of the land they had diſcovered, but returned home without doing any thing conſiderable. *Barentſen* made towards *Nova Zembla*, and coaſted along it till he met with an iſland which he called *Orange*, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he ſteered ſouth and doubled a cape, but was ſtop'd by ice, and making towards the land, on the laſt of *Auguſt*, was ſo incloſed that there was no ſtirring. They landed and built a houſe with timber and planks, into which they put all their proviſions and goods, where they continued ſuffering much hardſhip all the winter. On the twenty ſecond of *June* they ſet out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ſhip among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at *Cola* in *Lapland* on the ſecond of *October* 1597. where they found *Corneliſſen*, who had made a voyage to *Holland* in the mean while, and was returned thither. *Barentſen* died by the way, but the ſurvivors arrived in *Holland* on the twenty ninth of *October*, Meteren. *lib.* XIX.

An. 1676. Captain *John Wood* in his majeſty's ſhip the *Speedwell*, with the *Proſperous Pink* to attend him, ſailed from the *Buoy of the Nore* to diſcover the north eaſt paſſage. *June* the fourth he anchored in the iſland of *Shetland*, and the tenth ſailed out again, directing his courſe north north eaſt, and north eaſt by eaſt, till the twenty ſecond, when at noon he ſaw ice right a head about a league from him, and ſailed cloſe to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little way;

way; but as faſt as the fog fell, it froze on their ſails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of *Nova Zembla*, and run out five leagues to ſea. They continued coaſting the ice to find a paſſage, till on the twenty ninth of *June* at near midnight the *Proſperous Pink* fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, ice on the weather-bow; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a weather to come about, but before ſhe could be brought upon the other tack ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks that lay ſunk: the pink got clear, but the ſhip ſtuck faſt, and there being no getting her off, the men got all aſhore in their boats with what proviſion they could ſave, ſome arms and other neceſſaries; only two men were loſt with the pinnace. Here they ſet up a tent, and ſaw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ſhip broke and much wreck drove aſhore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, ſome meal, oil, brandy and beer. They killed a white bear and eat her, which they ſaid was very good meat. Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long-boat to carry off ſome of the men, and others to travel afoot towards the *Weygats*; till on the eighth of *July* to their great joy they diſcovered the pink, and making a fire for a ſignal, ſhe ſent her boat to help bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They preſently ſtood off to weſtward, and made the beſt of their way home, arriving on the twenty third of *Auguſt* at the *Buoy of the Nore*. Taken out of captain *Wood*'s own journal.

Theſe are the principal diſcoveries attempted and performed to the north eaſt, which have proved unſucceſsful, as failing of the main deſign of finding a paſſage that way to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Let us now leave the barren frozen north, where ſo many have miſerably periſhed, and yet ſo little been diſcovered of what was intended; ice, ſhoals, rocks, darkneſs, and many other obſtacles having diſappointed the bold undertakings of ſo many daring ſailors, and for ſo many loſſes made us no return but the bare trade of *Ruſſia*, whilſt our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of *Cathay*, and a paſſage to *China*, *Japan*, and all the other eaſtern regions. Let us, I ſay, quit theſe unfortunate attempts, and come now to ſpeak of thoſe ſo ſucceſsful made towards the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, along the coaſt of *Africk* firſt, and then to thoſe of the more frequented, as more profitable *Aſia*. The firſt we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an *Engliſhman*, by name *Macham*, who

An. 1344. having ſtolen a woman, with whom he was in love, and intended to fly with her into *Spain*, was by a ſtorm caſt upon the iſland *Madera* in 32 degrees of north-latitude. Going aſhore there with his miſtreſs to refreſh her after the toils of the ſea, the ſhip taking the opportunity of a favourable gale ſailed away, leaving them behind. The lady ſoon died for grief of being left in that deſolate iſland; and *Macham* with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of JESUS, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one ſingle tree, in which they got over to the coaſt of *Africk*, where they were taken by the *Moors*, and preſented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the ſame reaſon ſent them to the king of *Caſtile*, where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in ſearch of this iſland. This ſtory we find in *Hakluyt*, vol. II. part 2. p. 1. where he quotes *Antony Galvao* a *Portugueſe* author for it; and *D. Antonio Manoel* in his works among his *Epanaforas*, has one on this particular ſubject, which he calls *Epanafora Amoroſa*. Upon this information, as was ſaid, ſeveral adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of, till

An. 1348. *John Betancourt* a *Frenchman*, obtained a grant of king *John* the ſecond of *Caſtile*, and went to conquer the *Canary* iſlands long before diſcovered, and made himſelf maſter of five of them, but could not ſubdue the two greateſt, as moſt populous and beſt defended. Theſe were afterwards ſubdued by king *Ferdinand*, as may be ſeen in *Mariana*, lib. XVI. p. 29. Theſe were ſmall beginnings, and out of regular courſe; next follow the gradual diſcoveries made by the *Portugueſes*, which may be ſaid to have been the ground-work of all the enſuing navigations, which happened in this manner. King *John* of *Portugal* enjoying peace at home after his wars with *Caſtile*, was perſuaded by his ſons to undertake the conqueſt of *Ceuta* on the *African* ſhore. Prince *Henry*'s fifth ſon accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a ſtrong inclination to diſcover new ſeas and lands, and the more on account of the information he had received from ſeveral *Moors* concerning the coaſts of *Africk* to the ſouthward, which were as yet unknown to *Europeans*, who never pretended to venture beyond cape *Nao*, which had therefore this name given it, ſignifying in *Portugueſe* *No*, to imply there was no ſailing further; and the reaſon was, becauſe the cape running far out into the ſea, cauſed it to break and appear dangerous; and they as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to ſea they

they ſhould avoid that danger. Prince *Henry* reſolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two ſmall veſſels,

An. 1417. Commanding them to coaſt along *Africk*, and doubling that cape to diſcover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run ſixty leagues beyond cape *Nao*, as far as cape *Bojador*, ſo called becauſe it ſtretches itſelf out almoſt forty leagues to the weſtward, which in *Spaniſh* they call *Bojar*. Here finding the difficulty of paſſing further, greater than at cape *Nao*, for the ſame reaſon of the ſea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home ſatisfied with what they had done. The following year,

1418. The prince ſent *John Gonzalez Zarco* and *Triſtan Vaz*, with orders to paſs that cape; but before they could come upon the coaſt of *Africk* they were carried away by a ſtorm, and not knowing where, they accidentally fell in with an iſland, which they called *Porto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, becauſe of their deliverance there after the ſtorm. It is a ſmall iſland a little to the northward of the *Madera:* thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, ſent *Bartholomew Pereſtrello* with ſeeds to ſow, and cattle to ſtock the place; but one couple of rabbets put in among the reſt, increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that all corn and plants being deſtroyed by them, it was found neceſſary to unpeople the iſland.

An. 1419. *John Gonzalez* and *Triſtan Vaz* making another voyage by order of the prince, diſcovered the iſland *Madera*, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by *Macham* the *Engliſhman*, and loſt again till this time. The reaſon of calling it *Madera* was, becauſe they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in *Portugueſe* ſignifying wood. They ſet fire to the woods to clear them, which are ſaid to have burnt ſeven years continually, and ſince the greateſt want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furniſhing the iſlands diſcovered, till

An. 1434. *Gilianez* was ſent by the prince to paſs that dreadful cape *Bojador*, though at the ſame time many blamed the attempt, imagining, that in caſe they ſhould happen to paſs much farther on thoſe coaſts, all that did it would turn black; others ſaying there was nothing there but deſerts, like thoſe of *Lybia*; others alledging other abſurdities of this nature, ſuitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiſcovered. *Gilianez* was ſatisfied with ſailing 30 leagues beyond the cape, giving name there to the bay called *Angra de Ruyvas*, or *Bay of Gurnets*, becauſe he there found many of that ſort of fiſh. The next year

1435. The ſame commanders paſſed twelve leagues further, where they alſo landed, but the people fled from them; whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vaſt multitude of ſea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned home with their ſkins, which was the greateſt return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440. *Antony Gonzalez* was ſent to the place of the ſea-wolves to load his veſſel with their ſkins. He landed, took ſome of the natives, and killed others; then coaſted on as far as *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, and returned to *Portugal.*

An. 1442. *Antony Gonzalez* returned, and carrying thoſe perſons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for ſome *Guinea* ſlaves and a quantity of gold duſt; for which reaſon the river that there runs into the country was called *Rio del Oro*, or the *River of Gold.*

An. 1443. The gold above-mentioned ſharpening mens appetites, *Nunho Triſtan* undertook the voyage, and paſſing further than the others, diſcovered one of the iſlands of *Arguim*, called *Adeget*, and another *De las Garzas*, or of the *Herons*, becauſe they ſaw many herons in it.

An. 1444. A ſmall company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to thoſe parts lately diſcovered, whither they ſent ſix caravels; which coming to the iſles of *Arguim* took there about two hundred ſlaves, which yielded them good profit in *Portugal.*

An. 1445. *Gonzalo de Cintra* ſailed to the iſland of *Arguim*, and venturing up a creek in the night to ſurprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat aſhore; ſo that two hundred *Moors* coming down upon him, he was killed with ſeven of his men, and from him the place was called *Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra*, fourteen leagues beyond *Rio del Oro.*

An. 1446. Three caravels ſailed for the ſame river to ſettle commerce, but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a *Portugueſe* there to view the country. But *Dinis Fernandez* the ſame year paſſed beyond the river *Sanga*, which divides the *Azanagi* from *Jalof*, and diſcovered the famous cape called *Capo Verde*, or the *Green Cape.*

An. 1447. Three caravels performed the ſame voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than taking up the *Portugueſe* left there before, whom they found in good health, and he gave them ſome account of the country. This year likewiſe *Nunho Triſtan* ſailed ſixty leagues beyond *Cabo Verde*, and anchoring at the mouth of *Rio Grande*, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and moſt

of

of his men were killed by the *Blacks* with their poiſoned arrows. *Alvaro Fernandez* the ſame year went forty leagues beyond *Rio Grande*. Prince *Henry* the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all theſe diſcoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew *Alonſo* the fifth king of *Portugal*. Under him,

An. 1449. *Gonſalo Vello* diſcovered the iſlands called *Azores*, or of *Hawks*, becauſe many of thoſe birds were ſeen about them. They are eight in number, *viz.* S. *Michael*, S. *Mary*, *Jeſus* or *Tercera*, *Gracioſa*, *Pico*, *Fayal*, *Flores* and *Corvo*. They are near about the latitude of *Liſbon*. In the laſt of them was found the ſtatue of a man on horſe-back with a cloak, but no hat, his left-hand on the horſe's mane, the right pointing to the weſt, and ſome characters carved on the rock under it, but not underſtood.

An. 1460. *Antony Nole* a *Genoeſe* in the *Portugueſe* ſervice, diſcovered the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, the names whereof are *Fogo*, *Brava*, *Boaviſta*, *Sal*, S. *Nicholao*, S. *Lucia*, S. *Vincente*, and S. *Antonio*. They lie about a hundred leagues weſt of *Cabo Verde*, and therefore take name from that cape. He alſo found the iſlands *Maya*, S. *Philip*, and S. *Jacob*. This ſame year *Peter de Cintra*, and *Suero da Coſta* ſailed as far as *Serra Leona*.

An. 1471. *John de Santarem* and *Peter de Eſcobar* advanced as far as the place they called *Mina*, or the *Mine*, becauſe of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to cape S. *Catharine*, thirty ſeven leagues beyond cape *Lope Gonzalez* in two degrees and a half of ſouth-latitude. *Ferdinand Po* the ſame year found the iſland by him called *Hermoſa*, or *Beautiful*, which name is loſt, and ſtill keeps that of the diſcoverer. At the ſame time were found the iſlands of S. *Thomas*, *Anno Bom*, and *Principe*. Some years paſſed without going beyond what was known; but in the mean time king *John* the ſecond, who ſucceeded his father *Alonſo*, cauſed a fort to be built at *Mina*, which he called fort S. *George*, and ſettled a trade there.

An. 1480. *James Cam* proceeded as far as the river *Congo* in the kingdom of the ſame name, called by the natives *Zayre*, whence he continued his voyage as far as 22 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486. King *John* being informed by an embaſſador from the king of *Benin* on the coaſt of *Africk*, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his maſter received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the ſo much talked of *Preſter John*, he ſent *Peter de Covillam*, and *Alonſo de Payva* by land to get intelligence of this great potentate, and ſome account of *India*. They went together by the way of *Grand Cair* to *Tor* on the coaſt of *Arabia*, where they parted, *Covillam* for *India*, and *Payva* for *Ethiopia*, agreeing to meet by a certain time at *Grand Cair*: the firſt went to *Cananor*, *Calicut* and *Goa*, paſſed thence to *Zofala* in *Africk*, then to *Aden* at the mouth of the Red-ſea on the ſide of *Arabia*, and at laſt to *Grand Cair*, where he found his companion had died. Hence he ſent an account to the king of his proceedings by a *Jew* come from *Portugal*, and with another embarked for *Ormuz*, then went over into *Ethiopia*, where he was kindly entertained, but never ſuffered to return home. At the ſame time theſe were ſent away by land, *Bartholomew Diaz* put to ſea with three ſhips, and out-going all that had been before him a hundred and twenty leagues, diſcovered the mountains he called *Sierra Parda*, and paſſed on in ſight of the bay called *De los Vaqueros*, or of the *Herdſmen*, becauſe of the great herds of cattle they ſaw there; beyond which he touched at the ſmall iſland *Santa Cruz*, entered the mouth of the river called *Del Infante*, and at laſt came to the now famous, and till then unknown cape, which he called *Tormentoſo*, becauſe he there met with ſtorms; but the king, in hopes of diſcovering the *Eaſt-Indies*, changed its name to that of *Cabo de Buena Eſperanza*, or cape of *Good Hope*: this done he returned home, having diſcovered more than any man before him. The ſtrange conceit which poſſeſſed the heads of the ſailors, that there was no poſſibility of paſſing beyond *Cabo Tormentoſo*, as they called it, and the great imployment the kings of *Portugal* found in their great diſcoveries upon the coaſt of *Africk*, very much retarded the proſecution of further deſigns, ſo that nothing was advanced till

An. 1497. King *Emanuel*, who with the crown of *Portugal* had inherited the ambition of inlarging his dominions, and the deſire of finding a way by ſea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, appointed *Vaſco de Gama* a gentleman of an undaunted ſpirit admiral of thoſe ſhips he deſigned for this expedition, which were only three, and a tender; their names were the S. *Gabriel*, the S. *Raphael* and *Berrio*; the captains *Vaſco de Gama* admiral, *Paul de Gama* his brother, and *Nicholas Nunez*, and *Gonzalo Nunez* of the tender, which was laden with proviſions. *Gama* ſailed from *Liſbon* on the eighth of *July*, and the firſt land he came to after almoſt five months ſail was the bay of S. *Helena*, where he took ſome *Blacks*. The twentieth of *November* he ſailed thence, and doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and on the twenty

fifth touched at the bay of S. *Blas*, ſixty leagues beyond the aforeſaid cape, where he exchanged ſome merchandize with the natives. Here he took all the proviſions of the tender, and burnt it. On *Chriſtmas*-day they ſaw the land, which for that reaſon they called *Terra do Natol*, that is, *Chriſtmas*-land; then the river they named *De los Reyes*, that is of the kings, becauſe diſcovered on the feaſt of the *Epiphany*; and after that cape *Corrientes*, paſſing fifty leagues beyond *Zofala* without ſeeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with ſails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not ſo black as thoſe they had ſeen before, and underſtood the *Arabick* character, who ſaid that to the eaſtward lived people who ſailed in veſſels like thoſe of the *Portugueſes*. This river *Gama* called *De Bons Sinays*, or of good tokens, becauſe it put him in hopes of finding what he came in ſearch of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the iſlands of S. *George* oppoſite to *Mozambique*, and removing thence anchored again above the town of *Mozambique* in 14 degrees and a half of ſouth-latitude; whence after a ſhort ſtay, with the aſſiſtance of a *Mooriſh* pilot, he touched at *Quiloa* and *Monbaza*; and having at *Melinde* ſettled a peace with the *Mooriſh* king of that place, and taken in a *Guzarat* pilot, he ſet ſail for *India*, and croſſing that great gulph of ſeven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below *Calicut* on the twentieth of *May*. To this place had *Gama* diſcovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a ſtraight line from the river *Del Infante*, diſcovered by *Bartholomew Diaz*, to the port of *Calicut*, for in ſailing about by the coaſt it is much more. Returning home not far from the coaſt, he fell in with the iſlands of *Anchediva*, ſignifying in the *Indian* language five iſlands, becauſe they are ſo many; and having had ſight of *Goa* at a diſtance, ſailed over again to the coaſt of *Africk*, and anchored near the town of *Magadoxa*. At *Melinde* he was friendly received by the king, but being again under ſail, the ſhip S. *Raphael* ſtruck aſhore and was loſt, giving her name to thoſe ſands: all the men were ſaved aboard the other two ſhips, which parted in a ſtorm near *Cabo Verde*. *Nicholas Coello* arrived firſt at *Liſbon*, and ſoon after him *Vaſco de Gama*, having ſpent in this voyage two years and almoſt two months. Of a hundred and ſixty men he carried out, only fifty five returned home, who were all well rewarded.

An. 1500. King *Emanuel*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of *Vaſco de Gama*, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſail under the command of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in *India*. He failed on the eighth of *March*, and meeting with violent ſtorms was caſt off from the coaſt of *Africk* ſo far, that on *Eaſter* eve the fleet came into a port, which for the ſafety found in it was called *Seguro*, and the country at that time *Santa Cruz*, being the ſame now known by the name of *Brazil*, on the ſouth-continent of *America*. Hence the admiral ſent back a ſhip to advertiſe the king of the accidental new diſcovery, leaving two *Portugueſes* aſhore to enquire into the cuſtoms and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of *May* for the cape of *Good Hope*, the fleet was for twenty days in a moſt dreadful ſtorm, inſomuch, that the ſea ſwallowed up four ſhips, and the admiral arrived with only ſix at *Zofala* on the ſixteenth of *July*, and on the twentieth at *Mozambique*; where having refitted, he proſecuted his voyage to *Quiloa*, and thence to *Melinde*, whence the fleet ſtood over for *India*, and reached *Anchediva* on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*: then coming to *Calicut*, peace and commerce was there agreed on with *Zamori*, the king of *Calicut*, but as ſoon broken, and the *Portugueſes* entered into ſtrict amity with the kings of *Cochin* and *Cananor*, where they took in their lading and returned to *Portugal*.

An. 1501. *John de Nova* departed from *Liſbon* with four ſhips and four hundred men, and in his way diſcovered the iſland of *Conception*, in 8 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and on the eaſt-ſide of *Africk* that which from him was called the iſland of *John de Nova*. At *Cananor* and *Cochin* he took in all his lading, deſtroying many veſſels of *Calicut*, and in his return home found the iſland of St. *Helena* in 15 degrees of ſouth-latitude, diſtant fifteen hundred forty nine leagues from *Goa*, and eleven hundred from *Liſbon*, being then unpeopled, but ſince of great advantage to all that uſe the trade of *India*.

An. 1502. The king ſet out a fleet of twenty ſail commanded by the firſt diſcoverer of *India*, *Vaſco de Gama*, whoſe ſecond voyage this was. No new diſcoveries were made by him, but only trade ſecured at *Cochin* and *Cananor*, ſeveral ſhips of *Calicut* taken and deſtroyed, the king of *Quiloa* on the coaſt of *Africk* brought to ſubmit himſelf to *Portugal*, paying tribute; and ſo *Vaſco de Gama* returned home with nine ſhips richly laden, leaving *Vincent Sodre* behind with five ſhips to ſcour the coaſts of *India*, and ſecure the factories there.

An. 1503. Nine ſhips were ſent under three ſeveral commanders; *Alfonſo de Albuquerque*, *Francis de Albuquerque*, and *Antony*

tony de Saldanha, each of them having three ſhips. The *Albuquerques*, with permiſſion of that king, built a port at *Cochin*, burnt ſome towns, took many ſhips of *Calicut*, and then returned richly laden homewards, where *Alonſo* arrived ſafe with his ſhips, but *Francis* and his were never more heard of. *Saldanha* the third of theſe commanders, gave his name to a bay ſhort of the cape of *Good Hope*, where he endeavoured to water; but it coſt the blood of ſome of his men, and therefore the place was called *Aguada de Saldanha*, or *Saldanha*'s watering-place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of *Monbaza* on the other coaſt of *Africk* to accept of peace; and then went away to cruize upon the *Moors* at the mouth of the Red-ſea, which was the poſt appointed him.

An. 1504. Finding no good was to be done in *India* without a conſiderable force, king *Emanuel* fitted out thirteen ſhips, the biggeſt that had been yet built in *Portugal*, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of *Lope Soarez*, who made no further diſcoveries, only concluded a peace with *Zamori*, and returned rich home.

An. 1505. *D. Franciſco de Almeyda* was ſent to *India*, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty two ſhips, and in them fifteen hundred men, with whom he attacked and took the town of *Quiloa* on the eaſt coaſt of *Africk*, and in about 9 degrees of ſouth-latitude, where he built a fort; then burnt *Monbaza* on the ſame coaſt in four degrees, and ſailing over to *India* erected another fort in the iſland *Anchediva*, and a third at *Cananor* on the *Malabar* coaſt.

An. 1506. *James Fernandez Pereyra* commander of one of the ſhips left to cruize upon the mouth of the Red-ſea, returned to *Liſbon* with the news of his having diſcovered the iſland *Zocotora*, not far diſtant from the ſaid mouth, and famous for producing the beſt aloes, from it called *ſuccotrina*. In *March* this year ſailed from *Liſbon Alonſo de Albuquerque*, and *Triſtan da Cunha*, with thirteen ſhips, and thirteen hundred men, the former to command the trading ſhips, the latter to cruize on the coaſt of *Arabia*: in their paſſage they had a ſight of cape S. *Auguſtin* in *Braſil*; and ſtanding over from thence for the cape of *Good Hope*, *Triſtan da Cunha* ran far away to the ſouth, and diſcovered the iſlands which ſtill retain his name. Sailing hence, ſome diſcovery was made upon the iſland of *Madagaſcar*, that of *Zocotora* ſubdued, and the fleet ſailed part for the coaſt of *Arabia*, and part for *India*. In the former *Albuquerque* took and plundered the town of *Calayate*, the ſame he did to *Maſcate*, *Soar* ſubmitted, and *Orfuzam* they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, *Albuquerque* ſailed away to *Ormuz*, then firſt ſeen by *Europeans*. This city is ſeated in an iſland called *Gerum*, at the mouth of the *Perſian* gulph, ſo barren that it produces nothing but ſalt and ſulphur, but it is one of the greateſt marts in thoſe countries. Hence *Albuquerque* ſailed to *India*, where he ſerved ſome time under the command of the viceroy *Almeyda*, till he was himſelf made governor of the *Portugueſe* conqueſts in thoſe parts, which was in the year 1510, during which time the whole buſineſs was to ſettle trade, build forts, and erect factories along thoſe coaſts already known, that is, all the eaſt-ſide of *Africk*, the ſhores of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara* and *Malabar*; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years. But avarice and ambition know no bounds; the *Portugueſes* had not yet paſſed cape *Comori*, the utmoſt extent of the *Malabar* coaſt, and therefore

An. 1510. *James Lopez de Sequeira* was ſent from *Liſbon* with orders to paſs as far as *Malaca*: This is a city ſeated on that *peninſula*, formerly called *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, running out into the *Indian* ſea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the ſouth ſeparated from the iſland of *Sumatra* by a ſmall ſtrait or channel: *Malaca* was at that time the greateſt *emporium* of all the farther *India*. Thither *Sequeira* was ſent to ſettle trade, or rather to diſcover what advantages might be gained; but the *Moors* who watched to deſtroy him, having failed of their deſign to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men aſhore on pretence of loading ſpice, and then falling on them and the ſhips at the ſame time killed eight *Portugueſes*, took ſixty, and the ſhips with difficulty got away. However here we have *Malaca* diſcovered, and a way open to all the further parts of *India*. In his way to *Malaça*, *Sequeira* made peace with the kings of *Achem*, *Pedir* and *Pacem*, all at that time ſmall princes at the northweſt end of the iſland *Sumatra*. Whilſt *Sequeira* was thus employed, *Albuquerque* aſſaults the famous city of *Goa*, ſeated in a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of *Decan*, and taking the inhabitants unprovided made himſelf maſter of it, but enjoyed it not long; for *Hidalcan* the former owner returning with ſixty thouſand men, drove him out of it after a ſiege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever ſince continued in the hands of the *Portugueſes*, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the eaſt, being made an archbiſhop's

archbiſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conqueſts in thoſe parts. *Albuquerque* flushed with this ſucceſs, as ſoon as he had ſettled all ſafe at *Goa*, ſailed for *Malaca* with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen ſhips. By the way he took five ſhips, and at his arrival on the coaſt of *Sumatra* was complimented by the kings of *Pedir* and *Pacem*. It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the ſhips taken at this time was found *Nehoada Beeguea*, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery againſt *Sequeira*; and though he had received ſeveral mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as ſoon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm, the blood guſhed out at all parts. The *Indians* ſaid this was the bone of a beaſt called *Cabis*, which ſome will have to be found in *Siam*, and others in the iſland of *Java*, which has this ſtrange virtue, but none has ever been found ſince. This being looked upon as a great treaſure, was ſent by *Albuquerque* to the king of *Portugal*, but the ſhip it went in was caſt away, ſo that we have loſt that rarity, if it be true there ever was any ſuch. *Albuquerque* ſailing over to *Malaca* had the *Portugueſes* that had been taken from *Sequeira* delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the ſecond aſſault made himſelf maſter of the city, killing or driving out all the *Moors*, and peopling it again with ſtrangers and *Malays*.

An. 1513. *Albuquerque* made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, but failed, being repulſed with loſs. This place is ſeated on the coaſt of *Arabia Fœlix*, near the mouth of the Red-ſea, under the mountain *Arzira*, which is all a barren rock: It is rich, becauſe reſorted to by many merchants of ſeveral nations; but the ſoil exceſſive dry, ſo that it ſcarce produces any thing. Being diſappointed here, *Albuquerque* ſteered his courſe towards the Red-ſea, being the firſt *European* that ever entered it with *European* ſhips.

An. 1517. *Lope Soarez de Albergoria* governor of *India* ſailed over to the iſland of *Ceylon* with ſeven galleys, two ſhips, and eight ſmaller veſſels, carrying in them all ſeven hundred *Portugueſe* ſoldiers. This iſland had been before ſeen by the *Portugueſes* paſſing to *Malaca*, but not much known. Here *Lope Soarez* built a fort, and in proceſs of time the *Portugueſes* made themſelves maſters of all the ſea-coaſts of this wealthy iſland.

About the ſame time *John de Silveyra*, who had the command of four ſail, made a farther progreſs than had been done before in the diſcovery of the *Maldivy* iſlands, which are ſo many that the number of them is not yet known, lying in cluſters, and theſe in a line N. W. and S. E. and twelve of theſe cluſters in the line, beſides two other little parcels lying together eaſt and weſt from one another at the ſouth-end of the aforeſaid twelve. Theſe, though ſo numerous, are ſo very ſmall, that no great account is made of them. From them he ſailed to the kingdom of *Bengala*, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the ſame name in about 23 degrees of north-latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river *Ganges*. To this joins the kingdom of *Arracam* deſcending ſouthward, then that of *Pegu*, and next to it that of *Siam*, which joins to the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or *peninſula* of *Malaca*. All theſe countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of ſilk and cotton, of which laſt they make the fineſt callicoes and muſlins, with much reaſon admired by all the nations of *Europe*. They have numerous droves of elephants, and conſequently great plenty of ivory, beſides plenty of black cattel and buffaloes.

An. 1517. *Fernan Perez de Andrade*, ſent by the king of *Portugal* to make new diſcoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and paſſing the ſtrait betwixt *Malaca* and the iſland *Sumatra*, came upon the coaſt of the kingdom of *Camboia*, whence he proceeded to that of *Chiampa*, where taking of freſh water had like to have coſt him his life. He went on to *Patane*, and eſtabliſhed peace and commerce with the governor there: which done, the ſeaſon being unfit to proceed further, he returned to *Malaca* to refit. As ſoon as the weather was ſeaſonable he ſet out again, and continued his diſcoveries till he arrived at *Canton*, or *Quantung*, the moſt remarkable ſea-port town on the ſouthern coaſt of the vaſt empire of *China*. He treated with the governor of *Canton*, and ſent an embaſſador to the emperor of *China*, and ſettled trade and commerce in that city for the preſent. Though this was not laſting, (for the very next *Portugueſes* that arrived, behaved themſelves ſo inſolently, that the fleet of *China* attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their embaſſador being ſent back from *Peking* by the emperor to *Canton* unheard, was there put to death) nevertheleſs ſome years after the *Portugueſes* obtained leave to ſettle in a little iſland oppoſite to the port of *Canton*, where they built the city *Macao*, which they hold to this day, though ſubject to the emperor of *China*.

An. 1520. *James Lopez de Sequeira*, then governor of *India*, ſailed for the Red-ſea with a fleet of twenty four ſhips, and in it eighteen hundred *Portugueſes*, and as many

Malabars

Malabars and *Canarins*. Coming to the iſland *Mazua* in the Red-ſea, he found it forſaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to *Arquico*, a port belonging to *Preſter John*, or the emperor of *Ethiopia*, which was now firſt diſcovered by ſea. At this time it was a vaſt monarchy, and extended along the ſhores of the Red-ſea above a hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the leaſt of its ſides; but ſince then all the ſea-coaſt has been taken from them by the *Turks*. Here the *Portugueſes* in following years made ſome progreſs into the country, five hundred of them being ſent under the command of *D. Chriſtopher de Gama* to aſſiſt the emperor againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and his enemies the *Turks*. The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the jeſuits, who for ſeveral years after continued there.

An. 1521. *Antony de Brito* was ſent to the *Molucco* iſlands from *Malaca*. Theſe had been before diſcovered by *Antony de Abreu*. The *Molucco* iſlands are five in number, their names, *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Mouſel*, *Machien*, *Bacham*. Theſe iſlands were afterwards long ſtruggled for by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, till at laſt the *Dutch* prevailed, and continue in poſſeſſion of that trade till this day. A few years now paſt without any conſiderable diſcoveries by ſea, though ſtill they found ſeveral little iſlands, and advanced far by land, too long for this diſcourſe, deſigned only to ſhew the progreſs of navigation. Let us then proceed to the next conſiderable voyage, which was

An. 1540. Which furniſhes as remarkable a piece of ſea-ſervice as any we ſhall read undertaken by a private man. *Peter de Faria* governor of *Malaca* ſent his kinſman *Antony de Faria y Souſa*, to ſecure a peace with the king of *Patane*. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thouſand ducats; and finding no ſale for them there, ſent them to *Lugor* in the kingdom of *Siam*, by one *Chriſtopher Borallo*, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was ſurpriſed by a *Moor* of *Guzarat* called *Coje Hazem*, a ſworn enemy to the *Portugueſes*. *Borallo* having loſt his ſhip ſwam himſelf aſhore, and carried the news of what had happened to *Faria* at *Patane*, who vowed never to deſiſt till he had deſtroyed that *Moor*, and in order to it fitted out a ſmall veſſel with fifty men, in which he ſailed from *Patane* towards the kingdom of *Champa*, to ſeek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the iſland of *Pulo Condor*, whence he ſailed into the port of *Bralapiſam* in the kingdom of *Camboia*, and ſo coaſted along to the river *Pulo Cambier*, which divides the kingdoms of *Camboia* and *Tſiompa*. Coaſting ſtill along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river *Tcobaſoy*, where he took two ſhips belonging to the pirate *Similau*, and burnt ſome others. The booty was very rich, beſides the addition of ſtrength, the ſhips being of conſiderable force. Thus increaſed, he goes on to the river *Tinacoreu*, or *Varela*, where the *Siam* and *Malaca* ſhips trading to *China*, barter their goods for gold, *Calamba* wood and ivory. Hence he directed his courſe to the iſland *Aynan* on the coaſt of *China*, and paſſed in ſight of *Champiloo* in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of *Cochinchina*; then diſcovered the promontory *Pulocampas*, weſtward whereof is a river, near which ſpying a large veſſel at anchor, and imagining it might be *Coje Hezem*, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to *Quiay Tayjam* a pirate. In this veſſel were found ſeventy thouſand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, beſides other ſpice, ivory, tin, wax and powder, the whole valued at ſixty thouſand crowns, beſides ſeveral good pieces of cannon, and ſome plate. Then coaſting along the iſland *Aynan*, he came to the river *Tananquir*, where two great veſſels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt the one for want of men to ſail her. Further on at *C. Tilaure* he ſurprized four ſmall veſſels, and then made to *Mutipinam*, where he ſold his prizes for the value of two hundred thouſand crowns of uncoined ſilver. Thence he ſailed to the port of *Madel* in the iſland *Aynan*, where meeting *Himilan* a bold pirate, who exerciſed great cruelties towards Chriſtians, he took and practiſed the ſame on him. This done, he run along that coaſt, diſcovering many large towns and a fruitful country. And now the men weary of ſeeking *Coje Hazem* in vain, demanded their ſhare of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they ſhaped their courſe for the kingdom of *Siam*, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious ſtorm they were caſt away on the iſland called *de los Ladrones*, which lies ſouth of *China*, where of five hundred men only eighty ſix got aſhore naked, whereof twenty eight were *Portugueſes*: Here they continued fifteen days with ſcarce any thing to eat, the iſland not being inhabited. Being in deſpair of relief, they diſcovered a ſmall veſſel which made to the ſhore, and anchoring, ſent thirty men for wood and water. Theſe were *Chineſes*, whom the *Portugueſes*, upon a ſign given as had been agreed, ſurprized, running on a ſudden and poſſeſſing themſelves of their boat and veſſel;

and leaving them aſhore, directed their courſe towards *Liampo*, a ſea-port town in the province of *Chequiang* in *China*, joining by the way a *Chineſe* pirate, who was a great friend to the *Portugueſes*, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river *Anay* they refitted and came to *Chincheo*, where *Faria* hired thirty five *Portugueſes* he found, and putting to ſea met with eight more naked in a fiſher-boat, who had their ſhip taken from them by the pirate *Coje Hazem*; which news of him rejoiced *Faria*, and he provided to fight him, having now four veſſels with five hundred men, whereof ninety five were *Portugueſes*. He found his enemy in the river *Tinlau*, where he killed him and four hundred of his men, and took all his ſhips but one that ſunk, with abundance of wealth: But it proſpered very little, for the next night *Faria*'s ſhip and another were caſt away, and moſt of the goods aboard the others thrown overboard, and one hundred and eleven men loſt; *Faria* eſcaped, and taking another rich ſhip of pirates by the way, came at laſt to winter at *Liampo*, as was ſaid before, a ſea-port town in the province of *Chequiang* in *China*, but built by the *Portugueſes*, who governed there. Having ſpent five months here, he directed his courſe for the iſland *Calempluy* on the coaſt of *China*, where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of *China*, which he deſigned to rob, being reported to be full of treaſure. After many days ſail through ſeas never before known to the *Portugueſes*, he came into the bay of *Nanking*, but durſt not make any ſtay there, perceiving about three thouſand ſail lie at anchor about it. Here the *Chineſes* he had with him being ill uſed fled, but ſome natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the iſland *Calempluy*: He arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his deſign, and he was obliged to put to ſea again, where having wandred a month, he periſhed in a ſtorm, both his ſhips being caſt away, and only fourteen men ſaved. Thus ended this voyage, famous for ſeveral particulars, and eſpecially for having diſcovered more of the north of *China* than was known before, though the deſign of the undertaker was only piracy. The city *Liampo* before mentioned was ſoon after utterly deſtroyed by the governor of the province of *Chequiang*, for the robberies and inſolences committed in the country by the *Portugueſes*.

An. 1542. *Antony de Mota*, *Francis Zeimoto*, and *Antony Peixoto* ſailing for *China*, were by ſtorms drove upon the iſlands of *Nipongi*, or *Nifon*, by the *Chineſes* called *Gipon*, and by us *Japan*. Here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the firſt diſcoverers of theſe iſlands. Their ſituation is eaſt of *China*, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north-latitude: There are many of them, but the principal is *Nipongi*, or *Japan*, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of *Meaco*. The chief iſlands about it are *Cikoko*, *Tokoeſi*, *Sando*, *Siſime*, *Bacaſa*, *Vuoqui*, *Saycock* or *Ximo*, *Goto*, *Ceuxima*, *Tanaxuma*, *Toy*, *Giſima*, *Jaſima*, *Tanaxuma* and *Firando*. Hitherto we have mentioned none but the *Portugueſes*, they being the only diſcoverers of all thoſe parts, and all other nations have followed their track, yet not till ſome years after this time, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. I do not here mention the diſcovery of the *Philippine* iſlands, though properly belonging to the eaſt, as not very remote from *China*, becauſe they were diſcovered and conquered the other way, that is from *America*; and therefore we ſhall ſpeak of them in their place among the weſtern diſcoveries. What has been hitherto ſaid concerning theſe *Portugueſe* voyages is collected out of *John de Barros*'s decads of *India*, *Oſorius*'s hiſtory of *India*, *Alvarez* of *Abaſſia*, and *Faria*'s *Portugueſe Aſia*. Having ſeen what has been done by theſe diſcoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the voyages of thoſe who followed their footſteps.

An. 1551. We meet with the firſt *Engliſh* voyage on the coaſt of *Africk*, performed by Mr. *Thomas Windham*, but no particulars of it.

An. 1552. The ſame *Windham* returned with three ſail, and traded at the ports of *Zaſim* and *Santa Cruz*; the commodities he brought from thence being ſugar, dates, almonds and moloſſes.

An. 1553. This *Windham*, with *Anthony Anes Pinteado*, a *Portugueſe* and promoter of this voyage, ſailed with three ſhips from *Portſmouth*: They traded for gold along the coaſt of *Guinea*, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of *Benin*, where they were promiſed loading of pepper: but both the commanders and moſt of the men dying through the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather, the reſt, being ſcarce forty, returned to *Plymouth* with but one ſhip and little wealth.

An. 1554. Mr. *John Lock* undertook a voyage for *Guinea* with three ſhips, and trading along that coaſt brought away a conſiderable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. *William Towerſon* and others performed ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of *Guinea*, which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the ſame parts, there is no occaſion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account

of a further progreſs made along this coaſt by the *Engliſh*, till we come to their voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and thoſe begun but late; for the firſt *Engliſhman* we find in thoſe parts was one *Thomas Stevens*, who

An. 1579. wrote an account of his voyage thither to his father in *London*; but he having ſailed aboard a *Portugueſe* ſhip, this voyage makes nothing to the *Engliſh* nation, whoſe firſt undertaking to *India* in ſhips of their own was,

An. 1591. Three ſtately ſhips called the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, were fitted out at *Plymouth*, and ſailed thence under the command of Mr. *George Raymond:* they departed on the tenth of *April*, and on the firſt of *Auguſt* came to an anchor in the bay called *Aguada de Saldanha*, fifteen leagues north of the cape of *Good-Hope*. Here they continued ſeveral days, and traded with the *Blacks* for cattle, when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to ſend back Mr. *Abraham Kendal* in the *Royal Merchant* with fifty men, there being too few to manage the three ſhips if they proceeded on their voyage: *Kendal* accordingly returned, and *Raymond* and *Lancaſter* in the *Penelope* and *Edward Bonaventure* proceeded, and doubled the cape of *Good Hope*; but coming to cape *Corrientes* on the fourteenth of *September*, a violent ſtorm parted them, and they never met again; for *Raymond* was never heard of, but *Lancaſter* held on his voyage. Paſſing by *Mozambique* he came to the iſland *Comera*, where after much ſhew of friendſhip, the *Mooriſh* inhabitants killed thirty two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoiſt ſail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape *Comori*, oppoſite to the iſland of *Ceylon* in *India*, in the month of *May* 1592. Thence in ſix days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the iſland of *Gomes Polo*, which lies near the northermoſt point of the iſland *Sumatra*; and the winter-ſeaſon coming on, ſtood over to the iſland of *Pulo Pinao*, lying near the coaſt of *Malaca*, and betwixt it and the iſland *Sumatra*, in 7 degrees north latitude, where he continued till the end of *Auguſt* refreſhing his men the beſt the place would allow, which afforded little but fiſh, yet twenty ſix of them died there. Then the captain running along the coaſt of *Malaca*, and adjacent iſlands, more like a pirate than merchant or diſcoverer, took ſome prizes, and ſo thought to have returned home: but his proviſions being ſpent when they came to croſs the equinoctial, where he was ſtaid by calms and contrary winds ſix weeks, he ran away to the *Weſt-Indies* to get ſome ſupply, where after touching at ſeveral places, the captain and eighteen men went aſhore in the little iſland *Mona*, lying betwixt thoſe of *Portorico* and *Hiſpaniola*, but five men and a boy left in the ſhip cut the cable and ſailed away. *Lancaſter* and eleven of his men ſome days after ſpying a ſail, made a fire; upon which ſignal the *Frenchman*, for ſuch a one it proved to be, took in his topſails, and drawing near the iſland received them aborad, treating them with extraordinary civility, and ſo brought them to *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whence they paſſed over to *Rye* in *Suſſex*, and landed there in *May* 1594, having ſpent three years, ſix weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto *Hackluit*, vol. II.

An. 1595. The *Dutch* reſolving to try their fortune in the *Eaſt-Indies*, fitted out four ſhips at *Amſterdam* under the command of *Cornelius Houtman*, which ſailed on the ſecond of *April*, and on the fourth of *Auguſt* anchored in the bay of *S. Blaſe*, about forty five leagues beyond the cape of *Good Hope*, where they continued ſome days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. *Auguſt* the eleventh they departed that place, and coaſting along part of the iſland *Madagaſcar*, came at laſt into the bay of S. *Auguſtin*, where they exchanged pewter ſpoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more proviſions were to be had: and therefore on the tenth of *December* they weighed, directing their courſe for *Java*, but meeting with bad weather and ſtrong currents were kept back till the tenth of *January*, when they were forced for want of refreſhments to put into the iſland of S. *Mary*, lying on the eaſtern coaſt of *Madagaſcar* in 17 degrees of ſouth-latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of *Antongil*, and continued there till the twelfth of *February*: then putting to ſea again, they arrived on the coaſt of the great iſland *Sumatra* on the eleventh of *June*, and ſpending ſome days along that coaſt, came at laſt to *Bantam* in the iſland of *Java*. They lay here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of *Java*, till falling at variance many hoſtilities paſſed betwixt them; and in *November* the *Dutch* removed from before *Bantam* to *Jacatra*, which is no great diſtance. In *January* finding themſelves much weakened by loſs of men, and the *Amſterdam* one of the biggeſt ſhips leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of ſailing for the *Molucco* iſlands, they ran along as far as the ſtrait of *Balambuon* at the eaſt-end of *Java*; but the ſeamen refuſing to paſs any further, they made through the ſtrait, and on the twenty ſeventh of *February* ſailed along the

coaſt

coaſt of *Java* towards the cape of *Good Hope*; and three of their four ſhips, beſides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty nine ſeamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty nine, returned to *Holland* in *Auguſt* following, having been abroad twenty nine months. This and the voyage ſoon after following in 1598. may ſeem to be miſtaken, becauſe it is ſaid in both, that the commander in chief was *Cornelius Hootman*; but it muſt be obſerved, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumſtances, and this is certainly the firſt voyage the *Dutch* made to *India*, whereas in the other there is mention of thoſe people having been there before. This is to be ſeen at large in the collection of voyages undertaken by the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, printed this preſent year 1703.

An. 1596. Sir *Robert Dudley*, as principal adventurer, ſet out three ſhips under the command of *Benjamin Wood*, deſigning to trade in *China*; for which purpoſe he carried letters from queen *Elizabeth* to the emperor of *China:* but theſe ſhips and the men all periſhed, ſo we have no account of their voyage. *Purchas*, vol. I. p. 110.

An. 1598. Three merchants of *Middleburgh* fitted out two ſhips under the command of *Cornelius Howteman* for the *Eaſt-Indies*, which ſailed on the fifteenth of *March*. In *November* they put into the bay of *Saldanha* on the coaſt of *Africk*, in 34 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*. Here pretending to trade with the natives, they offered them ſome violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down in great numbers, and ſurprizing the *Dutch* ſlew thirteen of them, and drove the reſt to their ſhip. *January* the third they again anchored in the bay of S. *Auguſtin* in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland *Madagaſcar*, and 23 degrees of ſouth-latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of proviſions, they ſailed to the iſland *Magotta*, or S. *Chriſtopher*, on the north of *Madagaſcar*, and having got ſome relief went on to *Anſwame*, or *Angovan*, another ſmall iſland, where they took in more proviſions. Then proceeding on their voyage, they paſſed by the *Maldivy* iſlands, thence by *Cochin*, and in *June* arrived in *Sumatra* at the port of *Achen*, where after being kindly received by the king, he ſent many men aboard on pretence of friendſhip, but with a deſign to ſurprize the ſhips, which they had near accompliſhed, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet ſo that the *Dutch* loſt ſixty eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty tun each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreſhed at *Pulo Batun* off *Queda*, which is on the coaſt of *Malaca*; and having ſpent much time about thoſe parts, in *November* anchored at the iſlands of *Nicobar* in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had ſome refreſhment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards *Ceylon*, they took a ſhip of *Negapatan* and plundered it. Then directing their courſe home in *March* 1600, they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and in *July* return'd to *Middleburg*. *Purchas*, vol. I. p. 116.

This ſame year 1598. the *Holland Eaſt-India* company ſet out ſix great ſhips and two yatchs for *India* under the command of *Cornelius Hemſkirke*, which ſailed out of the *Texel* on the firſt of *May*, and coming together to the cape of *Good Hope* in *Auguſt*, were there ſeparated by a terrible ſtorm: four of them and a yatch put into the iſland *Maurice* eaſt of *Madagaſcar*; the other two ſhips and yatch put into the iſland of S. *Mary* on the eaſt alſo of *Madagaſcar*, where they made no ſtay, but ſailing thence arrived on the twenty ſixth of *November* 1598. before *Bantam*; and a month after them came the other five ſhips and yatch from the iſland *Maurice*. The firſt comers having got their lading, departed from before *Bantam* on the eleventh of *January* 1599, and arrived happily in the *Texel* on the ninth of *June* 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs and cinnamon, having ſpent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ſhips and yatch left in *India* under the command of *Wybrant*, ſailed from *Bantam* along the north-ſide of *Javan* to the eaſt-end of it, where the town of *Aroſoya* is ſeated. Here the natives, in revenge for ſome of their people killed by the *Dutch* in their firſt voyage, ſeized ſeventeen of them that were ſent aſhore for proviſions; and fifty more being ſent to their relief in ſloops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned or taken. The priſoners were ranſomed for two thouſand pieces of eight, and then the ſhips put to ſea, and on the third of *March* 1599. came into the ſtrait of *Amboina*, where they anchored before a ſmall town in that iſland, called *Itan*. This is near the *Molucco's*, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ſhips here, the other two were ſent to *Banda*, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs and mace, and returned home in *April* 1600. The other two ſhips left behind at *Amboina* having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, ſailed away to get what they wanted at the *Molucco's*, and anchored at *Ternate*, where having got the reſt of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of *Auguſt* 1599, and came to *Jacatra* in the iſland *Java* on the thirteenth of *November*, being then reduced

duced to extremity for want of proviſions: whence after a few days ſtay they proceeded to *Bantam*, and thence on the twenty firſt of *January* for *Holland*, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in ſafety, having loſt many men through ſickneſs and want of proviſions *. Every year after the *Dutch* failed not to ſet out new fleets, being allured by the vaſt returns they made; yet there was nothing in theſe voyages but trade, and ſome encounters with the *Spaniards*, and therefore it will be needleſs to mention them all in particular, till in the year 1606, the *Dutch* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tidore*, one of the *Molucco* iſlands, and *Amboina*, expelling the *Portugueſes* firſt, and afterwards the *Engliſh*. In 1608 the *Dutch* admiral *Matelief* laid ſiege to *Malaca*, but without ſucceſs. Soon after they grew formidable at *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, on the iſland *Java*, where they continue to this day, that being the chief ſeat of all their dominions in the eaſt. Not ſo ſatisfied, they at length made themſelves maſters of *Malaca*, and expelled the *Portugueſes* the iſland of *Ceylon*, by which means they are poſſeſſed of the moſt conſiderable trade of the eaſt, all the cinnamon, nutmegs and cloves being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all, for they have conquered the iſland *Formoſa* on the coaſt of *China*, whence they trade to *Japan*, with the excluſion of all chriſtian nations from that iſland. And here we will leave the *Dutch*, to give ſome further relation of the *Engliſh* proceedings, and ſo conclude with the *Eaſt-Indies*.

* *Collect.* *of* Dutch Eaſt-India *voyages.*

An. 1600. A company of merchant-adventurers was by patent from queen *Elizabeth* authorized to trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and accordingly in *January* $16\frac{0}{1}$ they fitted out four great ſhips and a victualler, all under the command of captain *James Lancaſter*, who ſailed out of the river of *Thames* on the thirteenth of *February*, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ſhips, yet got not beyond *Torbay* till the ſecond of *April*, and on the firſt of *November* doubled the cape of *Good Hope*. In *April* following they anchored at the iſlands of *Nicobar*, north-eaſt of the great iſland of *Sumatra*, and in *June* came before *Achem*, where they had a good reception, and ſettled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to ſea, and took a great *Portugueſe* ſhip richly laden, and returned to *Achem*, whence they ſailed to *Bantam* in the iſland of *Java*: Here they had alſo good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which conſiſted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of *February* they ſet ſail in order to return for *England*, but meeting with violent ſtorms were carried into 40 degrees of ſouth-latitude, where *Lancaſter* loſt his rudder, which was reſtored with much labour, and ſo they arrived at the iſland of St. *Helena* in *June*, and having refreſhed themſelves there put to ſea again, and returned ſafe to *England* in *Auguſt*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 147.

An. 1604. The aforeſaid company ſent four ſhips more to the *Eaſt-Indies* under the command of ſir *Henry Middleton*, who ſailed on the ſecond of *April*, and arrived at *Bantam* on the twenty third of *December*. Two of theſe ſhips loaded pepper at *Bantam*; ſir *Henry* with the others ſailed to the iſles of *Banda*, where he continued twenty one weeks, and then returned to *Bantam*, and arrived in the *Downs* on the ſixth of *May* 1606. The ſame year captain *John Davis* and ſir *Edward Michelburn* with one ſhip and a pinnace ſailed into the *Eaſt-Indies*, trading at *Bantam*, and taking ſome prizes, but performed nothing elſe remarkable. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 185.

An. 1607. The company fitted out their third voyage, being three ſhips under the command of *William Keeling*, but only two of them kept company; and ſetting out in *April*, arrived not at *Priaman* in the iſland *Sumatra* till *July* the following year; having ſpent all this time along the coaſts of *Africk*, and beating at ſea againſt contrary winds. Here they took in ſome pepper, and then ſailed to *Bantam*, where a *Siam* embaſſador invited them to ſettle commerce in his maſter's dominions; and ſo they proceeded to *Banda*, where they were hindred taking in their lading of ſpice by the *Dutch*, who had built a fort on that iſland. So being diſappointed they returned to *Bantam*, loaded pepper, and ſettled a factory there, which continued in proſperity till overthrown by the *Dutch*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 188.

The third ſhip mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but ſet out at the ſame time, after touching at the bay of *Saldanha* on the coaſt of *Africk*, and at *Bantam* in the iſland of *Java*, proceeded to the *Molucco* iſlands, where, with the permiſſion of the *Spaniards* then poſſeſſed of thoſe iſlands, they had a trade for ſome days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then ſailing towards the iſland *Celebes* at the iſland *Buttone*, or *Buton*, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to *Bantam*, and thence to *England*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 226.

An. 1608. The *Eaſt-India* company for its fourth voyage ſet out two ſhips, the *Union* and *Aſcenſion*, commanded by *Alexander Sharpey* and *Richard Rowles*, who

ſailed

ſailed on the fourteenth of *March*; and having ſpent above a year by the way, and loſt the *Union* in a ſtorm, the *Aſcenſion* came on the eighth of *April* 1609, to an anchor before the city *Aden* on the coaſt of *Arabia Fœlix*, whence they ſailed into the Red-ſea, being the firſt *Engliſh* ſhip that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of *June* anchored in the road of the city of *Mocha*; and having made a ſhort ſtay to refit, ſailed away for the coaſt of *Cambaya*, where refuſing to take in a pilot the ſhip was loſt on the ſhoals, but all the men ſaved in two boats, who got aſhore at the ſmall town of *Gandevel*, about forty miles from *Surat*, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the *Engliſh* factor there. The captain and moſt of the company went from thence to *Agra* the court of the *Mogul*, reſolving to take their journey through *Perſia* to return into *Europe*. But *Thomas Jones*, the author of this account, with three others, committed themſelves to a *Portugueſe* religious man, who promiſed to ſend them home, and accordingly carried them through *Damam* and *Chaul* to *Goa*, where in *January* they were ſhipped aboard the admiral of four *Portugueſe* ſhips homeward bound, and arrived at *Liſbon* in *Auguſt*, where imbarking in an *Engliſh* ſhip they came ſafe into *England* in *September* 1610. The reſt of the company that went with the captain diſperſed, and few of them came home.

The *Union*, mentioned before to be ſeparated from the *Aſcenſion* in a ſtorm, touched at the bay of St. *Auguſtin* in the iſland *Madagaſcar*, where the captain and five more going aſhore upon friendly invitation were killed by the natives, who thought to have ſurprized the ſhip with their boats, but were beaten off with great loſs. So ſailing hence, they directed their courſe to *Achem* on the iſland *Sumatra*, where and at *Priaman* they took in their lading of baſts and pepper, and directed their courſe to return home. But their voyage proved ſo unfortunate, that all the men died by the way, except three *Engliſh* and an *Indian*, who were ſcarce alive; and not being able to hand their ſails, the ſhip was carried upon the coaſt of *Britany* in *France*, where the *French* conveyed her into harbour, and moſt of the lading was ſaved for the company.

An. 1609. The *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company for its fifth voyage ſet out but one ſhip, commanded by *David Middleton*, who arriving at *Banda* was by the *Dutch* there hindered loading any ſpice, and therefore failed to *Puloway* a ſmall iſland not far diſtant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of ſpice, and returned home ſafe. *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 238.

An. 1610. Sir *Henry Middleton* ſailed with three ſhips under his command; and being informed by the natives of the iſland *Zocotora*, that he would be friendly received at *Mocha* in the Red-ſea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither, and after much deceitful kindneſs ſhewn him by the *Turks*, was himſelf with many of his men ſecured, and ſent up the country ſeveral miles to another baſſa. Some men were alſo killed by the Infidels, who attempted to ſurprize one of the ſhips, and were poſſeſſed of the upper decks, till the ſeamen blew up ſome, ſhot others, and drove the reſt into the ſea, ſo that only one of them that hid himſelf eſcaped and was afterwards received to mercy. After much ſollicitation ſir *Henry Middleton* and his men were ſent back to *Mocha*, where moſt of them make their eſcape aboard their ſhips. Many fruitleſs conteſts having afterwards paſſed with the baſſa's about the reſtitution of the goods taken; at laſt he ſailed to *Surat*, where he arrived in *September* 1611, and having notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the *Portugueſes* ſold ſome of his goods, and departing thence to *Dabul*, had ſome more trade in that place, yet not ſo much as to diſpoſe of all he had. Whereupon he reſolved to return to the Red-ſea, there to traffick with the ſhips of *India*, which uſually reſort to thoſe parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the *Indians* being under reſtraint, and in no condition to oppoſe whatever was offered them. Being thus furniſhed, he ſailed for *Sumatra*, where he got loading of ſpice, and ſent one ſhip home with her burden, his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done ſo ſoon. This ſhip arrived ſafe in *England*, but ſir *Henry Middleton* and his were caſt away in *India*. *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 247. Other ſhips ſailed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which ſtill ran much the ſame courſe with the former, and have nothing ſingular to relate. But,

An. 1611. In *April* ſailed captain *John Saris* with three ſhips, who having run the ſame courſe all the reſt had done ſeverally before, entring the Red-ſea, and touching at *Java*, he received a letter from one *Adams* an *Engliſhman*, who failed aboard ſome *Dutch* ſhips to *Japan*, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain *Saris* diſmiſſing his other two ſhips, directed his courſe for that iſland; and paſſing by thoſe of *Bouro*, *Xula*, *Bachian*, *Celebes*, *Silolo*, the *Molucco's*, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of *June* 1613, at the ſmall iſland and port of *Firando*, lying ſouthweſt

ſouthweſt of the ſouthweſt point of the great iſland of *Japan*. This and ſeveral other ſmall iſlands about it are ſubject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of *Japan* for their ſovereign. Theſe little princes ſhewed all imaginable kindneſs to the *Engliſh*, being the firſt that ever appeared in thoſe parts. Captain *Saris*, with the aſſiſtance of the king of *Firando*, was conducted to the emperor's court at *Meaco*, where he had audience of him, and ſettled peace and commerce in as authentick manner as if he had been ſent from *England* only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the *Engliſh* free liberty of trade, and ſeveral privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being ſettled there, captain *Saris* returned to *Firando* well pleaſed with his ſucceſs; and there the goods he brought being not yet all diſpoſed of, he erected a factory, leaving in it eight *Engliſh*, three *Japoneſes* for interpreters, and two ſervants. Theſe were to diſpoſe of the goods left behind, and provide loading for ſuch ſhips as were to continue the trade now begun. This done, he left *Firando* on the fifth of *December*, and ſtood for the coaſt of *China*, along which he kept to that of *Cochinchina* and *Camboya*, whence he ſtruck over to the ſouthward, and came into *Bantam* road, where he continued ſome time, and laſtly put into *Plymouth* in *September* 1614. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 334. Thus have we brought the *Engliſh* to *Japan*, the furtheſt extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and therefore think it needleſs to proſecute their voyages this way any longer, ſince they can afford nothing *new*; *nor indeed have theſe hitherto added any thing to what was diſcovered by the Portugueſes*, to whom all theſe countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the *Dutch* navigations this way ſomewhat has been ſaid, and it ſeems needleſs to add any thing concerning the *French*, who are not ſo conſiderable there as any of thoſe nations already mentioned, beſides that they came thither the lateſt, and therefore not as diſcoverers, but tracing the beaten road; ſo that all that can be ſaid of them will be only a repetition of things already ſpoken of. Having thus given an account of the firſt diſcoverers, and the ſucceſs of all the firſt voyages to *Africk* and *Aſia*, it now remains to ſhew what a vaſt extent of land is by theſe means made known, which before *Europe* was wholly a ſtranger to, and the commodities it ſupplies us with; which is one great point of this diſcourſe, *viz.* to ſhew what benefit is reaped by navigation, and the vaſt improvement it has received ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, or ſea-compaſs. Then having performed this with all poſſible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the diſcovery and other affairs of *America*, or the new world, which will lead us to the voyages round the globe, where this diſcourſe will end.

To begin then where the diſcoveries commenced, that is, at cape *Nam*, or *Nao*, which is on the coaſt of the kingdom of *Morocco*, and in the twenty eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to ſouth, from 18 degrees of north-latitude to 35 degrees of ſouth-latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree, to be one thouſand ſix hundred leagues, but very much more if we run along the coaſt, eſpecially upon that of *Guinea*, which lies eaſt and weſt for above 25 degrees, which at the ſame rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a coaſt, only reckoning to the cape of *Good Hope*, of above fifteen hundred leagues in length made known to us, and in it the further *Lybia*, the country of the *Blacks*, *Guinea*, the kingdoms of *Benin*, *Conga*, *Angola*, and the weſtern coaſt of the *Cafres*. Theſe are the general names by which theſe vaſt regions are known. The natives are for the moſt part black, or elſe inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold-duſt, ivory, and ſlaves; thoſe black people ſelling one another, which is a very conſiderable trade, and has been a great ſupport to all the *American* plantations. This is all that mighty continent affords for exportation, the greateſt part of it being ſcorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almoſt naked, no where induſtrious, and for the moſt part ſcarce civilized. In the ſouthermoſt parts among the wild *Cafres*, there is plenty of good cattle, which the firſt traders to *India* uſed to buy for knives and other toys at the bay of *Saldanha*, and other places thereabouts. The *Portugueſes* here have the largeſt dominions on this coaſt of any nation, which are in the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have ſome ſmall forts on the coaſt of *Guinea*, and the *Dutch* a large ſtrong town, with all manner of improvements about it, at the cape of *Good Hope*. From this cape of *Good Hope* to cape *Guardafu* at the entrance into the Red-ſea, the coaſt running north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a ſtrait line, containing the eaſtern *Cafres* and *Zanguebar*, which are the two great diviſions of this ſide; the latter of theſe ſubdivided into the kingdoms of *Mozambique*, *Pemba*, *Quiloa*, *Monbaca*, *Melinde*, *Magadoxa* and *Adel*. Of theſe

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the *Portugueſes* poſſeſt the town and fort of *Mozambique*, having loſt *Monbaca* within theſe few years, taken from them by the *Moors*. No other *European* nation has any dominions on this coaſt, which is all in the poſſeſſion of the natives or *Moors*. The commodities here are the ſame as on the weſt-ſide of *Africk*, gold, ivory and ſlaves. All this vaſt continent produces many ſorts of fruit and grain unknown to us, as alſo beaſts and fowl, which being no part of trade, are not mentioned here. Yet before we leave this coaſt we muſt not omit to mention the iſland *Zocotora*, famous for producing the beſt aloes, and ſituate not far diſtant from cape *Guardafu*. Next in courſe follows the Red-ſea, the mouth whereof is about a hundred and twenty leagues from cape *Guardafu*, and its length from the mouth to *Suez* at the bottom of it above four hundred leagues, lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt: on one ſide of it is the coaſt of *Aben* and *Egypt*, on the other that of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Arabia Felix*, all in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, and not at all reſorted to by any *European* nation, but ſomewhat known to them by the way of *Egypt*, before the diſcovery of *India*. From the mouth of the Red-ſea to the gulph of *Perſia* lies the coaſt of *Arabia*, extending about four hundred leagues north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt to cape *Roſalgate* at the entrance into the bay of *Ormuz*. This coaſt is partly ſubject to the *Turk*, and partly to *Arabian* princes; and its principal commodities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning cape *Roſalgate* to the north-weſt is the great bay of *Ormuz*, along which runs ſtill the coaſt of *Arabia*, where ſtands *Maſcate*, once poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſes*, now by the *Arabs*. Next we come into the gulph of *Bazora*, or of *Perſia*, almoſt two hundred leagues in length, and encloſed by *Arabia* on the one ſide, and *Perſia* on the other. At the mouth of this bay in a ſmall iſland is the famous city *Ormuz*, conquered and kept many years by the *Portugueſes*, but at laſt taken from them by the *Perſians*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. Within the bay of the *Arabian* ſide is the iſland *Baharem*, famous for a great fiſhery of pearls. From the mouth of the *Perſian* gulph to that of *Indus* are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the coaſt of *Perſia*, where no prince poſſeſſes any thing but that great monarch. The chiefeſt commodities here are raw ſilk, rhubarb, wormſeed, carpets of all ſorts, wrought and plain ſilks, ſilks wrought with gold or ſilver, half ſilks and half cottons. from the mouth of *Indus* to cape *Comori*, taking in the bend of the coaſt from *Indus* to *Cambaya*, lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, and from that bay to the cape almoſt north and ſouth, are near four hundred leagues, including the ſhores of *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara* and *Malabar*: of theſe *Guzarat* and *Cambaya*, with part of *Decan*, are ſubject to the great *Mogul*, the other parts to ſeveral *Indian* princes. Yet the *Portugueſes* have the port of *Diu* in *Guzarat*, *Damam* in *Cambaya*, and the great city of *Goa* in *Decan*, beſides other ports of leſſer conſequence: the *Engliſh* the iſland of *Bombaim*, and the *Dutch* ſome forts. Doubling cape *Comori*, and running in a ſtraight line north-eaſt, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of *Bengala*; and turning thence ſouth-eaſt, ſomewhat more than the ſame number of leagues to the ſouthermoſt point of the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or coaſt of *Malaca*: and in this ſpace the ſhores of *Coromandel*, *Biſnagar*, *Golconda*, *Orixa*, *Bengala*, *Arracan*, *Pegu*, *Martaban*, and the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, or *Peninſula* of *Malaca*. Hence we will make but one line more for brevity ſake up to *Japan* on the northern coaſt of *China*, which in a ſtrait line, without allowing any thing for the bays of *Siam* and *Cochinchina*, is at leaſt eight hundred leagues, and in it the eaſt-ſide of the *Peninſula* of *Malaca*, the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboia*, *Chiampa* and *Cochinchina*, and the vaſt empire of *China*. All theſe immenſe regions from *Perſia* eaſtward are vulgarly, though improperly, comprehended under the name of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The product of theſe countries is no leſs to be admired, being all ſorts of metals, all beaſts and birds, and the moſt delicious of fruits. But to ſpeak by way of trade, the commodities here are diamonds, ſilk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in callicoes and muſlins, all ſorts of ſweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the ſpices, which I leave to the iſlands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or uſeful: inſomuch, that though here be mines of ſilver and gold, yet none is ſent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts, and is here ſwallowed up. But ſomething muſt be ſaid of the iſlands belonging to this great continent, for the value of them is immenſe, as well as their number, and the extent of ſome of them. The firſt in order that are any thing conſiderable, are the *Maldivy* iſlands, rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being ſo many that the number is not known, yet ſo ſmall, that no great account is made of them: they lie ſouth-eaſt of cape *Comori*, betwixt three and 8 degrees of north-latitude; for ſo far they run, being diſpoſed in twelve ſeveral cluſters or parcels that lie

north-

north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, at the ſouth-end whereof lie two other leſs cluſters or parcels eaſt and weſt from one another. As for trade, or commerce, though theſe iſlands are very fruitful, they have not any thing conſiderable to promote it, eſpecially to ſupply *Europe*, which is the thing here to be conſidered. Next to theſe is the great and rich iſland of *Ceylon* beyond cape *Comori*, formerly divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, till the *Portugueſes* firſt reduced all the ſea-coaſts under their dominion, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the *Dutch*, who ſtill remain maſters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffick, for it produces the beſt cinnamon in the world, and ſupplies all *Europe:* here are alſo found the fineſt rubies, and ſeveral other ſorts of precious ſtones. The elephants of this iſland are counted the beſt in all *India*, and as ſuch coveted by all the eaſtern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not ſpare to give conſiderable prices for theſe, which is a great enriching of the country. The iſlands of *Sunda*, or the *Sound*, are that great parcel lying ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of *Malaca*, the principal whereof are *Sumatra*, *Borneo* and *Java*; the two firſt directly under the line, *Sumatra* above three hundred leagues in length, lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, and about ſixty in breadth in the wideſt place; *Borneo* is almoſt round, and about ſix hundred in circumference; *Java* the laſt of them lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of ſouth-latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and not above forty in breadth in the wideſt place from north to ſouth. There are many more, but all ſmall in compariſon of theſe, unleſs we reckon *Celebes* lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longeſt way north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and about eighty in breadth in the broadeſt place from eaſt to weſt: As alſo *Gilolo*, under the equator as well as the laſt, of an irregular ſhape, and not above one fourth part of the bigneſs of *Celebes*. All theſe iſlands have a prodigious trade, being reſorted to from all parts, not only of *India*, but even from *Europe*. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatſoever man can wiſh; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphir, agarick, caſſia, wax, honey, ſilk, cotton; they have alſo mines of gold, tin, iron and ſulphur, all ſorts of cattel and fowl, but no vines nor olive-trees. In *Sumatra* the *Dutch* have ſome forts, and are very powerful, but much more in *Java*, where *Batavia*, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eaſtern dominions. The *Engliſh* had a great trade and factory at *Bantam* in the ſame iſland, but were expelled by the *Dutch* in the year 1682. After theſe follow the *Molucco* iſlands, which are five in number properly ſo called, *viz. Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, *Moutil* or *Mouſil*, and *Bachian:* They lie along the weſt-ſide of *Gilolo*, ſo near the equinoctial, that the laſt of them lies 24 or 25 minutes ſouth, and the firſt of them about 50 minutes north of it. They are ſo ſmall, that all of them do not take up above 1 degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. *Ternate* is the northermoſt, and in order from it lie to the ſouth *Tidore*, *Moutil*, *Machian* and *Bachian*. The whole product of theſe iſlands is cloves, which are ſcarce found elſewhere, and here little beſides them; which is the reaſon why the *Dutch* have poſſeſſed themſelves of them, expelling the *Portugueſes*, who after long conteſts had bought out the *Spaniards* claim to them. With the *Molucco's* may be reckoned the iſlands of *Amboina* and *Banda:* The firſt of theſe produces cloves like the other, and was once much reſorted to by the *Engliſh*, till the *Dutch* deſtroyed their factory, of which action there are particular printed accounts. *Banda* is a larger iſland than any of the others, and in five degrees of ſouth-latitude, poſſeſſed alſo by the *Dutch*, who have here all the trade of nutmegs and mace, which ſcarce grow any where but in this and two or three neighbouring iſlands. A vaſt multitude of other little iſlands are ſcattered about this ſea, but thoſe already mentioned are the moſt conſiderable; for though thoſe of *Chiram* and *Papous* be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to gueſs they are not of much value; for if they were, the ſame avarice that has carried ſo many *European* nations into their neighbourhood to deſtroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long ſince as familiar to us as the reſt. Of *Japan* enough was ſaid when firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſes*, and in captain *Saris*'s voyage thither, where the reader may ſatisfy his curioſity. All that needs be added is, that it produces ſome gold, and great plenty of ſilver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue and green, rice, brimſtone, ſalt-petre, cotton, and the moſt excellent varniſh in the world, commonly called *Japan*, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things are brought into *Europe*. Thus are we come to *Japan* the utmoſt of theſe eaſtern diſcoveries, omitting to ſay any thing of the *Philippine* iſlands, and thoſe called *de las Landrones*, though within this compaſs, becauſe they were diſcovered from the *Weſt-Indies*; and therefore they are left to be treated of among

among the *American* affairs, as are the iſles of *Solomon*, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account. This ſummary ſhews the improvement of navigation on this ſide the world ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, or ſea-compaſs, it having made known to us as much of the coaſts of *Africk* and *Aſia*, as running along only the greateſt turnings and windings, amounts to about five thouſand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not ſo univerſally known to be true, and ſo very demonſtrable. The benefit we reap is ſo viſible, it ſeems not to require any thing ſhould be ſaid of it. For now all *Europe* abounds in all ſuch things as thoſe vaſt, wealthy, exuberant eaſtern regions can afford; whereas before theſe diſcoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at exceſſive rates from the *Venetians*, who took in the precious drugs, rich ſpices, and other valuable commodities of the eaſt in *Egypt*, or the coaſt of *Turky*, whither it was brought from *India*, either by caravans or up the Red-ſea; and they ſupplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the ſea is open, every nation has the liberty of ſupplying itſelf from the fountain-head; and if ſome have encroached upon others, confined them to a narrower trade in thoſe parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly ſo great, that all thoſe goods may be purchaſed here at the ſecond-hand, infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the ſupplying of all the reſt, and that by ſo expenſive a way, as being themſelves ſerved by caravans, and a few ſmall ſhips on the Red-ſea. To conclude; theſe parts, the diſcovery whereof has been the ſubject of this diſcourſe, ſupply the chriſtian world with all gums, drugs, ſpices, ſilks and cottons, precious ſtones, ſulphur, gold, ſalt-peter, rice, tea, *China*-ware, coffee, *Japan* varniſhed works, all ſorts of dies, of cordials, and perfumes, pearls, ivory, oſtrich-feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endleſs number of neceſſaries, conveniences, curioſities, and other comforts and ſupports of human life, whereof enough has been ſaid for the intended brevity of this diſcourſe. It is now time to proceed to a ſtill greater part, greater in extent of land, as reaching from north to ſouth, and its bounds not yet known, and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhauſtible treaſures of the ſilver mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, and of the gold mines of *Chile*, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferior to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the bleſſings nature could beſtow upon the earth. A world concealed from the reſt for above five thouſand years, and reſerved by Providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being ſo immenſe, that three hundred years have not been a ſufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the univerſe wonderful in all reſpects: 1. For that being ſo large it could lie ſo long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way thoſe people could come thither, and that none others could find the way ſince. 3. For its endleſs ſources of gold and ſilver, which ſupplying all parts, ſince their firſt diſcovery are ſo far from being impoveriſhed, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, ſo far exceeding all others, that they look like little ſeas, compared with the greateſt in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whoſe tops are almoſt inacceſſible. 6. For the ſtrange variety of ſeaſons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues diſtance. And laſtly, For its ſtupendous fertility of ſoil, producing all ſorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, beſides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elſewhere.

To come to the diſcovery of this fourth and greateſt part of the earth, it was undertaken and performed by *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Genoeſe*, excellently ſkilled in ſea-affairs, an able coſmographer, and well verſed in all thoſe parts of the mathematicks, which might capacitate him for ſuch an enterpriſe. This perſon being convinced by natural reaſon, that ſo great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all ſea, or created to no purpoſe; and believing that the earth being round, a ſhorter way might be found to *India* by the weſt, than by compaſſing all *Africk* to the ſouthward, as the *Portugueſes* were then attempting to do; he reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to the diſcovery of thoſe rich countries, which he poſitively concluded muſt extend from what was known of the *Eaſt-Indies* ſtill to the eaſtward one way, and to be the eaſier met with by ſailing round to the weſtward. Having been long fully poſſeſſed with this notion, and provided to anſwer all objections that might be ſtarted againſt it, he thought the undertaking too great for any leſs than a ſovereign prince, or ſtate; and therefore, not to be unjuſt to his country, he firſt propoſed it to the ſtate of *Genoa*, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This repulſe made him have recourſe to king *John* the ſecond of *Portugal*, who having cauſed the matter

ter to be examined by thoſe that had the direction of the diſcoveries along the coaſt of *Africk*, by their advice he held him in hand till he had ſent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this diſcovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and ſuffered much by ſtorms, returned without finding any thing. *Columbus* underſtanding what had been done, reſented it ſo highly, that in hatred to *Portugal* he reſolved to go over to *Caſtile* and offer his ſervice there; but for fear of any diſappointment, at the ſame time he ſent his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* into *England*, to make the ſame overture to king *Henry* the ſeventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at ſea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of *England*; where when at laſt he came, being poor and deſtitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at leaſt be looked upon; ſo that in fine, *Columbus* was gone before he returned to *Spain* with his anſwer. *Columbus* in the mean while ſtole away out of *Portugal*, and coming to the court of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, king and queen of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, he there ſpent eight years ſolliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at laſt, when he had utterly deſpaired of ſucceſs, he met with it, through the aſſiſtance of ſome few friends he had gained at court. At his earneſt ſuit he had all the conditions he required granted, which were, that he ſhould be admiral of all thoſe ſeas he diſcovered, and viceroy and governor-general of all the lands; that he ſhould have the tenth of all things whatſoever brought from thoſe parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets ſent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns. This to him and his heirs for ever. With theſe titles, and ſufficient power from the queen, who eſpouſed the undertaking, he repaired to the port of *Palos de Moguer*, on the coaſt of *Andaluzia*, where there was furniſhed for him a ſhip called the S. *Mary*, and two caravels, the one called *La Pinta*, commanded by *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, and the other *La Nina*, by *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*. In theſe veſſels he had ninety men, and proviſions for a year; and thus equipped he ſailed from *Palos de Moguer*.

An. 1492. On the twenty third of *Auguſt* directing his courſe to the *Canary* iſlands, where he made a new rudder to the caravel *Pinta*, which had hers broke off at ſea, he took in freſh proviſions, wood, and water with all poſſible expedition; and on the ſixth of *September* put to ſea again, ſteering due weſt, and on the ſeventh loſt ſight of land. The eleventh at a hundred and fifty leagues diſtance from the iſland of *Ferro*, they ſaw a great piece of a maſt drove by the current, which ſet ſtrong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral obſerved the variation of the needle to the weſtward about two points. On Sunday the ſixteenth the men were ſurpriſed to ſee green and yellow weeds ſcattered about in ſmall parcels on the ſuperficies of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from ſome iſland or rock; and the next day they ſaw much more, which made ſome conclude they were near land, and others ſuppoſing it only to be rocks, or ſhoals, began to mutter. Every day they ſaw ſome birds flying to the ſhips, and abundance of weeds in the water, which ſtill made them conceive hopes of land; but when theſe failed, then they began again to murmur, ſo that the admiral was forced to uſe all his art to keep them quiet, ſometimes with fair words, and ſometimes with threats and ſeverity, they imagining, that ſince for the moſt part they ſailed before the wind, it would be impoſſible for them ever to return. Thus their mutinous temper daily increaſed, and began to appear more open, ſome being ſo bold as to adviſe throwing the admiral over board. The firſt of *October* the pilot told the admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty eight leagues weſt of the iſland of *Ferro*, which is the weſtermoſt of the *Canaries*; who anſwered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty four, whereas in reality his computation was ſeven hundred and ſeven; and on the third the pilot of the caravel *Nina* reckoned ſix hundred and fifty, he of the caravel *Pinta* ſix hundred and thirty four: but they were out, and *Columbus* made it leſs for fear of diſcouraging the men, who nevertheleſs continued very mutinous, but were ſomewhat appeaſed on the fourth, ſeeing above forty ſparrows fly about the ſhips, beſides other birds. The eleventh of *October* there appeared manifeſt tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ſhip they ſaw a greenruſh in the water, from the *Pinta* they ſaw a cane and a ſtick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, beſides abundance of weeds freſh pulled up; from the *Pinta* they beheld ſuch-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn-tree with the berries on it: beſides, that ſounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For theſe reaſons the admiral ordered, they ſhould make but little ſail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark, and about ten of the clock that night the admiral himſelf ſaw a light, and ſhewed it to others. About two in the morning the caraval *Pinta*, which was furtheſt a-head,

gave

gave the ſignal of land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an iſland about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives ſtanding on the ſhore, admiring what the ſhips were. The admiral and captains went aſhore in their boats, and called that iſland S. *Salvador*, the natives calling it *Guanahani*, and is one of the *Lucayos* in about 26 degrees of north-latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues weſt of the *Canaries*, and diſcovered the thirty third day after they ſailed from them. *Columbus* took poſſeſſion for the king and queen of *Spain*; and all the *Spaniards* joyfully took an oath to him, as their admiral and viceroy. He gave the *Indians*, who ſtood in admiration to ſee him and his men, ſome red caps, glaſs-beads, and other trifles, which they valued at a high rate. The admiral returning aboard, the natives followed, ſome ſwimming, others in their canoos, carrying with them bottoms of ſpun cotton, parrots, and javelins pointed with fiſh-bones, to exchange for glaſs baubles and horſe-bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair ſhort and tied with a cotton ſtring, and well enough featured, of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, and of an olive colour, ſome painted white, ſome black, and ſome red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with ſharp ſtones. No beaſts, or fowl were ſeen here but only parrots. Being aſked by ſigns, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noſes, they pointed to the ſouth. The admiral underſtanding there were other countries not far off, reſolved to ſeek them out; and taking ſeven *Indians* that they might learn *Spaniſh*, ſailed on the fifteenth to another iſland, which he called the *Conception*, ſeven leagues from the other. The ſixteenth he proceeded to another iſland, and called it *Fernandina*, and ſo to a fourth, to which he gave the name of *Iſabella*; but finding nothing more in these than in the firſt, he proceeded on to the iſland of *Cuba*, which he called *Juana*, and entered the port on the eaſt-end called *Baracoa*, whence after ſending two men to diſcover without finding what he ſought for, he went on to *Hiſpaniola*, and anchored on the north-ſide of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people ſimple, and one of the *Caciques*, or princes, ſhewing all tokens of love and affection; and having loſt his own ſhip, which through the careleſſneſs of the ſailors in the night run upon a ſand, he reſolved to build a fort, which with the aſſiſtance of the *Indians* was performed in ten days, and called the *Nativity*: Here he left thirty nine men, with proviſions for a year, ſeeds to ſow, baubles to trade with the natives, all the cannon and arms belonging to his own ſhip and the boat. This done, he departed the port of the *Nativity* on the fourth of *January* 1493, ſteering eaſtward, and the ſixth diſcovered the caravel *Pinta*, which had left him ſome days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himſelf. *Columbus* having ſailed ſome days along the coaſt of the iſland, diſcovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and ſeeing ſome other iſlands at a diſtance, at length launched out to ſea to return for *Spain*. In the way they ſtruggled with the dreadfulleſt ſtorms any of them had ever ſeen, which ſeparated the admiral from the caravel *Pinta*, ſo that he ſaw her no more; but at laſt it pleaſed GOD to bring his ſhattered caravel into the river of *Liſbon*, where the people flocked with admiration to ſee him, and ſome adviſed the king of *Portugal* to murder him, but he having entertained him generouſly diſmiſſed him; and he putting to ſea again, arrived ſafe at *Palos de Moguer*, from whence he ſet out on the fifteenth of *March*, having been out ſix months and a half upon his diſcovery. The court was then at *Barcelona*, whither the admiral repaired, carrying with him the *Indians* he brought, ſome gold, and other ſamples of what the diſcovery afforded. The king and queen received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of honour, making him ſit down in their preſence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After ſome time ſpent in theſe entertainments, the admiral deſired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant thoſe new countries, which was granted, and he departed for *Seville*, to ſet out on his ſecond voyage, which we are to ſpeak of next; we have been very particular in this, becauſe being the firſt, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and ſhall therefore be more ſuccinct in thoſe that follow.

An. 1493. A fleet of ſeventeen ſail of all ſorts was fitted out at *Seville*, well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, cannon, corn, ſeeds, mares and horſes, tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring people, and artificers, ſeveral gentlemen, and twenty horſe. With this fleet *Columbus* ſet ſail from *Seville* on the fifteenth of *September* the year aforeſaid, and on the fifth of *October* came to the *Gomeru*, one of the *Canary* iſlands, where he took in wood and water, as alſo cattle, calves, ſheep, goats and ſwine to ſtock the *Indies*, beſides hens and garden-ſeeds. Sailing

ing hence more to the ſouthward than the firſt voyage, on the third of *November* in the morning, all the fleet ſpied an iſland, which *Columbus* called *Dominica*, becauſe diſcovered on a ſunday, and ſoon after many others, the firſt of which he called *Marigalanti*, the name of the ſhip he was in, the next *Guadalupe*, then *Montſerrate*, *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *S. Martin*, *Santa Cruz*; theſe are the *Caribbe* iſlands. Next he came to the large iſland, which he called S. *John Baptiſt*, but the *Indians Borriquen*, and it is now known by the name of *Puerto Rico*. *November* the twenty ſecond the fleet arrived on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the *Spaniards*, they being all deſtroyed either by diſcord among themſelves, or by the *Indians*. Not liking the place he had choſen the firſt voyage to plant his colony, he turned back to the eaſtward, and finding a ſeat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called *Iſabella*, in honour of *Iſabel* then queen of *Caſtile*. Then keeping five ſhips of the fleet with him for his uſe there, he ſent back twelve to *Spain*, under the command of *Antony de Torres*, with ſome quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493: and here it muſt be obſerved, that all the actions done aſhore muſt be omitted, as too great for this diſcourſe, and in reality no way belonging to it, the deſign of it being only to ſhew what advantages have been made by ſea ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, as has been declared before.

An. 1494. *Columbus* ſailed from his new colony of *Iſabella* with one great ſhip and two caravels on the twenty fourth of *April*, directing his courſe weſtward, and came upon the point of *Cuba* on the eighteenth of *May*, where ſailing along the coaſt he ſaw an infinite number of ſmall iſlands; ſo that it being impoſſible to give them all names, he in general called them the *Queen's Garden*. Thus he proceeded as far as the iſland *de Pinos*, near the weſtermoſt end of *Cuba*, having diſcovered three hundred and thirty three leagues to the weſtward from his colony of *Iſabella*. He ſuffered very much in this voyage by the continual ſtorms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore reſolved to return, taking his way more to the ſouthward, and on the twenty ſecond of *July* found the iſland of *Jamaica*; whence he directed his courſe to *Hiſpaniola*, and coaſting about it, arrived at the town of *Iſabella* on the twenty ninth of *September*, where he found his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who was come with four ſhips from *Spain*. The admiral built many forts in the iſland, and being much offended at the ill behaviour of many of the *Spaniards*, who began to uſe him diſreſpectfully, and ſent complaints againſt him to court, returned into *Spain* to juſtify his proceedings, and ſecure his authority. Thus far out of *Herrera*'s firſt decade, *lib.* I, II, and III.

The fame of theſe mighty diſcoveries being ſpread abroad thoughout *Europe*, *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, but reſiding in *England*, made application to king *Henry* the ſeventh, to be imployed in finding out a paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* through the north-weſt. The king admitted of his propoſal, and

An. 1497. Ordered him two ſhips provided with all neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking, with which he ſailed from *Briſtol* in the beginning of ſummer (for here does not appear a particular journal) and directing his courſe north-weſt came into 56, *Herrera* ſays 68 degrees of north-latitude, where he diſcovered land running ſtill to the northward, which made him deſpair of finding a paſſage that way, as he had projected, and therefore came about to the ſouthward, hoping to meet it in leſs latitude. Thus he ſoon fell in upon the now much frequented iſland of *Newfoundland*, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees, where he found a wild people clad in ſkins of beaſts, and armed with bows and arrows, as alſo bears and ſtags, and great plenty of fiſh, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the ſavages, whom at his return he carried into *England*, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his courſe along the *American* coaſt as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his proviſions beginning to fall ſhort he returned to *England*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 6. *& ſeq.* This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not proſecuted by the *Engliſh* in many years after; and *Cabot* finding little encouragement went away into *Spain*, where he was entertained.

An. 1498. On the thirtieth of *May* admiral *Columbus* having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, and provided as he deſired, ſailed from S. *Lucar* with ſix ſhips upon new diſcoveries, and coming to the iſland *Gomeru*, one of the *Canaries*, on the nineteenth, ſent thence three of his ſhips with proviſions to ſail directly for *Hiſpaniola*. He with the other three made the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, reſolving to ſail ſouthward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore ſteering ſouth-weſt on the thirteenth of *July*, he felt ſuch violent heat, that they all thought they ſhould there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freſhning they ſtood away to the weſtward, and the

firſt of *Auguſt* came to an anchor in the iſland which he called *La Trinidad*, near the continent of ſouth *America*, in about 11 degrees of north-latitude. Diſcovering land from this place, which he ſuppoſed to be another iſland, but it was the continent, he ſailed over and came upon the point of *Paria*, and run many leagues along the coaſt of the continent, without knowing it was ſo, trading with the *Indians* for gold and abundance of pearls. However thinking his preſence neceſſary at *Hiſpaniola*, he could not continue his diſcovery, but returned the ſame way he came to the iſland *Trinidad*, and found that he called *Margarita*, where was afterwards the great pearl-fiſhery, and that of *Cubagua*, beſides many others of leſs note, and arrived at *Santo Domingo*, a town newly built on the ſouth-coaſt of the iſland *Hiſpaniola* on the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* IV.

An. 1499. The news having been brought to *Spain* of the diſcovery *Columbus* had made on the continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was continent or an iſland; *Alonſo de Ojeda* and ſome other private men fitted out four ſhips to make diſcoveries, and ſailed from Port S. *Mary* on the twentieth of *May*. *John de la Coſa*, a *Biſcainer*, went with him as pilot, and *Americus Veſpucius* as merchant. They took their courſe to the ſouth-weſt, and in twenty ſeven days had ſight of land, which they ſuppoſed to be the continent. Being within a league of the ſhore, they ſent ſome men in the boat, who ſaw abundance of naked people, who preſently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the coaſt to find ſome harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to ſee the ſhips. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion: they covered their nakedneſs with leaves, or cotton clouts. Their wealth conſiſted in fine feathers, fiſh-bones, and green and white ſtones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. *Ojeda* ran along this coaſt till he came to a town ſeated like *Venice* in the water, but containing only twenty ſix great houſes; for which reaſon he called it *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*, in about 11 degrees of north-latitude. Still he kept along the coaſt of *Paria*, before diſcovered by *Columbus*, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called *Cabo de la Vela*. Then turning back he came to the iſland *Margarita*, where he careened, and on the fifth of *November* arrived at the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, where we may put an end to his diſcovery.

This ſame year *Peter Alonſa Nino* and *Chriſtopher Guevara* ſailed from *Sevil* with one ſhip to diſcover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coaſt where *Columbus* and *Ojeda* had been, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* IV.

An. 1500. *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was with *Columbus* the firſt voyage, ſet out four ſhips at his own charge, and ſailing to the ſouthward was the firſt *Spaniard* that ever cut the equinoctial line. Then ſailing to the weſtward, on the twenty ſixth of *January* he diſcovered land at a diſtance, which was the point of land now called cape S. *Auguſtin*, on the coaſt of *Braſil*, where he took poſſeſſion for the king of *Spain*: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he paſſed on to a river, where landing, eight of his men were killed by the *Indians*; which made him remove again down to the mouth of the river *Maranon*, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with ſuch force, that the water is freſh forty leagues out at ſea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coaſt, he held on his courſe to *Paria*, whence he ſailed over to the iſlands in the way to *Hiſpaniola*; and being at an anchor among them, a furious ſtorm ſunk two of their ſhips downright, the other two eſcaping repaired to *Hiſpaniola*, and having refitted returned to *Spain*. In this voyage they diſcovered ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt lying ſouth-eaſt from *Paria*.

In *December* this ſame year *James de Lepe* ſailed from *Palos de Moguer* to diſcover, and went ſome way to the ſouthward of cape S. *Auguſtin*, but did little conſiderable, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* IV.

This year alſo *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſail for the *Eaſt-Indies*, commanded by *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, who ſailing from *Liſbon* in *March*, to avoid the calms on the coaſt of *Guinea*, ſtood out far to ſea; and being carried away further to the weſtward than he intended by a ſtorm, on the twenty fourth of *April* fell in upon the coaſt of *Braſil* in *America*, in 10 degrees of ſouth-latitude. He ſailed along it one day, and going aſhore found a tawny people; but the weather ſtill forced him to the ſouthward, to a harbour he called *Porto Seguro*, in 17 degrees of ſouth-latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and *Indian* wheat. Here he erected a croſs in token of poſſeſſion, and therefore called the country *Santa Cruz*, but the name of *Braſil* prevailed, becauſe of that ſort of wood brought from thence. *Peter Alvarez* ſent a ſhip to *Portugal* to give advice of this diſcovery, and he with the reſt proſecuted his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as may be ſeen in the account of them, *Herrera ubi ſup.* and *Faria* in *Aſia*, part I. p. 53.

Again

Again this year 1500. *Gaſper de Cortereal*, a *Portugueſe*, ſailed to the north parts of *America* with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was ſaid before to be diſcovered by *Cabot*, and gave his name to ſome ſmall iſlands about the north of *Newfoundland*, bringing away ſixty of the natives. He made a ſecond voyage into thoſe parts, but was caſt away, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* VI.

An. 1501. *Roderick de Baſtidas* fitted out two ſhips at *Cadiz*, and taking *John de la Coſa*, who was beſt acquainted with the weſtern ſeas for his pilot, put to ſea in the beginning of *February*, following the ſame courſe *Columbus* had taken when he diſcovered the continent; and coaſting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the *Indians*. Not ſo ſatisfied, he run to the weſtward, and diſcovered *Santa Marta*, *Carthagena*, and as far as *Nombre de Dios*, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ſhips being now leaky and worm-eaten, ſo that they could not long keep the ſea, and having traded for a conſiderable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to *Xaragua* in *Hiſpaniola*, where his ſhips ſunk after ſaving the treaſure; and he after being impriſoned in this iſland got over into *Spain* with his wealth. He carried ſome *Indians* from the continent to *Hiſpaniola*, who went ſtark naked, only carrying their privities in a gold caſe made like a funnel, *Herrera ubi ſup.*

An. 1502. Admiral *Columbus*, being through the malicious inſinuations of his enemies removed from the government of *Hiſpaniola*, but ſtill fed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ſhips to go upon ſome new diſcovery, and ſailed with them from *Cadiz* on the ninth of *May*. On the twenty ninth of *June* he came before *Santo Domingo* in the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, where the governor refuſed to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of *July* he ſailed away to the weſtward, and after driving ſome days with the currents in calms, ſtruggled for ſixty days with violent ſtorms; after which he diſcovered the little iſland *Guanaja*, northward of cape *Honduras*, in 19 degrees of latitude. He ſent his brother aſhore, who met with a canoo as long as a *Spaniſh* galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats, and in it many men, women and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of ſeveral colours, ſhort cotton ſhirts without ſleeves curiouſly wrought, clouts of the ſame to cover their privities, wooden ſwords edged with flint, copper hatchets to cut wood, horſe-bells of the ſame metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the copper, coco-nuts, bread made of *Indian* wheat, and drink of the ſame. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged ſome commodities with them, and then diſmiſſed them, only keeping an old man, of whom he enquired for gold, he pointed eaſtward, which made *Columbus* alter his deſign of ſailing ſtill weſtward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the firſt land he came to was cape *Caſinas* on the continent of the province of *Honduras*, where his brother landed and took poſſeſſion, the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing ſhort jackets of cotton, and clouts of the ſame before their privy-parts, and bringing him plenty of proviſions. Sailing hence many days to the eaſtward againſt the wind, he came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the ſhore run to the ſouthward, he called it *Cabo de gracias a Dios*, or cape *Thanks be to God*, becauſe then the eaſterly winds would carry him down the coaſt. He run along trading with the natives, and touched at *Porto Bello*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen* and *Veragua*, where he heard there were gold mines, and ſent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a conſiderable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconſiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement *Columbus* reſolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houſes for them; yet after all the *Indians* becoming their enemies, and the *Spaniards* mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then ſailed away for *Hiſpaniola*. The ſhips being quite ſhaken with the many ſtorms, and eaten through with the worms, could not reach that iſland, and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coaſt of *Jamaica*, cloſe board and board by one another, ſhoring them up with piles drove in the ſand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, becauſe they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger he ſent meſſengers in a canoo over to *Hiſpaniola* for ſome veſſels to carry him and his men away, and after ſuffering much was at laſt tranſported to that iſland, and thence into *Spain*, where he died. *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* V, VI. So that we have here an end of his diſcoveries, and all the continent of *America* made known from cape *Honduras* in 18 degrees of north-latitude, to *Porto Seguro* on the coaſt of *Braſil* in 17 degrees of ſouth-latitude, being above fifteen hundred leagues, taking only the greater windings of the coaſt.

An. 1506. The news of *Columbus*'s new diſcovery being ſpread abroad in *Caſtile*, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* reſolved to proſecute what he had begun;

gun; and coming to the iſland *Guanaja*, whence *Columbus* had turned back to the eaſtward, they held on their courſe ſtill weſtward, running along the coaſt of *Honduras* till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called *Baia de Navidad*, now called the gulph of *Honduras*. Then turning to the north-eaſt, they diſcovered a great part of the province of *Gucatan*, whereof little was afterwards known till the diſcovery of *New-Spain*.

An. 1507. It being ſtill unknown whether *Cuba* was an iſland or part of the continent, *Nicholas de Obando* governor of *Hiſpaniola* ſent *Sebaſtian de Ocampo* to diſcover it: he ſailed along the north-ſide of it, touching at ſeveral places, and careened his ſhips at the port now well known by the name of the *Havana*, which then he called *de Carenas*. Then continuing his voyage to the weſtermoſt end of the iſland now called *Cabo de S. Anton*, he turned to the eaſtward along the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, and put into the port of *Xagua*, which is one of the beſt in the world, and capable of containing a thouſand ſhips. Here he was moſt courteouſly entertained, and ſupplied with abundance of partridges and good fiſh. Having reſted here a few days, he held on his way along the coaſt, and returned to *Hiſpaniola*, with the certain news of *Cuba*'s being an iſland. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1508. *John Ponce de Leon* ſailed over from *Hiſpaniola* to the iſland called by the *Indians Borriquen*, by the *Spaniards S. Juan de Puerto Rico*, and by the *Engliſh Porto Rico*: It is but 15 leagues diſtant from *Hiſpaniola*, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of *Puerto Rico*, or the *Rich Harbour*. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

This ſame year 1508. *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who before diſcovered the gulph of *Honduras*, ſailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence to diſcover the ſouth coaſt of *America*; and coming upon cape *S. Auguſtin* in about 11 degrees of ſouth-latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coaſt, often landing, and trading with the natives till they came into 40 degrees of the ſame latitude, whence they returned with an account of what they had found into *Spain*. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1509. *John de Eſquibel* was ſent from *Hiſpaniola*, by the admiral *James Columbus*, ſon to *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with ſeventy men to ſettle a colony in the iſland of *Jamaica*.

This ſame year *John de la Coſa* ſailed from *Spain* with one ſhip, and two brigantines, to join *Alonſo de Ojeda* in the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, thence to go and ſettle on the continent. *James de Nicueſſa* ſet out ſoon after him with four ſhips upon the ſame deſign. After ſome diſpute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of *Darien* ſhould part them, and then they ſet out towards their ſeveral governments. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1510. *Ojeda* landed at *Carthagena*, where, after endeavouring to gain the *Indians* by fair means without ſucceſs he came to a battle with them, in which *John de la Coſa* was killed, and he eſcaped by flight, having loſt ſeventy *Spaniards*. *Nicueſſa* arriving a few days after, and joining the other *Spaniards* belonging to *Ojeda*, revenged the death of the former ſeventy, and took a great booty. However *Ojeda* removed thence to the gulph of *Uraba*, where he founded the town of *S. Sebaſtian*, being the ſecond built on the continent, if we reckon that before founded by *Columbus* near the ſame place, which did not ſtand as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after moſt of the *Spaniards* were conſumed to *Darien*. Hence the *Indians* carried ſwine, ſalt and fiſh up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton-cloth. *Nicueſſa* with his ſhips ſailed to *Veragua*, and after many miſeries and calamities, at laſt founded the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the ſmall *Iſthmus* that joins the two continents of north and ſouth *America*, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* VII, VIII.

An. 1511. The admiral *James Columbus* from the iſland *Hiſpaniola* ſent *James Velaſquez* with about three hundred men to plant in the iſland of *Cuba*, where no ſettlement had yet been made.

An. 1512. *John Ponce de Leon*, before mentioned as firſt planter of the iſland of *Puerto Rico*, being grown rich, fitted out three ſhips in that iſland, reſolving to diſcover to the northward. He ſailed on the third of *March*, ſteering north-weſt and by north, and on the eighth anchored at *Baxos de Babueca*, near the iſland *del Viejo*, in 22 degrees and a half of north-latitude, and on the fourteenth at the iſland *Guanahani*, which was the firſt diſcovered by *Columbus*. Hence he directed his courſe north-weſt, and on the twenty ſeventh, being *Eaſter* ſunday, diſcovered an iſland not known before; whence he proceeded, ſteering weſt-north-weſt till the ſecond of *April*, when they came to an anchor near a port of the continent they had run along in 30 degrees and 8 minutes of north-latitude, which he believed to be an iſland called *Florida*, that is, flowry, or flouriſhing, both becauſe it looked green and pleaſant, and becauſe it was *Eaſter* time, which the *Spaniards* call *Paſqua Florida*. After landing to take poſſeſſion, he ſailed ſouth and by eaſt till the twenty firſt

of

of *April*, when he met ſo ſtrong a current, that though they had the wind large, his ſhips could not ſtem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of *Bahama*, through which moſt ſhips return out of thoſe parts into *Europe*. Here he landed, and had a ſkirmiſh with the *Indians* who were warlike. On the eighth of *May* he doubled the point of *Florida*, which he called cape *Corrientes*, becauſe of the great ſtrength of the current there. Being come about, they ſpent many days along the coaſt and neighbouring iſlands, watering and careening, and dealing with the *Indians* for hides and Guanines, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In *June* he had two battles with the *Indians*, who in their canoos came out to draw his ſhips aſhore, or at leaſt to cut his cables. Having beaten them off he came upon the coaſt of *Cuba*, though he knew it not to be that iſland, and thence returned to *Puerto Rico*, whence he ſailed into *Spain* to beg of the king the government of what he had diſcovered, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* IX.

An. 1513. *Baſco Nunez de Balboa*, who had ſubtilly wound himſelf into the government of the *Spaniards*, who were beforementioned to have built the town of *Darien*, having uſed all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold, and being told by an *Indian*, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had vaſt plenty of it, and that there was alſo an open ſea, he reſolved to venture over to find theſe treaſures, and gain the honour of being the firſt that found this ſo long looked for ſea. Accordingly he ſet out from *Darien* in *September* with *Indian* guides, and others given him by the *caciques* his friends to carry burdens. Entring upon the mountains, he had a fight with a *cacique* that would have ſtopped him, in which he killed the *cacique* and ſix hundred of his men. On the twenty fifth of *September* he reached the top of the mountains, from whence, to his unſpeakable joy, he ſaw the South-ſea; with this ſatisfaction he went down, and coming to the ſhore walked into the ſea to take poſſeſſion of it for the king of *Spain*. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a *cacique* his friend, went into nine canooes, and put out to ſea, where a ſtorm riſing, they had all like to have periſhed; however, with much difficulty they got into a ſmall iſland, where ſome of their canooes were beaten to pieces and all their proviſions loſt. The next day with what canooes remained they landed on the further ſide of the bay, where after ſome oppoſition from the *Indians* they made peace, and the *cacique* brought a good quantity of gold as a preſent, and two hundred and forty large pearls; and ſeeing the *Spaniards* valued them, he ſent ſome *Indians* to fiſh, who in four days brought twelve mark-weight of them, each mark being eight ounces. *Baſco Nunez* would have gone over to the iſland of pearls, five leagues diſtant, but was adviſed by the *Indians* his friends to put it off till ſummer, becauſe of the danger of the ſea at that time. Here he had ſome information of the wealth of *Peru*, and was aſſured that the coaſt ran along to the ſouthward without end, as the *Indians* thought. *Baſco Nunez* having made ſo great a diſcovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to *Darien*, whence he preſently ſent advice to the king of what he had found, *Herrera*, dec. 1. *lib.* X.

An. 1515. *John Diaz de Solis* was ſent out by the king to diſcover to the ſouthward: he ſailed on the eighth of *October*, and came to *Rio de Janeiro* on the coaſt of *Braſil* in 22 degrees twenty minutes of ſouth-latitude, whence he continued his courſe down the coaſt which lies ſouth-weſt to cape S. *Mary* in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took poſſeſſion. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of plate, which becauſe it was ſo large and freſh, they called the freſh ſea, and by another name, the river of *Solis*, he ſpied along the ſhore abundance of houſes of *Indians*, and the people coming down to gaze at the ſhips, and offering what they had. *Solis* landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the ſhore, were ſet upon by the natives, who lay in ambuſh in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithſtanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed them further from the ſhore, yet not ſo far but that the *Spaniards* aboard might ſee them, where cutting off their heads, arms and legs, they roaſted the whole trunks of the bodies and eat them. Having ſeen this diſmal ſight, the caravel returned to the other veſſel, and both together repaired to cape S. *Auguſtin*, where having loaded with *Braſil* wood, they ſailed back to *Spain*. Thus ended the famous ſeamen *John Diaz de Solis*, *Herrera*, dec. 2. *lib.* I.

An. 1516. *Padrarias* governor of *Darien* before ſpoken of, ſent the licentiate *Eſpinoſa* with a good body of men over the mountains to *Panama*, who had ſome encounters with the *Indians* in thoſe parts, and made ſome conſiderable diſcoveries along that coaſt. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of ſlaves, he returned to *Darien*, leaving *Hernan Ponce de Leon* with a ſmall force at *Panama*. This commander loſt no time, though he had no good veſſels but ſome ſmall barks, for

in them he ventured to run up to the north-weſt as far as the port of *Nicoya* in the province of *Nicaragua*, a hundred and forty leagues from *Nata*, which is at the mouth of the bay of *Panama*; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the firſt firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to *Panama*. At the ſame time *Baſco Nunez de Balboa*, who firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, cut timber at *Ada* on the north-ſea, and having hewed it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by *Indians*, *Blacks* and *Spaniards*, and thence down to the South-ſea, which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron-work and rigging for two brigantines, *Herrera*, dec. 2. *lib.* II.

This ſame year 1516. *Hackluyt* mentions a voyage made by ſir *Thomas Pert* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, by order of king *Henry* the eighth of *England*, to *Braſil*, but gives no particulars of it, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 498.

An. 1517. *James Velaſquez* governor of *Hiſpaniola*, gave commiſſion to *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* to make ſome further diſcovery on the continent. He bought two ſhips and a brigantine, furniſhed them with all neceſſaries, and a hundred and ten men, and ſailed from *Havana* on the eighth of *February* to the weſtward. At the end of twenty one days they ſaw land, and drawing near perceived a great town. Five canoos came to the ſhip, and thirty men went aboard, wearing ſhort jackets without ſleeves, and clouts about their waſtes inſtead of breeches, who being well entertained were diſmiſſed: and the next day twelve canoos came with a *cacique*, who ſaid, *Conez Cotoche*, that is, come to my houſe; and the *Spaniards* not underſtanding it, called that point of land cape *Cotoche*, being the weſtermoſt of the province of *Yucatan*, in 22 degrees of latitude. The *Spaniards* going aſhore with this invitation, were ſet upon by *Indians* that lay in ambuſh, whom they put to flight. Here they found three ſtructures like little temples with idols, built with lime and ſtone, which were the firſt that had been ſeen in *America*. Returning to their ſhips, they kept along the coaſt weſtward till they came to *Campeche*, where they took water out of a well, there being no other, and retired to their ſhips, the *Indians* purſuing at their heels, yet without ingaging. Further on at a place called *Potonchan*, being aſhore again to water, they were beſet by the *Indians*, who killed fifty of them, and the reſt, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ſhips. Wanting hands for them all they burnt one, and with the other two veſſels in great want of water, ſtood over for the coaſt of *Florida*, where as they were watering the *Indians* fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, ſo that the *Spaniards* had time to carry off their water, and ſo returned to *Cuba*, where *James Fernandez* the commander died of his wounds, *Herrera*, dec. 2. *lib.* II.

An. 1518. The report of the diſcovery made in *Yucatan* pleaſing the undertaker *James Velaſquez* governor of *Cuba*, he provided three ſhips and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to proſecute that enterpriſe, under the command of *John de Grijalva*, who ſailed from *Cuba* on the eighth of *April*, and driving to the ſouthward with the currents came upon the iſland of *Cozumel*, in the 20th degree of latitude, not known before, and ſouth of the cape of *Cotoche*; where keeping along its coaſt, they anchored at a place they called *Santa Cruz*, becauſe that was the third of *May* and the feaſt of the finding of the croſs. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the iſland good honey, ſwine with their navels on their backs, and ſeveral ſmall temples of ſtone, as alſo an *Indian* woman of *Jamaica*, who went aboard, and was afterwards of great uſe to them. *Grijalva* ſailed on to *Potonchan*, where *Francis Hernandez*, the firſt diſcoverer of that country, had been; and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name, ſaying this country was like a new *Spain*, becauſe of the many ſtructures he ſaw of lime and ſtone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of *Mexico*. Coming to the river of *Tabaſco*, he treated with the natives, and a *cacique* there with his own hand put upon *Grijalva* a ſuit of complete armour of all beaten gold, beſides many other rich preſents he gave him. Then coaſting along, he ſaw the great mountains of S. *Martin*, and the rivers of *Alvarado* and *Banderas* on the coaſt of *New-Spain*, at which laſt place he was ſupplied with proviſions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders ſo to do from *Montezuma* the great monarch of *Mexico*, upon the news brought him of the firſt ſhips that appeared on that coaſt. He ſpent ſeven days at S. *John de Ulva*, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of *Panuco*, from whence he returned to *Cuba*, having in this voyage diſcovered all the coaſt of *New-Spain*, almoſt as far as the province of *Florida*, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. III.

This ſame year the licentiate *Eſpinoſa*, by order of *Peter Arias Davila* governor of *Darien*, founded the town of *Panama* on the South-ſea. *Ibid.*

An.

An. 1519. *Ferdinand Cortes*, with eleven ſail fitted out at the charge of *James Valeſquez*, ſailed from *Cuba* in *February*, and landing on the coaſt of *New-Spain* before diſcovered by *Grijalva*, marched up to *Mexico*, made himſelf maſter of that mighty city, and ſubdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South-ſea. Here were found thoſe rich mines of ſilver, which with the others of *Peru* have ever ſince inriched the univerſe, not to ſpeak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this country are the ſubject of large volumes, and too great for ſo ſhort a diſcourſe. Therefore we will proceed to the diſcoveries. *Ibid.*

This year alſo *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, or as we call him, *Magellan*, ſailed from *Spain* to diſcover the ſtrait of his name, the particulars of which voyage are the ſubject of the firſt of thoſe round the world, to be found together at the latter end of of this diſcourſe, and therefore need not be repeated in this place, for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of thoſe ſouthern parts of *America*.

This ſame year 1519. An *Engliſh* ſhip of two hundred and fifty tun came to the iſland of *Puerto Rico*, pretending it came out with another to diſcover a paſſage to *Tartary*, and had been at *Newfoundland*, where there were fifty *Spaniſh*, *French* and *Portugueſe* ſhips fiſhing, and that offering to go aſhore their pilot was killed. They further ſaid they came to load *Braſil* wood, and carry the king of *England* an account of thoſe countries. Hence they ſailed over to *Hiſpaniola*, where being fired at from the caſtle they returned to *Puerto Rico*, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. V. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 499. gives the ſame account out of *Ramuſio*, only differing in that he ſays it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522. *Cortes* having ſubdued the mighty kingdom of *Mexico*, and greateſt part of the provinces of *Mechoacan*, *Panuco*, *Guaxaca*, *Tabaſco* and *Soconuſco*, a conqueſt above two hundred leagues in length, above a hundred and fifty in breadth in the wideſt part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north-latitude; and having diſcovered the South-ſea, which waſhes the ſhores of ſeveral of the provinces mentioned, he reſolved that way to ſend to the *Malucco* iſlands, and in order to it ſent ſhip-wrights to the port of *Zacatula* to build two ſhips to diſcover along the coaſt, and two caravels to ſail to the *Molucco's*, cauſing all the iron-work, ſails and rigging to be carried upon mens backs from the *Vera Cruz* acroſs the country, which is at leaſt a hundred and forty leagues.

Whilſt theſe veſſels were preparing in *New-Spain*, *Giles Gonzales Davila* with incredible labour had built four in the iſland *Tararequi*, not far from *Panama*, whence he ſailed on the twenty firſt of *January* this ſame year 1522. taking *Andrew Nino* along with him as his pilot. Having ſailed an hundred leagues along the coaſt to the north-weſt, they were forced to ſend to *Panama* for neceſſaries to refit their ſhips, which being brought they proceeded. At *Nicoya Giles Gonzales* landed, and travelled into the province of *Nicaragua*, where abundance of *Indians* with their *cacique* ſubmitted themſelves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation, he was forced to retire to the ſea. Whilſt *Gonzales* travelled by land, *Andrew Nino* had ſailed along the coaſt as far as the bay of *Fonſeca* in the province of *Guatimala*, diſcovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before; which done, they both returned to *Panama* with great wealth in gold and pearls, *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. IV.

An. 1524. *Francis* the firſt, king of *France*, employed *John Verrazona* a *Florentine*, to make ſome diſcovery to the north-weſt. He ſet out from *Diep* with four ſhips, and after ſome time ſpent privateering on the coaſt of *Spain*, he ſteered to the iſland of *Madera*, whence diſmiſſing the reſt, he departed with one ſhip and fifty men upon his enterpriſe. The firſt twenty five days he ran five hundred leagues to the weſtward, after which followed a dreadful ſtorm; and that ceaſing, in twenty five days more run four hundred leagues, and then diſcovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the ſouthward. He ſailed fifty leagues along the coaſt to the ſouth without finding any harbour, which made him ſtand about to the northward, and at laſt come to an anchor, where he traded with the *Indians*, who went naked, covering only their privities with furs like ſables, and garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other *Indians*, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His ſhort ſtay there gave him not leiſure to learn any thing of their cuſtoms, but the country ſeemed delightful, with pleaſant plains, and plenty of woods of ſeveral ſorts of trees, great variety of beaſts and birds, and ſome tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north-latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of *Florida*. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-eaſt, they came upon another coaſt, where they took a boy, and ſo run on, ſeeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred

leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives, a *cacique* coming often aboard, and ſeeming well-pleaſed with the *French*. Hence they held on their courſe above a hundred leagues, and ſaw people clothed with feathers, and a very pleaſant country; but paſſed on ſtill to a great iſland, and anchored betwixt it and the continent, where the people were ſtill naked, with only furs before their privities, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a view of the ſhores, till he came into fifty degrees of north-latitude, where his proviſions falling ſhort, he reſolved to return into *France*, having diſcovered ſeven hundred leagues along the coaſt, and giving it the name of *New-France*, *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. VI. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 295. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1603.

The ſame year 1524. *Francis Pizarro* ſailed from *Panama* in *November* with one ſhip and two canoos, in which were eighty *Spaniards*, and four horſes to diſcover to the ſouthward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had diſcovered on that ſide, he landed, and proviſions failing ſent back the ſhip for them, remaining himſelf aſhore with moſt of the men, where they were drove to ſuch extremities, that twenty ſeven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place *Puerto de Lahambre*, that is, *Port Famine*. The ſhip returning with proviſions, they proceeded on their voyage to the port they called *De la Candelaria*, where they again went aſhore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the reſt of his actions in this expedition were in the enſuing years, yet the ſummary of them ſhall here be delivered together, to avoid the confuſion that might be cauſed by the diſmembring of them. Hence they went on to a place they called *Pueblo Quemado*, where they had two bloody encounters with the *Indians*, and therefore proceeded to *Chicama*, whence they again ſent back the ſhip to *Panama* for proviſions. Whilſt the ſhip was returning, *James de Almagro*, who was at the chief expence of this enterprize, went out of *Panama* with a ſhip full of proviſions, and ſixty men in it, and running along the coaſt, at length found *Pizarro* at *Chicama*; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to *Panama* for more men, whence he brought two ſhips and two canoos with arms, men, ammunition and proviſions. Leaving *Chicama*, they proceeded along the coaſt; and after many delays, and ſeveral times ſending back to *Panama*, during which time the reſt of the men were left aſhore, and ſuffered incredible hardſhips, *Pizarro* came to *Tumbez*, where he ſent men aſhore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, ſupplied with proviſions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had ſeen ſtately palaces, and all ſorts of veſſels of ſilver and gold. Here he was invited aſhore, and went twice, having much diſcourſe with the *Indians*, who gave him an account of the great city of *Cuſco*, and of the immenſe wealth of the mighty monarch *Guaynacapa*. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got ſome of the large *Peru* ſheep, and other things to ſhew the wealth of the country, he returned to *Panama* to gather a force ſufficient to make a conqueſt in that rich country, he had diſcovered. In this voyage he reached as far as the port of *Santa* in 9 degrees of ſouth-latitude, having run above two hundred leagues, in which he ſpent three years, being detained ſo long by the misfortunes and wants above-mentioned, beſides many more too tedious to inſert here. The conqueſt and further diſcoveries ſhall fall in their due place. *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. VII. VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.

An. 1525. The emperor *Charles* the fifth fitted out ſix ſhips and a tender at *Corunna*, under the command of *D. Garcia Jofre de Loayſa*, and well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition and commodities to trade, as alſo four hundred and fifty *Spaniards*. Theſe ſhips were to paſs through the ſtraits of *Magellan* to the *Molucco* iſlands, and ſailed from *Corunna* in *July*. On the fifth of *December* they came upon the coaſt of *Braſil* in 21 degrees and a half of ſouth-latitude. *December* the twenty eighth the ſhips were parted in a ſtorm, but met all again except the admiral. *January* the fifth they came to cape *Blanco* in 37 degrees, and thence to *Santa Cruz* in 51 degrees, where the admiral and another ſhip being miſſing, they put up ſome ſigns to direct them. Coming to the mouth of the ſtraits, one of the ſhips was caſt away in a ſtorm, the other three with much difficulty got into the ſtrait. *January* the twenty ſixth the admiral, and the other ſhip that was miſſing, with the tender came to the mouth of the ſtrait, where it was near periſhing in a ſtorm: and on the fifth of *April* the five ſhips being again joined, put into the ſtrait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. *May* the twenty fifth they came out into the *South* ſea, where a violent ſtorm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little proviſion ſailed to the northward, till it came upon the coaſt of *New Spain*, where the men were plentifully relieved by the *Indians* for the preſent, and afterwards by

Cortes

Cortes from *Mexico*. The admiral was parted from the other ſhips, and never ſaw them more, for he died on this ſide the line, and ſoon after him *John Sebaſtian Cano* his ſucceſſor, who had brought the ſhip called the *Victory* home, after ſailing round the world in the voyage undertaken by *Magellan*. Then they choſe *Toribio Alonſo de Salazar* for their admiral, and ſo directing their courſe for the iſlands *Ladrones*, on the thirteenth of *September* diſcovered an iſland, which they called *S. Bartholomew*; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their courſe to the *Ladrones*, and came to the two ſouthermoſt of them, where there came to them a *Spaniard* that had been left there when the ſhip of *Magellan*'s company left at the *Molucco's* attempted to return to *New Spain*, as may be ſeen in that voyage. Five days, this which was the admiral's ſhip continued in the iſland *Bataba*, and then proſecuted its voyage to the *Molucco's* on the tenth of *September* 1526, and on the ſecond of *October* came to the great iſland *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippines*, where they got ſome freſh proviſions, and then ſailed away towards the *Molucco's*, and arrived ſafe at *Tidore* on the laſt day of *December*, and there built a fort, whence for a long time after they made war with the *Portugueſes* of *Ternate*; where we will leave them, having ended their navigation, and ſhall hear of them again in the following years. *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

An. 1526. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who made the great diſcovery in north *America* for king *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, being now in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, ſailed from *Cadiz* with four ſhips, deſigning for the *Molucco's* through the ſtrait of *Magellan*: but when he came upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, his proviſions began to fail, and the men to mutiny, both which things obliged him to lay aſide his firſt deſign, and run up the river then called of *Solis*, now of *Plate*; and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the iſland of *S. Gabriel*, and ſeven leagues above it to the river *S. Salvador*, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left ſome men, whilſt he diſcovered higher. Thirty leagues further up he found the river of *Zarcarana*, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the ſame courſe, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river *Paraguay*, up which he turned leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not ſeen before, and they oppoſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he was forced to return down the river after loſing twenty eight of his men: where we muſt leave him a-while, to ſhew that this ſame year *James Garcia* was ſent from *Galicia* with one ſhip, a ſmall tender, and a brigantine to diſcover this ſame river of *Plate*, and came upon that part of the coaſt of *Braſil* which for its many rocks and ſhoals is called *Abrelojo*, or *Open your Eyes*, at the end of the year.

An. 1527. At the beginning of the year he came into the river of *Plate*, and there found two of *Cabot*'s ſhips, but ſent back his own to carry ſlaves into *Portugal*. Then he run up the river, and found *Cabot* in that of *Paraguay*, where we ſaid he loſt his men, whence they returned together to the ſhips. *Cabot* ſent one of them back into *Spain*, with an account of what he had diſcovered, the reaſons why he went not to the *Molucco's*, and ſome ſilver and gold, deſiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till ſome time after, when it ſhall be mentioned in its place. *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

This ſame year *Cortes* fitted out three ſhips on the coaſt of *New Spain* in the South-ſea, and ſent them to the *Molucco* iſlands, where they joined the *Spaniards* before-mentioned, and proſecuted the war with the *Portugueſes*. One of the ſhips attempted to return with cloves to *New Spain*, but was beaten back to *Tidore* by contrary winds, where the continual wars reduced the *Spaniards* to only twenty, who were forced to put themſelves into the power of the *Portugueſes*, and by them were carried into *India*, where ſome of them returned into *Spain*. Theſe ſhips were in ſeveral of the *Philippine* iſlands, and took poſſeſſion of them for the king of *Spain*. *Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. I.

This year alſo *Francis de Montejo* ſailed from *Seville* with three ſhips, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of *Yutacan*, and *Peter de Alvarado* for that of *Guatimala*. Of the diſcovery of both ſomething has been ſaid already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The ſame year ſtill *Pamphilo de Narvaez* ſailed from *Sanlucar* on the ſeventeenth of *June* with five veſſels, and in them ſeven hundred men, and ſpent much time at *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, where, after eſcaping a dreadful ſtorm, he was forced to winter. In *March* following he put to ſea with four ſhips and above four hundred men, and on the twelfth of *April* after many ſtorms and dangers came upon the coaſt of *Florida*; he landed his men and forty horſes, and then travelled with them by land, ſending the ſhips at the ſame time to coaſt along and find a ſafe harbour where they might ſettle a town. Thoſe that marched by

land, after incredible ſufferings aſhore, and loſing their ſhips, built ſome barks to carry them off, making ſails of their ſhirts, and ropes of their horſes tails and manes. By the twenty ſecond of *September* they had eaten all their horſes, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the ſhore ſeven days in thoſe creeks almoſt ſtarved, till they found ſome dry fiſh in an *Indian* houſe, but after this ſuffered ſuch extremity of thirſt, that five of them died with drinking of ſalt water. They landed again and got ſome refreſhment, but the *Indians* proving treacherous, they loſt ſome men, and ſo put to ſea again, where they ranged many days in foul weather, and were all parted. At laſt all the barks were caſt upon the ſhore and ſeveral men drowned, thoſe that eſcaped almoſt naked and ſtarved met with charitable *Indians*, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears, fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houſes, and giving them all the beſt they had; but this laſted not long, for the *Indians* though ſo loving were poor, and ſoon after ſuffered extreme want themſelves, ſo that the *Spaniards* diſperſed to ſhift, and the ſixty that landed were ſoon reduced to fifteen. Such was their miſery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that ſurvived theſe calamities travelled ſome hundreds of leagues acroſs the country, and with incredible hardſhips at length came to *New-Spain*, the reſt with their officers all periſhed; and this was the end of the expedition, *Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. II, IV.

Before we proceed, it muſt be here noted, that this ſame year king *Henry* the eighth of *England* ſent out two ſhips to diſcover to the northward, which ſailed out of the *Thames* on the twentieth of *May*, and entering between the north of *Newfoundland* and the continent one of them was caſt away. The other directed its courſe towards cape *Breton*, and the coaſt of *Arambec*, often ſending men aſhore to get information of the country, and returned home in *October*, which is all the account we have of this voyage, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1530. *Francis Pizarro* having been in *Spain*, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had diſcovered, ſailed from *Panama* with a hundred and eighty five *Spaniards*, and thirty ſeven horſes. At the bay of S. *Matthew* he landed the horſes and moſt of the men, to march along the ſhore, whilſt the ſhips coaſted; and falling upon the town of *Quapel*, he took a vaſt booty of gold, ſilver, and emeraulds: then he ſent three ſhips to *Panama* and *Nicaragua* to bring recruits of men and proviſions. Being reduced to great ſtraits, and ready to abandon the country, a ſhip arrived with ſupplies. Hence they ſailed to the iſland *Puna*, which lies between three and four degrees of ſouth-latitude; where after much feigned friendſhip from the *Indians*, he came to a battle with them, and having gained the victory, continued there, ſetting at liberty ſix hundred *Indians* of *Tumbez*, kept there in ſlavery, which gained him the affection of thoſe people. Two ſhips coming to him with recruits from *Panama*, *Pizarro* ſailed over to *Tumbez*, of which place he poſſeſt himſelf after killing many *Indians*, who uſed all means by open force and treachery to deſtroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatneſs and infinite wealth of the city of *Cuzco*, and of the vaſt power and large dominion of the emperor of *Peru*. Then moving ſtill to the ſouthward, he founded the city of *S. Michael*, and ſtaid there long to ſettle that new colony, to get more ſupplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country; and though theſe things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of *Peru*, theſe were *Atahaulpa* and *Guaſcar*, of whom the former had been ſucceſsful in ſeveral battles. *Pizarro* reſolved to make his advantage of their diviſions. He therefore marched into the country with ſcarce two hundred men, and coming to *Caxamalca*, whence *Atahaulpa* drew out with his army, he ſent to invite him back. The *Igna* came with an infinite multitude of *Indians*; and having filled the great market of *Caxamalca*, he ordered they ſhould ſeize all the *Spaniards*, and take care that not one eſcaped: upon which as his horns and other warlike inſtruments began to make a dreadful noiſe, *Pizarro* gave the ſignal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the *Igna* priſoner, and with him an incredible treaſure of gold, ſilver, and cotton cloth. The *Igna* being priſoner, offered for his ranſom ten thouſand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of ſilver; which he had almoſt performed, when new troubles ariſing, he was put to death. After which *Pizarro* marched to the great city of *Cuzco*, near two hundred leagues from *Caxamalca*, to the ſouth-eaſt; whence moving to the ſea, he founded the city of *Lima* in 18 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and ſubdued all that vaſt empire of *Peru*. *Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and *dec.* 5. throughout the greateſt part of it.

An. 1532. *Nunho de Guzman*, ſent out by *Cortes* from *Mexico* by land to reduce

the province of *Mechoacan*, diſcovered and ſubdued the provinces of *Culiacan* and *Cinaloa*, extending to 28 degrees of north-latitude on the coaſt of the South-ſea, and oppoſite to the ſouth end of *California*; all which was done by land, and was a conſequence of the former navigations, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. I.

Some ſhips were ſent out theſe years by *Cortes* from *New-Spain*, to diſcover to the north-weſt; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needleſs to give any account of them.

An. 1534. *Simon de Alcazova*, a *Portugueſe* in the king of *Spain*'s ſervice, undertook to diſcover to the ſouthward of *Peru*; paſſing the ſtrait of *Magellan*, and fitting out two good ſhips with two hundred and fifty men, he ſailed from S. *Lucar* on the twenty firſt of *September*, and entered the mouth of the ſtraits of *Magellan* in *January* following. Having ſpent ſome time in it, and being half-way through, the violent ſtorms, which laſted many days, were the occaſion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the ſtrait, and put into port *Lobos*, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed a hundred men to diſcover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, becauſe he could not himſelf, by reaſon of indiſpoſition. They marched ninety leagues thro' a deſart country, ſeeing ſcarce any inhabitants, and being ready to periſh ſometimes for want of water; and by this time all the proviſions they brought from aboard were ſpent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ſhips, and ſome of them mutinying by the way, ſecured thoſe that oppoſed their wicked deſigns; and coming aboard, murdered *Alcazova* their commander in chief and his pilot, deſigning to leave the reſt that had oppoſed them aſhore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themſelves, the loyal party took the advantage to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſhips, and executed many of them. This done, they directed their courſe for the iſlands of *America*. The greateſt ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of *Braſil*, the other in much diſtreſs arrived at the iſland *Hiſpaniola*. Thus ended this enterpriſe, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.

This ſame year 1534. *Jaques Cartier* ſailed from the port of S. *Malo*, by order of *Francis* I. king of *France*, to diſcover the north part of *America*. He ſet out on the twentieth of *April*, and on the tenth of *May* put into the port of S. *Catharine* in *Newfoundland*; where having ſpent ſome days in refitting, he ſailed all the length of the iſland from cape *Raz* to cape *de Grace*; and entring between the iſland and the continent, run to the weſtward along the ſhore, till at the mouth of the great river *Canada*, he turned to the ſouthward, came to the bay called *du Chaleur*, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along thoſe ſhores on the back of *Newfoundland*, viewing all the creeks and harbours; till the fifth of *Auguſt*, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at S. *Malo* on the fifth of *September*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 201.

An. 1535. The ſame *Jaques Cartier* ſailed again from S. *Malo*, *May* the nineteenth, with three ſhips upon the ſame diſcovery; and after ſuffering much by ſtorms, which parted them, *Cartier* on the twenty fifth of *June* came upon the coaſt of *Newfoundland* in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and ſtaying ſome days, was there joined by his other two ſhips. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of *Newfoundland*, ſailing to the weſtward, and foul weather coming on, anchored in the port of S. *Nicholas*, where they ſtaid till the ſeventh of *Auguſt*; and then ſteering to the ſouthward, on the fifteenth came upon the iſland of the *Aſſumption*. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coaſting along it, came to the iſland he called of *Orleans*, in the country of *Canada*, where he traded amicably with the *Indians*; and leaving the ſhips there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he ſaw the town of *Hochelaga*, conſiſting of about fifty great houſes, each capable of a great number of people, and the town incloſed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ſhips, he went to *Stadacona*, a town about a league from them, to viſit the prince of that part of *Canada*. In theſe parts he found much fiſh, *Indian* wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, diſcovering what was neareſt, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in *May* following returned home with a particular account of the great river of *Canada*, and the whole country called by that name, or *New-France*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 212.

This year D. *Peter de Mendoza* ſailed from S. *Lucar* with eleven ſhips, and eight hundred men in them, for the river of *Plate*, where he happily arrived, and ſettled the colony of *Buenos Ayres*, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greateſt part of his people periſhed there for want, before they were relieved from *Spain*, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. IX.

An. 1536. Two ſhips were fitted out at *London*, under the command of Mr. *Hore*, with a hundred and twenty men, for north *America*; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to *Newfoundland*, where they were in ſuch want,

that

that they eat up one another; and thoſe that were left, ſurprized a *French* ſhip that came into thoſe parts, and ſo returned home, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1539. F. *Mark de Niza*, with his companion F. *Honoratus*, a *Black* whoſe name was *Stephen*, and ſome *Indians* for interpreters, ſet out on the ſeventh of *March* from the town of *Culiacan* at the entrance into the ſtrait of *California* on the South-ſea ſhore, to diſcover the country to the northward by land. F. *Honoratus* fell ſick, and was left behind; and F. *Mark* proceeded to *Petathen*, ſixty leagues from *Culiacan*; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary reſpect, and ſupplying him plentifully with all neceſſaries. Hence he went on to *Vacapa*, and ſent the *Black* towards the ſea to diſcover that port, who ſoon after ſent meſſengers, deſiring the father to come ſpeedily to him, becauſe he had received information of a country called *Cibola*, where there were ſeven great cities, built with ſtone two ſtories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. F. *Mark* ſet out towards this country, and all the way he went, the people offered him not only proviſions, but *Turky* ſtones, earthen diſhes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He paſſed through a deſart of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the firſt towns ran to meet him clad in cotton cloth, or ſkins with collars and other ornaments of *Turky* ſtones. Having travelled a hundred and twenty leagues from *Vacapa*, he came into a moſt delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and ſix days journey over; and then entered into a deſart of fifteen days journey, where an *Indian* brought him the news that *Stephen* his *Black*, who had gone all the way before, was killed at *Cibola* by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other *Indians* that went with him, and had eſcaped. F. *Mark* having with much difficulty perſuaded ſome few *Indians* to follow him, went on till he came in ſight of *Cibola*, which he viewed from a riſing ground, and afterwards declared it was the beſt city he had ſeen in *America*, the houſes being two or three ſtories high, and very beautiful; but durſt not go into it, for fear if they ſhould kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that diſcovery. He therefore returned, having ſeen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized; whereof he ſent an account to the viceroy. He alſo was informed, that beyond *Cibola* there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called *Marata*, *Acus*, and *Tonteac*, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. *Cibola* lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north-latitude, *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. VII.

Upon the news of this great diſcovery by land, *Cortes* ſet out three ſhips from *New Spain*, under the command of D. *Franciſco de Ulloa*; who directed his courſe to the north-weſt, run along the back of *California*, ſearching all that coaſt as far as cape *Enganho* in the latitude of 30 degrees: but here was no diſcovery of any conſequence made, and *Ulloa* reſolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ſhips had been loſt before, and the third, which now left him, returned to *New Spain*. Herrera *Dec.* 6. lib. IX.

An. 1540. Don *Antony Mendoza* viceroy of *Mexico*, upon the information above-given by F. *Mark* of the country of *Cibola*, ordered *Francis Vaſquez de Cornado*, governor of *New Galicia*, to march thither with ſome forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. *Cornado* ſet out from *Culiacan* in *May*, with an hundred and fifty horſe and two hundred foot, and ſtore of ammunition and Proviſions. He directed his courſe almoſt north-eaſt, and after a long march of many days came to the firſt town, where *Stephen* the *Black* above-mentioned was killed. Here they ſaw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houſes of ſtone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in ſkins of beaſts. Five days journey to the north-eaſt of *Cibola* is a province called *Tucayan*. All theſe places gave the *Spaniards* friendly Reception, except the firſt town of *Cibola*. They travelled ſeven days further ſtill north-eaſt, and came to the river *Cicuique*, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here *Cornado* ordered all his forces to ſtay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward always among abundance of cattle, and on the feaſt of St. *Peter* and *Paul* came to the river to which he gave thoſe names. Hence they turned into the province of *Quivira*, which is a finer country than moſt in *Europe*, and where they ſaw grapes and ſeveral ſorts of *European* fruits, as alſo flax growing wild. Having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, becauſe he came back the direct way. *Quivira* is in 40 degrees of latitude. *Cornado* was out two years upon his diſcovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

The

The ſame year the viceroy of *Mexico* ſet out two ſhips at *Acapulco* on the South-ſea, to diſcover on that element, whilſt *Cornado* travelled by land, and gave the command of them to *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, who ſet ſail on the ninth of *May*. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the ſtrait of *California*, he ſent his boats before to ſound, and yet run aground; but the tide riſing, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the *Indians* for proviſions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, *Alarcon* heard tidings of *Cibola*, which was what he looked for, and of the death of *Stephen* the *Black*. He called the river *Buena Guia*, and returning to his ſhips, put aboard his boats abundance of proviſions and commodities to trade with; reſolving to join *Francis Vaſquez de Cornado* that way. *Alarcon* went up this river eighty five leagues, and then hearing no news of *Cornado*, in ſearch of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ſhips. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coaſt, enquiring for *Cornado* and *Cibola*, till perceiving at laſt there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to *New Spain*; having ſailed 4 degrees further than the ſhips ſent by *Cortes*. *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. IX.

This year ſtill, *James Cartier* before mentioned ſailed from *S. Malo* with five ſhips on the twenty third of *May* for the coaſt of *Canada* and *Saguenay*; and meeting with very bad weather at ſea, were parted, and came together again after long beating at ſea, in the port of *Carpont* in *Newfoundland*; and on the twenty third of *Auguſt* put into the haven of *Santa Croix*, or the holy croſs in *Canada*. Hence the lord of *Roberval* ſailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the proviſions and ammunition; and keeping three ſhips with him, ſent back the other two into *France*. This is the firſt colony I find in north *America*, and the firſt in all that continent of any nation, except the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſes*. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 232.

There occurs another navigation this year, no leſs remarkable in its way, than any of thoſe already mentioned. *Pizarro* having conquered the mighty empire of *Peru*, guided by his boundleſs ambition, travelled up into the inland, and wanting proviſions, ſent captain *Orellana* down the river of the *Amazons* with eighty men in a boat, and ſeveral canoos. He ſet out about the latter end of this year, and being carried two hundred leagues from the place where he entered, the violence of the current driving the boats twenty five leagues a day, he thought he was too far gone to return againſt the ſtream, and therefore held on his way, till in *January* for want of proviſions his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to periſh, they came to an *Indian* town, where they found proviſions, the *Indians* abandoning it at firſt; but *Orellana* ſpeaking to ſome in the *Indian* tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furniſhed him with turkeys, partridges, fiſh, and other neceſſaries. Finding theſe *Indians* ſincere, they ſtaid here twenty days; in which time they built a brigantine, and ſet out again on *Candlemas* day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without ſeeing any town; when being again in great want, they ſpied ſome *Indian* dwellings, where they civilly aſked for ſome ſuſtenance, and had abundance of tortoiſes and parrots given them. In the way hence they ſaw good towns, and the next day two canoos came aboard, bringing tortoiſes and good partridges, and much fiſh, which they gave to *Orellana*, who in return gave them ſuch things as he had. Then he landed, and all the *caciques* of the country about came to ſee and preſent him with proviſions: ſo that he ſtaid here thirty five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was ſupplied by the *Indians* with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty fourth of *April*, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike *Indians*, came to a deſart country. *May* the twelfth they came to the province of *Machiparo*, where many canoos full of *Indians* ſet upon them; yet they landed ſome men, who brought proviſions from the town in ſpite of the multitude of natives that oppoſed it, and repulſed the *Indians* from their boats. Yet when he went off, they purſued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he reſted three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much proviſion, whereof he laid in good ſtore. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the laſt, and where they ſaw much ſilver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon ſaving their lives. In fine, with ſuch like accidents he run down this vaſt river, ſeeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this; fighting often with the *Indians*, till he came into the North-ſea. Theſe *Spaniards* judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over, that the freſh water ran twenty leagues into the ſea, that the tide riſes and falls five or ſix fathoms, and that they had run along this river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at ſea, they coaſted along by gueſs with their ſmall

veſſels, and after many labours and ſufferings, arrived at laſt in *September* at the iſland *Cubagua* on the coaſt of *Paria*, where was then a *Spaniſh* town, and great pearl-fiſhery. *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1542. *John Francis de la Roche*, lord of *Roberval*, whom *Francis* I. king of *France* had conſtituted his lieutenant in the countries of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hochelaga*, ſailed from *Rochel* with three ſhips, and in them two hundred perſons, as well women as men, on the ſixteenth of *April*; and by reaſon of contrary winds did not reach *Newfoundland* till the ſeventh of *June*. Here he made ſome ſtay to refit, and there came into the ſame port *James Cartier* with all his company, who we mentioned went into *Canada* two years before. He left the country becauſe he was too weak to withſtand the natives; and *Roberval* commanding him now to return with him who had ſtrength enough, he ſtole away in the night, and returned into *France*. The laſt of *June* the general ſailed out of port S. *John* in *Newfoundland*, and run up the river of *Canada*, till four leagues above the iſland of *Orleans*, the place now called *Quebec*. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a ſtrong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, proviſions, and all neceſſaries, ſending two ſhips back into *France* with the account of his proceedings. Being ſettled in this place they ſuffered much hardſhip, their proviſions falling ſhort, but were relieved by the natives. *Roberval* took a journey into the country of *Saguenay* to diſcover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 240.

The ſame year 1542. D. *Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of *Mexico*, fitted out two ſhips on the coaſt of the South-ſea to diſcover to the northward, under the command of *John Rodriguez Cabrillo* a *Portugueſe*. He ſailed from the port of *Navidad* on the twenty ſeventh of *June*, and on the twentieth of *Auguſt* came up with cape *Engano* on the back of *California* in 51 degrees of latitude, where *Cortes* his diſcoverers had been before. *September* the fourteenth they anchored at a cape they called *de la Cruz*, or of the croſs, in 33 degrees of latitude. *October* the tenth they traded with ſome peaceable *Indians* in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called thoſe the towns of the canoos, becauſe they ſaw many there. On the eighteenth of the ſaid month they anchored at cape *Galera*, and above it in a port they called *Of Poſſeſſion*, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fiſhermen. From this time they had many ſtorms, which obliged them to turn back to the iſland *Of Poſſeſſion*, where they continued many days by reaſon of the foul weather. At length they put to ſea again, and ſailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was ſo intenſe they could not bear it; and their proviſions now failing, they returned to *New-Spain*; having ſailed further to the northward, than any had done on that ſide, *Herrera*, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1543. The viceroy laſt mentioned gave the command of two ſhips, a galley, and two ſmall tenders, to *Ruy Lopez de Villalobos*, to diſcover the iſlands to the weſtward. He ſailed from the coaſt of *New-Spain* on the firſt of *November*, and having run a hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and a half of latitude, came to two deſart iſlands about twelve leagues diſtant from one another, which he called S. *Thoma* and *Anublada*. Eighty leagues further they ſaw another, and called it *Roca Portida*. Seventy two leagues beyond it they found an *Archipelago* of ſmall iſlands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the ſixth of *January* paſſed by ten other iſlands, which for their pleaſantneſs they called the *Gardens*, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. *January* the tenth after a great ſtorm, in which they loſt their galley, they diſcovered another iſland, from which ſome *Indians* came in boats making the ſign of the croſs, and bidding them good-morrow in *Spaniſh*. *February* the ſecond they came to an iſland they called *Cæſarea Caroli*, about fifteen hundred leagues from *New-Spain*, where *Villalobos* would have planted a colony, but forbore becauſe the place was unwholſome. This iſland by its bigneſs, for he coaſted along it ſixty leagues to the ſouth, muſt be *Luzon* or *Manila*, the biggeſt of the *Philippines*, and he ſays it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compaſs. In a ſmall iſland near to it he found *China* ware, muſk, amber, civit, benjamin, ſtorax, and other perfumes, as alſo ſome gold. Here they reſolved to ſtay, and ſowed ſome grain, which being little, they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the iſland of *Gilolo* near the *Moluccos*, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they ſent two ſhips at ſeveral times to carry news of them to *New-Spain*, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the *Moluccos* and *Philippine* iſlands the *Spaniards* were long toſſed, ſometimes removing to one, ſometimes to another, ever perſecuted by the *Portugueſes*, and ſuffering great wants; till being quite ſpent and without hopes of relief, they put themſelves into the hands of the *Portugueſes*, and were by them ſent thro' *India* into *Spain*, *Herrera*, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1562. The *French* admiral *Chaſtillon* fitted out two of the king's ſhips under the command of captain *John Ribault* who

ſailed

ſailed with them on the eighteenth of *February*, and two months after arrived on the coaſt of *Florida*, where he landed at cape *Francois* in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no ſtay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of *May*, where he was friendly entertained by the *Indians*, who preſented him fiſh, *Indian* wheat, curious baſkets, and ſkins. he proceeded ſtill northward to the river of *Port Royal*, about which he ſaw turkey-cocks, partridges, and ſeveral other ſorts of birds and wild beaſts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he ſailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives preſented him *Chamois* ſkins, fine baſkets, and ſome pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of *France*. Having taken a view of all the ſhores of this river, he built a fort here but ſixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty ſix men with proviſions, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries, and called it *Charles Fort*. This done, he ſailed ſome leagues further along the coaſt, and finding it dangerous, and his proviſions almoſt ſpent, returned to *France*. Thoſe left in the new fort diſcovered up the river, and contracted great friendſhip with five *Indian* princes, whoſe ſubjects when their proviſions failed gave them all they had; and when that was ſpent guided them to other princes ſouthward, who freely preſented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the *Indians* of their own accord rebuilt it. The *French* had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themſelves, and murdered their captain, chooſing another in his ſtead. After which growing weary of the place, they built a ſmall bark and put to ſea in it; but their proviſions failing, they were all like to periſh, and eat one of their company. In this diſtreſs they met an *Engliſh* veſſel which ſet ſome of them aſhore, and carried the reſt into *England*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 308.

This ſame year Mr. *Hawkins* made a voyage to *Guinea*, where having got three hundred *Blacks*, he ſailed over with them to *Hiſpaniola*, and ſold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon diſcovery, deſerves no further mention, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 500.

An. 1564. Captain *Laudonniere* had the command of three ſhips given him by the king of *France*, and ſailed with them on the twenty ſecond of *April* for *Florida*. He paſſed by the iſlands *Antilles*, and arrived on the coaſt of *Florida* on the twenty ſecond of *June*. After ſpending ſome days along the coaſt, every where entertained with the greateſt tokens of affection by the *Indians*, he ſailed up the river of *May*, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called *Caroline* in honour of *Charles* king of *France*. The fort finiſhed, *Laudonniere* ſent ſome of his men up the river, who at ſeveral times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendſhip. After ſome time many mutinies happened among the *French*, of whom ſeveral went away with two brigantines to the *Spaniſh* iſlands, and having committed ſome rapine were cloſely purſued and drove back to *Florida*, where four of them were hanged. Whilſt theſe mutineers were abroad, *Laudonniere* ſent ſome of his men up the river, who diſcovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain *Apalache*, in which the *Indians* ſaid there were rich mines. The following winter the *French* having exchanged away all their commodities, the *Indians* forſook them, and they were reduced to great ſtraits, being obliged to uſe force to get proviſions. In the height of their diſtreſs, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to *France* in a ſmall veſſel ſcarce able to contain them, with very ſlender proviſions; Mr. *Hawkins* beforementioned, who this ſame year had made another voyage to *Guinea*, and thence to the *Weſt-Indies* to ſell *Blacks*, and in his way home run along the coaſt of *Florida*, coming to the river of *May* found the *French* in this diſtreſs, and therefore ſold them a ſhip upon credit, generouſly ſupplying them with all they wanted, which done, he ſailed away and returned into *England*. The *French* were now preparing to depart for *France*, this being

An. 1565. When in *Auguſt* captain *John Ribault* arrived with ſeven ſail of *French* ſhips to take poſſeſſion of that country. A few days after ſix great *Spaniſh* ſhips came upon the coaſt, and gave chaſe to four of *Ribault*'s that were without the port, which being better ſailors eſcaped; and *Ribault* made out with the other three after them, leaving *Laudonniere* in the fort with eighty five men, where the *Spaniards* attacked him, and made themſelves maſter of the fort. *Laudonniere* with ſome of his men eſcaped aboard two ſhips they had in the river, in one of which he arrived in *England*, and thence into *France*. *Ribault* with his ſhips as ſoon as he was out of *May* river met with a dreadful ſtorm, which wrecked them all on the coaſt of *Florida*, where abundance of his men ſaved themſelves from the ſea, but were afterwards deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 319. and 349. and *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1567. Captain *Gourgues* ſailed from *France* with three ſhips, and coming to the river

river of *May* in *Florida*, revenged the death of his countrymen, killing all the *Spaniards* he found there, but did nothing as to diſcoveries. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 356. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1576. Mr. *Martin Forbiſher* with two barks and a pinnace ſet out from *Graveſend* for the diſcovery of a paſſage to *China* and *Cathay* by the north-weſt, on the twelfth of *June*. Sailing about the north of *Scotland*, on the twenty eighth of *July*, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he diſcovered land, which he ſuppoſed to be the continent of *America*, called *Tierra de Labrador*, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the ſhore he found an hundred fathom water, and not being able to anchor ſtood to the north-eaſt, as the coaſt there lies, and by reaſon of the ice could not come within five leagues of the ſhore. The tenth of *Auguſt* he landed on a deſart iſland: the eleventh in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a ſtrait which is called by his own name; the twelfth he came to *S. Gabriel*'s iſland, and anchored in a bay which he called *Prior's ſound*. The eighteenth having ſailed north-north-weſt, he came to *Butcher's iſland*, where landing they ſpied ſeven boats. Theſe people came aboard and looked like *Tartars*, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noſes, of a tawny complexion, clad in ſeal-ſkins, the boats alſo made of ſeal-ſkins with a wooden keel. The twenty ſixth one of theſe men came aboard, and the boat going to ſet him aſhore, was taken by thoſe ſavages with all the men. Having ſtaid a day in hopes to recover them, and no ſigns appearing, he ſailed homewards, and arrived at *Harwich* on the firſt of *October*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 29, 57.

An. 1577. Mr. *Forbiſher* ſailed the ſecond time on the twenty ſixth of *May* with a ſhip of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the ſame diſcovery he had attempted the foregoing year. *June* the ſeventh he arrived at the iſles of *Orkney*, and *July* the fourth at *Frieſland*: the ſixteenth he came to his ſtrait diſcovered the laſt year, and much ice appearing durſt not venture in with his ſhip, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the ſavages aſhore. *July* the nineteenth the ice driving away the ſhips, he run into the ſtrait, and anchored in a bay which they called *Jackman's ſound*: here he landed with moſt of his men, and having travelled ſome way and found nothing to ſatisfy his deſires, he coaſted a little in the barks and boats both eaſt and weſt; and though he ſaw ſeveral people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of *Auguſt* came to that he call'd *Anne Warwick*'s ſound and iſland. Here he uſed all poſſible means to bring the natives to trade, or give ſome account of themſelves, but they were ſo wild, that they only ſtudied how to deſtroy the *Engliſh*. *Forbiſher* this year did not run above thirty leagues up the ſtrait, and the winter drawing on returned into *England*, having loaded his veſſels with a ſort of ſhining ſand and ſtones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 32, 60.

An. 1578. The noiſe of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a paſſage encouraged people to proſecute this voyage; and fifteen ſail of ſhips provided for it met at *Harwich*, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be ſet up in the golden country diſcovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty firſt of *May* they left *Harwich*, and the ſecond of *July* came into *Forbiſher*'s ſtrait, which they found choaked up with ice, and as they ſtruggled to work through it, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe and ſo encloſed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all periſh. One veſſel of an hundred tons was loſt, but the men ſaved; two others had not been ſeen in twenty days before, and four that were fartheſt out at ſea beſt eſcaped the danger of the ice, clearing themſelves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-weſt, and into ſea-room, they were driven down by the current to the ſouthward of *Forbiſher*'s ſtrait, and run into another about 60 leagues, without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obſtructing their making an obſervation. Returning out of it again, moſt of the ſcattered fleet met and made for *Forbiſher*'s ſtrait, in hopes of thoſe golden mountains, but found others of ice to obſtruct their paſſage. After many other difficulties *Forbiſher* with moſt of the ſhips worked his way through, and on the thirty firſt of *July* reached his long deſired port of the counteſs of *Warwick*'s ſound. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the houſe or fort brought from *England*; but part of it being loſt in the ſhip caſt away, and more of it, as alſo of the proviſions not yet come, being in four ſhips, the deſign of inhabiting them was laid aſide. The other ſhips that had been miſſing, after hard ſtruggling with ice and ſtorms, joined the fleet. Here they ſet their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done, they directed their courſe for *England*, whither they returned in ſafety. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 39, 74.

The ſame year 1582, *Francis de Ovalle* ſailed from *Acapulco*, and running to the

weſtward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the iſland *del Engano*, the fartheſt of thoſe called *de los Ladrones*, in thirteen degrees of north-latitude: thence he held on his courſe weſtward two hundred and eighty leagues, to *Cabo del Eſpiritu Santo*, or the cape of the *Holy Ghoſt*, in the iſland of *Tandaya*, the firſt of the *Philippines*. He ſpent ſeveral days in the narrow channels among theſe iſlands, ſhaping his courſe diverſly as they would permit; and coming out into the open ſea run up into the bay of *Manila*, now the metropolis of the *Philippine* iſlands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coaſt of *China*, and arrived in the port of *Macao*. Here he furniſhed himſelf with neceſſaries, and turning again to the eaſtward paſſed through the iſlands called *Lequios*, whence he held his courſe eaſt, and eaſt and by north, never touching any where, or meeting with any land till he came upon the coaſt of *California* in 38 degrees and a half of latitude. From this place he ran ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth to cape *S. Lucas*, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called *Mendocino*, whence he continued his voyage ſucceſsfully back to the port of *Acapulco*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 442. This voyage is inſerted becauſe it is the firſt from *New Spain* to *China*, and the firſt that found the way of returning to *New Spain* by the northward; for want of which knowledge, many ſhips that attempted to return from the *Molucco's* to *America*, were ſtill beaten back, there being no poſſibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the eaſterly winds continually reign.

An. 1583. On the eleventh of *June* ſir *Humphrey Gilbert* ſailed from the weſt of *England* with five veſſels, and in them two hundred and ſixty men, deſigning to plant a colony in ſome part of north *America*. On the thirteenth the biggeſt ſhip ſtole away by night, and returned to *Plymouth*, there being a contagious diſtemper among the men. *July* the thirtieth he came upon the back of *Newfoundland*, which is about fifty leagues from the coaſt, and has at leaſt twenty five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the ſea, for on each ſide of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coaſt, and running along it put into *S. John's* harbour, where he anchored among abundance of fiſhermen of ſeveral countries, who were there before. Here he went aſhore, and took poſſeſſion. One of his ſhips had before played the pirate at ſea, robbing a *French* veſſel, and here his men run away with a ſhip laden with fiſh, and others hid themſelves; ſo that finding too few men for his ſhips, ſome being ſick, he put them into one of his veſſels, and ſent it home, remaining now with only three. *Auguſt* the twentieth he ſailed from port *S. John*, and the next day came up with cape *Raz* in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the weſtward towards cape *Breton*, eighty ſeven leagues diſtant, they ſpent eight days in the paſſage; and coming among the flats, the biggeſt ſhip of the three was caſt away, and nothing ſaved except a few men in the boat. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was not aboard the ſhip caſt away: The other two left reſolved to return home, but by the way the ſmall veſſel ſir *Humphrey* was in periſhed, the other arrived ſafe at *Dartmouth*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 143.

An. 1584. Mr. *Philip Amadas* and Mr. *Arthur Barlow* ſailed on the twenty ſeventh of *April* from the weſt of *England* in two barks, to diſcover in *America*. On the tenth of *June* they came among the iſlands of *America*, much more to the ſouthward than they had deſigned. *July* the fourth they diſcovered the continent, and ſailed along the coaſt four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going aſhore took poſſeſſion. This place they afterwards found to be the iſland of *Wokoken*, on the coaſt of *Virginia*, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it deer, rabbets, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, ſaſſafras, cypreſs and maſtich-trees. The natives from the continent repaired to the ſhips, and exchanged ſeveral ſorts of ſkins, white coral, and ſome pearls, for tin things, and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very ſhort time. The natives called it *Wingandacoa*, and the *Engliſh Virginia*. Going aſhore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the county, but ſaw it not. They made no long ſtay here, nor proceeded any further upon diſcovery, only juſt to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to *England* in *September*, bringing two of the natives with them. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 246.

An. 1585. On the ninth of *April* ſir *Richard Greenvil* departed from *Plymouth* with ſeven ſail; and after touching at the iſlands of *Puerto Rico*, and *Hiſpaniola*, on the twenty ſixth of *June* came to an anchor at the iſland *Wokoken* in *Virginia*, where the admiral's ſhip was loſt through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. *Lane* was ſet aſhore with above an hundred men to ſettle a colony, with all neceſſaries for that purpoſe. Then the admiral returned to *England*, and the new planters made

made ſeveral diſcoveries up the country, finding it every where plentiful and pleaſant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conſpiring to deſtroy them, and no relief as yet coming from *England*, they returned home aboard ſir *Francis Drake*'s ſhips, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the *Spaniſh* plantations. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 251. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1645.

The ſame year 1585, on the ſeventh of *June*, Mr. *John Davis* ſailed from *Dartmouth* with two barks for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage to *China*. *July* the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty ninth diſcovered land bearing north-eaſt of them in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went aſhore, and found a tractable ſort of people, with whom they dealt for ſeals ſkins, and ſeveral ſorts of leather. *Auguſt* the firſt they proceeded on their diſcovery to the north-weſt, and on the ſixth came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under a hill which they called mount *Raleigh*, where they ſaw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coaſted on, and the eleventh found themſelves in a paſſage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they ſailed ſixty leagues; and ſearching all about found many iſlands and ſeveral harbours, with all appearances of a further paſſage, yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* on the thirtieth of *September*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 98.

An. 1586. Mr. *Davis* ſailed the ſecond time on the ſeventh of *May* with one ſhip, two barks, and a ſmall pinnace, upon the ſame diſcovery. The fifteenth of *June* he diſcovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude, and went aſhore on an iſland, where he traded very friendly with the natives for ſeals, ſtags, and white hares ſkins, and dried fiſh and ſome fowl. Here he continued ſome days trading with the natives, who were very thieviſh; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coaſted ſouthward again to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till *September*; and ſailing thence in 54 degrees, found an open ſea tending weſtward, which they hoped might be the paſſage ſo long ſought for; but the weather proving tempeſtuous, they returned to *England* in *October*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 103.

The ſame year 1586. Sir *Richard Grenvil* returned to *Virginia* with three ſhips to relieve the colony left by him there; which being gone, as was ſaid before, he left fifteen men on the iſland *Roanoak* with proviſions for two years, and then returned to *England*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 265.

This year alſo was begun the voyage round the world by ſir *Thomas Candiſh*, which may be ſeen among the voyages about the globe after theſe *Weſt-India* diſcoveries.

An. 1587. Mr. *John Davis* on the nineteenth of *May* ſailed with three ſmall veſſels, upon his third voyage for diſcovery of a paſſage to the north-weſt. *June* the eighteenth they came to an anchor on the northern *American* coaſt, and the twentieth were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open ſea; and then ſteering weſtward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly courſe, they were forced to ſeek the open ſea again. The twentieth they had ſight of the ſtrait they diſcovered the year before, and ſailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide ſea: then they coaſted along to the ſouthward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 111.

The ſame year 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh* provided three veſſels to carry over to *Virginia* a hundred and fifty men to ſettle a colony there under the command of *John White*. They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the eighth of *May*, and having ſpent ſeveral days among the *Spaniſh American* iſlands, arrived at laſt on the twenty ſecond of *July* at *Hatoraſk* in *Virginia*; whence croſſing over to the iſland *Roanoak*, they found the fifteen *Engliſh* left there the year before were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were ſet aſhore with all their proviſions, goods, and ammunition, and the ſhips returned into *England*, carrying with them the governor to ſollicite for ſpeedy ſupplies to be ſent to the new colony, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 280.

An. 1590. *John White* returned to *Virginia* to the place where he had left the colony, but found none of the men; only an inſcription on a tree, ſignifying they were removed to *Croatoan*, another iſland on the coaſt, and many cheſts broke up, and ſome lumber belonging to them, ſcattered about the place. In going aſhore here a boat was overſet, and a captain with ſix men drowned; the reſt with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them ſeveral caſks they had carried to fill with freſh water. They had ſpent much time before they came hither, ranging about the *Spaniſh* iſlands; and the ſeaſon being now ſtormy, they were forced to return to *England*,

land, without ſo much as knowing what was become of the colony, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 288.

An. 1602. Captain *Goſnols* ſailed from *Falmouth* on the twenty ſixth of *March*, and on the fourteenth of *April* diſcovered land in about 40 degrees of north-latitude; and having ſpent ſome days ſounding along the coaſt, on the twenty fourth came upon *Elizabeth*'s iſland, in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the continent. This iſland was not inhabited, but over-grown with trees and ſhrubs of all ſorts, and in it a pool of freſh water, about two miles in compaſs, one ſide of it not above thirty yards from the ſea, and in the midſt of it a ſmall rocky iſland about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain deſigned to build a fort, and leave ſome men. The thirty firſt he went over to take a view of the continent, which he found a moſt delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this ſmall view of the country, and the men refuſing to be left on that deſart place, he returned for *England*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1651.

An. 1603. Captain *Samuel Champlain* of *Brouage* ſailed from the port of *Honfleur* in *Normandy* on the fifth of *March* for *Canada*. The ſecond of *May* they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland* in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth they came upon cape S. *Mary*, and the twentieth to the iſland of the *Aſſumption*, at the mouth of the river of *Canada*. He run up it a hundred leagues to the little port of *Tadouſſac* on the north ſide of *Canada*, and at the mouth of *Saguenay* river, where they contracted ſtrict friendſhip with the natives. He ran twelve leagues up the river *Saguenay*, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of *Canada* as far as that of the *Iroquois*, and thence to the firſt great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the *Indians* told them there were ten more falls, though not ſo great, beyond the firſt. After diſcovering thus much, and getting information of ſeveral great lakes up the country, and of a boundleſs ocean at four hundred leagues diſtance weſtward, they returned to *Tadouſſac*; and ſpending ſome days more in ſearching the great and leſſer rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they ſailed back into *France*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1605.

The ſame year 1603. Two veſſels of *Briſtol*, and one of *London*, made their voyages to *Virginia*, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the laſt of them run up into *Cheſapeak* bay in about 37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going aſhore, was killed with four men; upon which the reſt preſently returned home, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.

An. 1604. Monſieur *de Monts* having obtained a patent from *Henry* IV. king of *France* for peopling the countries of *Acadie* and *Canada*, he ſailed for thoſe parts with two ſhips well man'd, and Monſieur *de Potrincourt* with him. They were kept long at ſea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the ſixth of *May* they put into a port in the ſouth of *Acadie*, which they called *Roſſignol*, becauſe there they took a *French* ſhip, commanded by a captain of that name, and being confiſcate for trading there contrary to the king's Patent. Then doubling cape *Sable*, the ſouthermoſt of that country, they ran up to the northward in a large bay to that of S. *Mary*, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called *Port Royal*; which Monſieur *de Potrincourt* demanded a grant of, to ſettle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded ſtill further up to cape *Mines*, ſo called becauſe of ſome found there, and into the river of S. *John*; and then turning back, erected a fort in a ſmall iſland twenty leagues from the ſaid river, reſolving to ſettle there, and calling it the iſland of *Sainte Croix*, or the *Holy Croſs*. It is ſmall, but very fruitful, and lies as it were hid among many others. Here winter coming on, and the fort being ill ſeated, as expoſed to the north, the men ſuffered very much through extremity of cold and deep ſnows; and being forced to croſs a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerouſly ſick. This hard ſeaſon being over, monſieur *de Monts* ſearched all the coaſt in a ſmall veſſel he built to diſcover a more convenient place to ſettle, and at laſt pitched upon *Port Royal*, where he left part of his men, and returned himſelf to *France*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1620.

An. 1605. and on the laſt day of *March*, captain *George Weymouth* with one ſhip ſailed from the *Downs*, and on the eighteenth of *May* came to an anchor in *S. George*'s iſland on the coaſt of *Virginia*, where he found great plenty of fiſh; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called *Pentecoſt* harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty ſix miles, and found it fit to receive and ſecure any number of ſhips. The natives of this coaſt traded in a friendly manner for ſeveral days, but were found at laſt to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair ſhew of kindneſs to draw the *Engliſh* into their power; who being aware of them in time,

broke off the correſpondence, and returned into *England* without making any conſiderable advantage of this ſmall diſcovery. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1659.

An. 1606. Monſieur *de Monts* and monſieur *de Potrincourt* ſailed again from *Rothel* with one ſhip of an hundred and fifty tun. The twenty eighth of *June* they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland*, and making the ſhore, coaſted all along to *Port Royal*, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty ſixth of *July*. Here they found but two *Frenchmen*, the reſt being gone with their ſmall veſſel towards *Newfoundland*; but ſoon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this laſt-come ſhip, left to coaſt along cloſe by the ſhore. Here they ſettled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient ſeat for their town, were moſt obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all ſorts of *European* grain and garden-ſtuff: yet after all, the colony was forſaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been ſaid; but becauſe new meaſures were taken in *France*, and the ſupplies that ſhould have been ſent them were employed another way. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1627.

The ſame year 1606, on the twentieth of *December*, three ſhips ſailed from *London*, commanded by captain *Newport*, to ſettle a colony in *Virginia*; and paſſing among the *Spaniſh American* iſlands, on the twenty ſixth of *April* came into the bay of *Cheſapeac*, where they preſently landed, and had ſome men hurt in a ſkirmiſh with the natives. The twenty ſeventh they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found ſhallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel ſix, eight, and ten fathom deep, which was a ſatisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it cape *Comfort*. The point at the mouth of the bay they called cape *Henry*. The following days they ſurveyed all the ſhores in their boats, being civilly treated every where by the *Indians*; and running up *Powhatan* river, found a place where their ſhips could lie moored to the trees in ſix fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of *May* they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themſelves, reſolving to ſettle their colony, as they did, giving it the name of *James Town*; which is the firſt plantation of the *Engliſh* in *Virginia* that continued, as it does to this day. *June* the twenty ſecond captain *Newport* in the admiral was ſent back into *England*. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little proviſion, and therefore they were ſoon reduced to great extremities; many alſo dying of diſeaſes peculiar to that country. But in their greateſt diſtreſs, the natives, who before had been their enemies, ſupplied them with plenty of all ſorts of victuals, which recovered the ſick men, and was the ſaving of the colony. Every year after ſhips arrived from *England* with ſupplies, till the new town grew to a conſiderable body, and ſent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought neceſſary, till they made themſelves maſters of that northern part of *America*. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be ſeen at large in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1705.

An. 1610. Mr. *Hudſon* again undertook the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, which had been laid aſide for ſome years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done, giving names to ſome places, to be ſeen in the maps; as *Deſire provokes*, *Iſle of God's Mercies*, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's Cape*, and *Queen Ann's Cape*: but he could proceed no farther for ice.

An. 1611. Sir *Thomas Button*, at the inſtigation of prince *Henry*, whoſe ſervant he was, purſued the north-weſt diſcovery. He paſſed *Hudſon*'s ſtrait, and leaving *Hudſon*'s bay to the ſouth, ſailed above two hundred leagues to the ſouth-weſtward, through a ſea above eighty fathom deep, and diſcovered a great continent called by him *New Wales*; where after much miſery and ſickneſs, wintering at *Port Nelſon*, he carefully ſearched all the bay, from him called *Button's bay*, back again almoſt to *Digg's iſland*. He diſcovered the great land called *Cary's Swanſneſt*. He loſt many men during his ſtay in the river called *Port Nelſon*, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north-latitude; though he kept three fires in his ſhip all winter, and had great ſtore of white partridges, and other fowl, beſides deer, bears and foxes.

An. 1612. Mr. *Richard Moore* was ſent in *April* with one ſhip and ſixty men to inhabit the *Summer-iſlands*, otherwiſe called *Bermudas*, long before diſcovered by the *Spaniards*, who after ſome attempts to ſettle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by ſir *Thomas Gate* and ſir *George Summers*, who were ſhipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months, during which time they built a ſhip and a pinnace with the Cedar growing there, and in 1610 ſailed away for *Virginia*, leaving only two men in the great iſland. A ſhip ſent thither from *Virginia* left only three men in the iſland, who found there amber-greece to the value of nine or ten thouſand pounds. Mr. *Moore* at his coming this year found thoſe three men in per-

fect health. He ſettled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above ſix hundred inhabitants, who built ſeveral forts, but had like to have been themſelves deſtroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increaſed from a few coming aſhore out of a ſhip, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country, notwithſtanding all poſſible means were uſed to deſtroy them.

An. 1612. *James Hall* and *William Baffin* returned into *England*, having diſcovered *Cockin*'s ſound in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at *Cunningham*'s *River*, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615. Mr. *Baffin* went again, and the chief thing he diſcovered was, that there is no paſſage in the north of *Davis's Strait.*

An. 1616. Mr. *Baffin* was ſent the third time, and entered ſir *Thomas Smith*'s bay in 78 degrees latitude; and returned, deſpairing of finding any paſſage that way.

An. 1620. A ſhip ſailed from *Plymouth* for *New-England* on the ſixth of *September*; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ſhip was of. It is alſo here to be obſerved, that all the northern coaſt from about 60 to 40 degrees of north-latitude, was firſt diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and afterwards at ſeveral times by *Cortereal* a *Portugueſe*, as has been ſet down in their proper places, and by ſundry *Engliſh* and *French* diſcoverers; to particularize every one of whoſe voyages would ſwell a volume, and therefore only the principal diſcoveries and plantations are here ſet down, as moſt ſuitable to the nature of this diſcourſe, and the intended brevity. This ſhip we now ſpeak of, anchored in the bay at cape *Cod* in *New-England*, and in 41 degrees and a half of north-latitude on the eleventh of *November*. Here they put out their boat, and landed men, who went ſome miles into the country ſeveral ways without meeting any people, and only found ſome little *Indian* wheat buried, the boat coaſting along the ſhore. This they continued for ſeveral days, ſeeking out ſome proper place to ſettle. At length on the twenty third of *December*, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houſes, dividing themſelves into nineteen families, that the fewer houſes might ſerve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an *Indian*, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This ſavage brought ſome of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they concluded peace and amity. The following year this new colony was reinforced with thirty five men from *England*, and ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries, and called *New-Plimouth* in *New-England*. A war ſoon breaking out with another *Indian* prince, the *Engliſh* fortified their colony to ſecure themſelves againſt all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees ſent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account; *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1842.

An. 1631. Captain *James* ſailing into the north-weſt, was much peſtered with ice in *June* and *July*; and entring a great bay near port *Nelſon*, he named the land *New South-Wales.* Roving up and down theſe ſeas, he gave names to theſe places diſcovered by him, *viz.* cape *Henrietta Maria*, *Lord Weſton's Iſland*, *Earl of Briſtol's Iſland*, *ſir Thomas Roe's Iſland*, *Earl of Danby's Iſland*, and *Charlton Iſland.* He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year 1632. having diſcovered much beyond *Hudſon*, *Button*, and *Baffin.* The *Danes* have attempted to diſcover in theſe northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667. *Zachariah Gillam* in the *Nonſuch* ketch paſſed through *Hudſon*'s *Strait*, and then into *Baffin*'s bay to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence ſoutherly into 51 degrees; where in a river called *Prince Rupert's River*, he had a friendly correſpondence with the natives, built a fort, which he called *Charles Fort*, and returned with ſucceſs; having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in thoſe parts.

An. 1669. Captain *John Narbrough*, afterwards ſir *John Narbrough*, ſailed in the *Sweepſtakes* a man of war of three hundred tun, thirty ſix guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of ſeventy tun and nineteen men, both ſet out at the charge of his majeſty king *Charles* II. and his royal highneſs the duke of *York*, to make a farther diſcovery on the coaſt of *Chile.* On the twenty firſt of *October* the year following, he came to the mouth of the ſtraits of *Magellan*, and through them to the South-ſea, about the middle of *November*; having taken a moſt exact ſurvey of that paſſage, which is made publick in his voyage. On the twenty ſixth of *November* he went aſhore on the ſmall iſland called *Neuſtra Senora del Socorro*, or *Our Lady of Succour*; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his courſe to the northward, on the fifteenth of *December* he ſent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, aſhore on the ſouth ſide of port *Baldivia*, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of ſouth latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going aſhore

to a *Spaniſh* fort, were detained, and the ſhip ſailed away without them. From hence captain *Narbrough* turned again to the ſouthward, and through the ſtrait of *Magellan* returned into *England*; where he arrived in *June* following, having been out above two years.

An. 1673. On the thirteenth of *May* F. *Marquette* a jeſuit, with only ſix other *Frenchmen*, ſet out in two canoos from the *Lac des Puans*, or the *Stinking Lake*, in the province of *Canada* in *North-America*; and paſſing through the provinces of *Folle Avoine* and *Iliquois*, *Indians* in peace with *France*, ſometimes carrying their boats by land, and ſometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river *Miſſiſſipi*. They ran many leagues along this river through a deſart country, their courſe always ſouth, though ſometimes bending eaſt, and ſometimes weſt. At the end of ſeveral days ſolitude, they came among ſavage *Indians*, were friendly received, and heard that the ſea was within two or three days ſail of them; which was the gulph of *Mexico*. Thus he diſcovered all that inland part of *North-America* along the river, from 38 to 34 degrees of north-latitude, lying on the back of *Canada*, *Virginia*, &c. down to *Florida*. The particulars of this voyage may be ſeen in *Thevenot*'s ſmall collection of voyages in *octavo*.

An. 1680, and 1681. Captain *Sharp* having been buccaneering in the South-ſea, and not able to recover the ſtrait of *Magellan* to return home, he ran further to the ſouth beyond *le Maires* and *Browers*, till he came into 60 degrees of ſouth-latitude; meeting with many iſlands of ice, and abundance of ſnow, froſt, and whales, and called a ſmall place he found the *Duke of York's Iſland*. Thus he came into the north ſea a new way, and made it appear that the Ind in the ſtraits of *le Maire* and *Brower* muſt be iſlands, and not joined to any continent. *Introduction to the account of ſeveral late diſcoveries printed in* 1694, p. 13.

Here we may conclude with the *American* voyages and diſcoveries, having run along from north to ſouth on the eaſt ſide of that new world, or along that commonly called the north ſea; and back from ſouth to north along the weſt ſide, or ſouth ſea. It follows next, as was done after the eaſtern diſcoveries, to ſhew the extent of this vaſt tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation. The whole length of what has been diſcovered, is from 78 degrees of north-latitude, in which ſir *Thomas Smith*'s bay lies, to 60 degrees of ſouth-latitude, in all a hundred and thirty eight degrees; which allowing twenty leagues to a degree, in a ſtrait line amounts to two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty leagues, a thing almoſt incredible, were it not ſo well known, and ſtupendous that ſo great a part of the world ſhould lie concealed ſo many ages; being never known ſince the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to deſcend to particulars; from 80 to almoſt 50 degrees of north-latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, ſix hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of *Europe* under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and conſequently not inhabited by any *European* nation, though much of it be peopled by ſavages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of thoſe northern nations is the fiſhery of whales and morſes; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The next diviſion beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is *Canada* or *New-France*; running up the river of *Canada* above two hundred leagues into the continent, and poſſeſſed by the *French*, who have there ſeveral colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to *Canada* is *New-England*, lying along the ſea-coaſt north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt about ſeventy miles, ſubject to the crown of *England*, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and ſome corn. After it follows *New-York*, the trade much the ſame with thoſe ſpoken of. Then comes *Penſylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, almoſt north and ſouth for above a hundred leagues of *Engliſh* conqueſt, and the principal commodity tobacco. *Carolina* is next in courſe, being a part of the great province of *Florida*, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about a hundred and forty leagues in length: it has been poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* but of latter years, in the reign of king *Charles* II. from whom it took the name; and being ſo lately ſubdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. *Florida* is a vaſt part of the continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to ſouth, and above four hundred from eaſt to weſt, beſides a large province of it ſhooting out into the ſea, where begins the channel of *Bahama:* part of it is ſubject to the *Spaniards*, and a greater part not yet conquered; ſo that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of *Mexico*, running above a hundred and thirty leagues almoſt north and ſouth, and about the ſame length upon a turn it makes in the ſouth part towards the eaſt, including the great peninſula of *Yucatan*,

tan, above three hundred leagues in compaſs. In this vaſt dominion, entirely ſubject to *Spain*, is to be found in great plenty all that is neceſſary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it *Europe* is ſupplied with great ſtore of ſilver, cochineel, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to *Porto Bello* the coaſt runs partly near eaſt and weſt, and partly almoſt north and ſouth, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities abovementioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From *Nombre de Dios* to *Cabo de Galera*, taking it in a ſtrait line, the coaſt runs eaſt and weſt about four hundred and fifty leagues, all ſtill *Spaniſh*, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fiſhery on the coaſt of *Paria*, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From cape *Galera* to *Cabo de Conde*, along the coaſt of *Caribana*, lying ſouth-eaſt and northweſt about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to *Caparare* more ſoutherly about a hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and ſeventy; all this for the moſt part unconquered, and peopled by ſavage *Indians*. From cape *Caparare* to *Cabo do Natal* about four hundred leagues eaſt and weſt ſomewhat ſoutherly, and from *Cabo do Natal* to *Rio de Janeiro* almoſt north and ſouth near four hundred leagues, and ſo to *Logoa de Pernaba* a hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of *Braſil*, and ſubject to the crown of *Portugal*, yielding abundance of tobacco and ſugar, infinite quantities of *Braſil* wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it, which yields conſiderable treaſure. From *Lagoa de Pernaba* to the river of *Plate*, about three hundred leagues ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt, under the dominion of *Spain*. From this mouth of the river of *Plate*, running up the continent on the back of *Braſil*, the *Spaniſh* dominions reach acroſs to *Peru*, being at leaſt four hundred leagues, and above as much north and ſouth in the inland; being fruitful countries, almoſt overrun with flocks and herds of all ſorts of cattle, whence they ſend abundance of hides to *Spain*, and much ſilver, which they have from *Peru* by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of *Plate*, to the entrance into the ſtrait of *Magellan*, ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by ſavage *Indians*, and was never ſubdued by any *European* nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. *Terra del Fuogo*, or *terra Magellanica* lying to the ſouth of the ſtrait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reaſon of its coldneſs, and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it. The ſtrait of *Magellan* is about a hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South-ſea, from cape *Victoria* to *Rio de los Gallegos*, about two hundred leagues; all ſtill the country of the *Patagones*, never inhabited by Chriſtians, nor yielding them any benefit. But here begins the coaſt of *Chile*, extending above three hundred leagues; a country infinitely rich in gold, for which the ſilver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the moſt precious natural Balſam in the world; all ſubject to *Spain*, as is the whole coaſt on the South-ſea up to 40 degrees of north-latitude, for which reaſon it will be needleſs to repeat it. *Peru* reaches four hundred leagues north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, well known for its inexhauſtible ſilver mines of *Potoſi* and *Porco*. Next is the province of *Quito*, about an hundred leagues along the coaſt north and ſouth. Then the firm land, or continent ſo called peculiarly, and provinces of *Panama* and *Veragua*, above an hundred leagues north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. After this follows the government of *Guatemala*, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the coaſt north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt; and then that of *Mexico* two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, ſilver, all uſeful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Laſtly, *New Mexico* reaching up to 40 degrees of north-latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in ſilver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other bleſſings for human life. Having run along both ſides of *America*, and given a particular of each diviſion, as to extent, product, and by whom poſſeſſed, as far as the brevity of this diſcourſe would permit; it is fit to note that all the lengths are here taken in a ſtrait line, and not winding with the ſhores, which would make them double what is computed: and, as in ſuch vaſt extents, not pretended to be meaſured to exactneſs, but according to the general computation of ſailors. The total thus amounts to ſix thouſand five hundred leagues, taking only the greateſt windings of the coaſt, and this along what is conquered by *Europeans*; excepting only the ſeven hundred leagues of the land of the *Patagones* about the ſtrait of *Magellan*, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of *Caribana*, not ſo well ſubdued. And to ſum up the commodities we have from theſe countries; the principal are gold, ſilver, pearls, emeraulds, amethiſts, cochineal of ſeveral ſorts, indigo, anatto, logwood,

logwood, braſil, *Nicaragua* wood, braſilette, fuſtick, *lignum vitæ*, ſugar, ginger, cacao, bairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various ſorts, ſnuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all ſorts, bezoar, balſam of *Tolu*, of *Peru*, and of *Chile*, jeſuit's bark, jallap, mechoacan, ſarſaparilla, ſaſſafras, tamarinds, caſſia, and many other things of leſſer note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the iſlands belonging to this mighty continent. The firſt of theſe beginning northerly, is *Newfoundland*, above three hundred leagues in compaſs, peopled by *French* and *Engliſh*, who have ſome colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the ſea is an inexhauſted treaſure, furniſhing all *Europe* with ſalt and dried fiſh; which yield a mighty profit to thoſe that follow the fiſhery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the *Bermudas*, or *Summer-iſlands*, lying above three hundred leagues eaſt from the coaſt of *Virginia*; the biggeſt of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much ſmaller: yet here is a ſtrong colony of *Engliſh*, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is ſome cochineal, amber-greece and pearl; it uſed to ſend abroad the faireſt oranges in theſe parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coaſt of *Florida* are the iſlands called *Lucayos*, the firſt diſcovered by *Columbus*; but they are ſmall, and of no account. South of the point of *Florida* is *Cuba*, about two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the wideſt place; a pleaſant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, ſugar and cotton. Eaſt of *Cuba* lies *Hiſpaniola* an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about ſixty in breadth, producing the ſame commodities as *Cuba*; and both ſubject to *Spain*. *Jamaica* lies ſouth of *Cuba*, about ſeventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, and producing ſugar, indigo and cotton. The iſland of *Puerto Rico* is leſs than *Jamaica*, yields the ſame commodities, and belongs to *Spain*. The *Caribbe* iſlands are many, but ſmall; ſome of them poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, others not inhabited: they produce ſugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco, and run from the coaſt of *Paria* to *Puerto Rico*. The *Leeward-iſlands* lie along the coaſt of *Paria*, the moſt remarkable of them being *Margarita*, and *Cubagua* famous for the pearl-fiſhery. *La Trinidad* is a large iſland before the gulph of *Paria*, near which there are many ſmall ones, but not conſiderable. All the coaſt ſouthward has no iſland of any note, till we come to the ſtrait of *Magellan*, the ſouth part whereof is made by *Terra del Fuego* and other iſlands, of which little is known. Nor is there any aſcending again northward worth ſpeaking of, till the mouth of the bay of *Panama*, where are the iſlands of *Pearls*, ſo called from a pearl-fiſhery there; they are ſmall, and of no conſideration in any other reſpect. The only great iſland on this ſide *America* is *California*, found to be ſo but of late years, running from the tropick of *Cancer* to 45 degrees of north-latitude, north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to the ſouth. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the *Spaniards*, who have not had leiſure to build colonies there till within theſe very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to *America*; it remains to add ſome few voyages to the iſles of *Solomon*, *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, and the land of *Yeſſo*, or *Jedſo*; which being properly no parts either of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reſerved to be ſpoke of by themſelves.

An. 1595. *Alvaro de Mendana* with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, ſet out from *Peru* for the iſlands of *Solomon*, whereof ſome uncertain knowledge was had before by ſhips that accidentally had ſeen ſome of them: he had four ſail, with men and women, and all other neceſſaries to ſettle a colony. In about 9 or 10 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues weſt of the city of *Lima* in *Peru*, he diſcovered four ſmall iſlands inhabited by very handſom and civilized people. Hence holding on his courſe ſtill weſtward, he found ſeveral other more conſiderable iſlands, where he intended to have ſettled his colony, but was hindred by many misfortunes, and among the reſt ſickneſs. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in *Spaniſh* taken out of *Thevenot*'s ſecond volume; which being inſerted in this collection, it will be needleſs to add any more in this place, only that three of the ſhips periſhed, two were never heard of, a third caſt away on the *Philippine* iſlands, the men ſaved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at *Manila*, with the men almoſt ſtarved: and thus this enterprize was diſappointed.

An. 1600. Four ſhips ſailing from *Peru* for the *Philippine* iſlands, were by northerly winds driven ſouth of the equinoctial, where they fell upon ſeveral rich countries and iſlands, not far from the iſles of *Solomon:* They called one place *Monte de Plata*, or *Mountain of Silver*, becauſe they found

found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpoſe, and ſaw theſe diſcoveries. This is all we have of it in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1432. only he adds two petitions of captain *Peter Fernandez de Quiros* to the king of *Spain*, ſuing to be employed in conducting colonies to thoſe ſouthern parts, alledging the vaſt extent and riches of the continent, and great value of the iſlands, which he ſpeaks of as an eye-witneſs, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be ſeen more at large in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1422.

An. 1618. On the twenty eighth of *October* the *Dutch* ſet out eleven ſail for *India*, among which was the *Batavia*, commanded by captain *Francis Pelſart*, which being parted from the reſt was caſt away on the rocks near ſome ſmall iſlands not inhabited, and having no freſh water, in upwards of 38 degrees of ſouth-latitude, but all the people ſaved on the iſlands. This want obliged them to build a deck to their long-boat and put out to ſea, where they ſoon diſcovered the continent, bearing north and by weſt about ſix miles from them. This was on the eighth of *June*,

An. 1629. And the weather being rough, and the coaſt high, they were forced to beat at ſea till the fourteenth, when they found themſelves in 24 degrees of ſouth-latitude; and ſix men ſwimming aſhore, ſaw four ſavages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to ſeek freſh water, but finding none, ſwam back to their boat. The fifteenth the boat made into ſhore, and found no freſh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almoſt choaked. The ſixteenth they went aſhore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth in 19 degrees, the twenty ſecond in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus *Pelſart* ſailed along this coaſt to the northward till he came among the *Indian* iſlands, and then ſtruck over to *Java*, where he met two *Dutch* ſhips, which carried him to *Batavia*, whence he returned with a veſſel to ſave as much as might be of the wreck. *Thevenot*, vol. 1.

An. 1642. *Abel Janſen Taſman* ſet ſail from *Batavia* in the iſland of *Java* with a yacht and a flyboat, and *September* the fifth anchored at the iſland *Mauritius* in 20 degrees of ſouth-latitude. The eighth they departed thence ſouth till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away eaſt ſomewhat ſoutherly, till the ſixth of *November* they were in 49 degrees. The twenty fourth in 42 degrees 25 minutes they ſaw land eaſt and by north at ten miles diſtance, and called it *Antony van Diemens* lands, and after running along the coaſt came to an anchor on the firſt of *December* in a bay they named *Frederick Hendrick*'s bay: they heard ſome noiſe as of people, but ſaw none, and only the footing of wild beaſts, and ſome ſmoaks. Departing hence, on the thirteenth of *December* they anchored in the country called in the maps *New-Zealand*; here they ſaw ſome natives luſty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffick, fell upon the men in the boat and killed four of them, for which reaſon it was called *Murderers Bay*. Here they ſeemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of *January* 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an iſland there, called it *Three Kings Iſland*; and going thither to refreſh, they ſaw ſome large men, but could not underſtand them. Hence they directed their courſe north-eaſt, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they ſaw a ſmall iſland, which they could not come at, but called it *Piilſtreets Iſland*. *Jan.* 21. in 21 degrees 20 minutes they called two iſlands, the one *Amſterdam*, the other *Zealand*: on the firſt they got many hogs, hens, and all ſorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and ſeemed to know no evil, but that they would ſteal. In the latter of theſe iſlands they ſaw gardens with ſquare beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place they ſaw many iſlands as they ſtood northward, and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty iſlands, which in the charts are called *Prince William's Iſlands*, or *Hemſkirk's Shoals*. Directing their courſe now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty ſecond of *March* in 5 degrees 2 minutes ſouth-latitude they had ſight of land four miles weſt of them, being about twenty iſlands, called in the charts *Onthong Java*, about ninety miles from the coaſt of *New-Guinea*. *March* the twenty fifth in 4 degrees 35 minutes they were up with the iſlands of *Mark*, found before by *William Schouten*, and *John le Mair*: the natives are ſavage, and have their hair tied up. *March* the twenty ninth they paſſed by *Green-Iſland*, the thirtieth by S. *John's Iſland*, and *April* the firſt in 4 degrees 30 minutes they reached the coaſt of *New-Guinea* at a cape called by the *Spaniards*, *Santa Maria*, and run along the coaſt to the promontory called *Struis Hook*, where the land bends to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, as they did to find a paſſage to the ſouth, but were forced to turn to the weſt. *April* the twenty eighth they came to the burning iſland, where they ſaw a great fire come out of the hill, and ſailing betwixt the iſland and the main ſaw many fires. At the iſlands *Jama* and *Moa* they got refreſhment. *May* the twelfth in only 54 minutes of ſouth-latitude, they ſailed along

the ſide of *William Schouten*'s iſland, which ſeems to be well inhabited; and the eighteenth they came to the weſt-end of *New-Guinea*, and on the fifteenth of *June* return'd to *Batavia*, having finiſhed the voyage in ten months, *Thevenot*, vol. 2.

An. 1643. A *Dutch* ſhip ſailing to the northward of *Japan*, came upon a coaſt in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they ſaw ſeveral villages near one another, and ſay there are about them many mines of ſilver. The land in ſome places ſeemed to bear no graſs, but the ſea was very full of fiſh. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went aſhore in a mountainous country, ſuppoſed to be full of ſilver mines. In 46 degrees the land reſembled the coaſt of *England*, the ſoil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are ſmall hills covered with ſhort graſs. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an iſland which the *Dutch* call *Staten* iſland, and beyond it the companies land, another iſland: in this they found a ſort of mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all ſilver. In 45 degrees they obſerved, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of ſeveral ſorts, the ſea-ſhore was covered with roſe-trees, and on the rocks many large oiſters, but on the land they ſaw no beaſt but one bear. The inhabitants of this land of *Eſo*, or *Yedſo*, for ſo it is called, are all ſtrong ſet, thick, with long hair and beards good features, no flat noſes, black eyes, a ſallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not ſo black as the men, ſome of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They ſeem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who ſerve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like ſavages, but yet are very civil and obliging to ſtrangers: their houſes are only ſmall cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all ſorts of fiſh and herbs, and roſe-buds are their greateſt dainty. Their clothes are ſome of ſilk and ſome of the ſkins of beaſts. They uſe bows and arrows to kill wild beaſts, and they ſpin hemp. They trade with the *Japoneſes*, whom they furniſh with train-oil, whales tongues ſmoaked, furs, ſeveral ſorts of feathers, for which they receive rice, ſugar, ſilk, and other coarſer garments, copper-pipes, tobacco-boxes, and varniſhed diſhes and veſſels for their meat and drink, pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, *&c.* The capital of the country is ſmall, they call it *Matſmay*, where the prince or governor of the country reſides, who every year goes over to pay his reſpects to the emperor of *Japan*, and carry him preſents. This is what the *Dutch* diſcovered, but a *Japoneſe* told them this land of *Eſo*, or *Yedſo*, was an iſland, *Thevenot*, tom. 1.

An. 169$\frac{8}{9}$. On the fourteenth of *January* captain *Dampier* in his majeſty's ſhip the *Roe-Buck*, ſailed from the *Downs* upon a new diſcovery, touched at the *Canaries* and iſles of *Cabo Verde*, and the twenty fifth of *March* came to an anchor in *Bakia de Todos Santos*, or the *Bay of All Saints* in *Braſil*. *April* the twenty third he left this place, and the third of *April* ſaw the land about the cape of *Good Hope*. *Auguſt* the firſt having run from *Braſil* a hundred and fourteen degrees, he made in to the ſhore of *New-Holland* in 26 degrees ſouth-latitude, thinking to put into ſome harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, ſtood out to ſea again till *Auguſt* the ſixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called *Sharks Bay*, where he could get no freſh water, but plenty of wood, and refreſhed the men with raccoons, tortoiſes, ſharks, and other fiſh, and ſome ſorts of fowl. He ſounded moſt of this bay, and on the fourteenth ſailed out of it, coaſting as the weather would permit to the northward, and then to the north-eaſt, as the coaſt runs, where in 20 degrees 21 minutes he found ſeveral iſlands, and going aſhore on ſome of them could get no freſh water, nor ſee any inhabitants ſo he continued along the ſhore as near as could be with ſafety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where he ſaw ſome of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for water none was found, and digging pits they got ſome that was brackiſh and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreſhment on this coaſt, in the beginning of *September* he ſtood over for the iſland *Timor*, where he took in freſh water, and on the third of *December* arrived on the coaſt of *New-Guinea*, and had ſome commerce with the inhabitants of an iſland called *Pulo Sabuti*. Then paſſing to the northward, and to the eaſtermoſt part of *New-Guinea*, he found it did not join to the main land of *New-Guinea*, but was an iſland which he called *New-Britain*. Having diſcovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by *Timor* and *Java*, ſo to the cape of *Good Hope*, an iſland of S. *Helena*. At the iſland of the *Aſcenſion* his ſhip foundered, but the men were ſaved, and returned to *England* aboard the *Eaſt-India* ſhip called the *Canterbury*. *Dampier*'s voyage to *New-Holland*, being his third volume.

The voyages round the world which, for ſo many thouſand years as paſt from the creation till the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, could never ſo much as enter into

the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave juſt ſubject of admiration, do well deſerve to be mentioned apart from all others, as being the boldeſt action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though ſeveral attempts have been made to find out others, as has been ſhewed in the fruitleſs voyages for diſcovery of the north-eaſt and north-weſt paſſages: for this reaſon they have been reſerved for this place, where ſomething ſhall be ſaid of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the firſt, as the moſt glorious and honourable, becauſe it ſhewed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterpriſe was undertaken and performed after this manner.

An. 1519. *Ferdinand de Magalhaens*, or as we corruptly call him, *Magellan*, by nation a *Portugueſe*, by deſcent a gentleman, and by profeſſion a ſoldier and ſeaman, having ſerved his prince well both in *Africk* and *India*, and being ill rewarded, renounced his country, diſnaturalizing himſelf as the cuſtom then was, and offered his ſervice to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, then king of *Spain*. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to *India*, and particularly to the *Molucco* iſlands, beſides the common track by the cape of *Good Hope* followed by the *Portugueſes*. This he propoſed to the emperor with ſuch aſſurance of performing what he promiſed, that he had the command of five ſhips given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this ſquadron he ſailed from S. *Lucar de Barrameda* on the twentieth of *September*, the aforeſaid year 1519. Being come to the river called *Rio de Janeiro* on the coaſt of *Braſil*, and near 23 degrees of ſouth-latitude, ſome diſcontent began to appear among the men, which was ſoon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of S. *Julian* in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew ſo high, three of the captains and moſt of the men being ingaged, that *Magellan* having in vain endeavoured to appeaſe it by fair means, was forced to uſe his authority, executing two of the ſaid captains, and ſetting the third with a prieſt who had ſided with them aſhore among the wild *Indians*. This done, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the twenty firſt of *October* 1520, having been out above a year diſcovered the cape, which he called *Cabo de la Virgines*, or the *Virgins Cape*, becauſe that day was the feaſt of S. *Urſula*, and the eleven thouſand virgins; and there turned into the ſtrait he went in ſearch of, which from him to this day is called the ſtrait of *Magellan*: it lies in 52 degrees of ſouth-latitude, is about a hundred leagues in length, in ſome parts a league wide, in ſome more, in ſome leſs, but all narrow, and encloſed with high land on both ſides, ſome bare, ſome covered with woods, and ſome of the loftieſt mountains with ſnow. Having ſailed about 50 leagues in this ſtrait, they diſcovered another branch of it, and *Magellan* ſent one of his ſhips to bring him ſome account of it; but the ſeamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for oppoſing their deſign, returned into *Spain*, ſpending eight months in their return. *Magellan* having expected beyond the time appointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded through the ſtrait, and came into the South-ſea with only three ſhips, having loſt one in his paſſage, but all the men ſaved, and another as was ſaid being ſtollen away from him. The laſt land of the ſtrait he called *Cabo Deſeado*, or the *Deſired Cape*, becauſe it was the end of his deſired paſſage to the South-ſea. The cold being ſomewhat ſharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly ſteered weſt north-weſt. In this manner he ſailed three months and twenty days without ſeeing land, which reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink ſtinking water, of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were ſo weak, that they could do no ſervice. After fifteen hundred leagues ſailing he found a ſmall iſland in 88 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing conſiderable in them; and therefore held on his courſe, till in about 12 degrees of north-latitude, he came to thoſe iſlands which he called *De los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*, becauſe the natives hovered about his ſhips in their boats, and coming aboard, ſtole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he ſailed again, and diſcovering a great number of iſlands together, he gave that ſea the name of *Archipelago de S. Lazaro*, the iſlands being thoſe we now call the *Philippines*. On the twenty eighth of *March* he anchored by the iſland of *Buthuan*, where he was friendly received, and got ſome gold; then removed to the iſle of *Meſſana*, at a ſmall diſtance from the other, and thence to that of *Cebu*. *Magellan* having hitherto ſucceeded ſo well, ſtood over to the iſland *Matan*, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this diſaſter the reſt ſailed over to the iſland *Bohol*, and being too weak to carry home their three ſhips, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of uſe to them. Being now reduced to two ſhips, they made away to the ſouth-

weſt

weſt in ſearch of the *Molucco* iſlands, and inſtead of them fell into the great one of *Borneo*, where they made ſome ſhort ſtay, being friendly received; and departing thence, with the aſſiſtance of *Indian* pilots arrived at length at the *Moluccos* on the eighth of *November* 1521, in the twenty ſeventh month after their departure from *Spain*, and anchored in the port of *Tidore*, one of the chief of thoſe iſlands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of *Spain*. Here they traded for cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ſhips leaky, and unfit for ſo long a voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then ſailed for *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible. The other ſhip called the *Victory*, commanded by *John Sebaſtian Cano*, and carrying forty ſix *Spaniards*, and thirteen *Indians*, took its courſe to the ſouth-weſt, and coming to the iſland *Malva*, near that of *Timor*, in 11 degrees of ſouth-latitude, ſtaid there fifteen days to ſtop ſome leaks they diſcovered in her. On the twenty fifth of *January* 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at *Timor*, whence they went not till the eleventh of *February*, when they took their way to the ſouthward, reſolving to leave all *India*, and the iſlands to the northward, to avoid meeting the *Portugueſes*, who were powerful in thoſe ſeas, and would obſtruct their paſſage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of ſouth-latitude before they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, about which they ſpent ſeven weeks beating it out againſt contrary winds, ſo that their proviſions began to fail, and many men grew ſick, which made ſome entertain thoughts of turning back to *Mozambique*, but others oppoſed it. In fine, after two months more hard ſhips, in which they loſt twenty one of their company, they were forced to put into the iſland of S. *James*, being one of thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, where with much intreaty they obtained ſome ſmall relief of proviſions; but thirteen of them going aſhore again for ſome rice the *Portugueſes* had promiſed to ſupply them with, were detained aſhore, which made thoſe that were left aboard the ſhip hoiſt ſail and put to ſea, fearing the like treachery might ſurpriſe them, and on the ſeventh of *September* arrived ſafe at S. *Lucar*, below the city *Sevil*, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their ſhirts and barefoot to return thanks to GOD. The ſhip that performed this wonderful voyage was called the *Victory*, as was ſaid before, the commander's name was *John Sebaſtian Cano*, who was well rewarded and honoured by the emperor. This was the firſt voyage round the world, which we ſhall ſoon ſee followed by other nations; and this was the diſcovery of the ſtrait of *Magellan*, which made the voyage practicable. The other *Spaniſh* ſhip we mentioned to be left at the *Moluccos* to ſtop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to *Panama*, but after ſtruggling above four months with the eaſterly winds, moſt of the men dying, and the reſt being almoſt ſtarved, it went back to the *Moluccos*, where it was taken by the *Portugueſes*; and the few men that ſurvived after being kept two years in *India*, were ſent to *Spain* in the *Portugueſe* ſhips. *Herrera*, dec. 2. *lib.* IV, IX. and dec. 3. *lib.* I, IV. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. and *Purchas*, vol. 1.

The ſecond voyage round the world was begun

An. 1577. By Mr. *Francis*, afterwards ſir *Francis Drake*, with five ſhips and barks, and a hundred and ſixty four men, who ſailed from *Plymouth* on the thirteenth of *December*, and on the twenty fifth of the ſame month touched at cape *Cantin* on the *African* coaſt, in 31 degrees of north-latitude; on the ſeventeenth of *January* 1578, at cape *Blanco* on the ſame coaſt, and 21 degrees of latitude, and then at the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*. Departing thence, they ſailed fifty four days without ſeeing land, and on the fifth of *April* came upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of *Plate* in 36 degrees of ſouth-latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty ſeventh of *April* they put into a port in the latitude of 46 degrees, where *Drake* burnt a flyboat that attended him, after ſaving all that could be of uſe. On the twentieth of *June* he again put into a good harbour, called *Port S. Julian*, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*, when putting to ſea again, he entered the ſtraits of *Magellan* on the twenty firſt of the ſame month. What ſort of ſtraits theſe are was deſcribed in *Magellan*'s voyage, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an iſland they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geeſe, whereof they killed three thouſand, which was good proviſion; and they entered the South-ſea on the ſixth of *September*. Hence they were drove by a ſtorm to the ſouthward as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain iſlands; whence removing to a good bay, they ſaw many men and women naked in canoos, and traded with them for ſuch things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three iſlands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of *October* they loſt ſight of one of their ſhips commanded

by Mr. *Winter*, which the reſt ſuppoſed to be caſt away, but it was put back by the tempeſt into the ſtrait of *Magellan*, and returned home the ſame way it came. *Drake* with the reſt ſailed for the coaſt of *Chile*, and ſending for water at the iſland *Mocha*, two of his men were killed by the *Indians*, which made him depart without it. This iſland is on the coaſt of *Chile* in 39 degrees of ſouth-latitude. Coaſting ſtill along, he came to the bay of *Valparaiſo*, where he found a *Spaniſh* ſhip with only eight *Spaniards* and three *Blacks* in her, whom he ſurpriſed and took, and then going aſhore plundered nine houſes, being all there were in that which they called the town of *Santiago*. At *Coquimbo* in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the *Spaniards*, the reſt fled back to their ſhips. Not far from thence landing for freſh water, they met one ſingle *Spaniard* and an *Indian* boy driving eight *Lamas*, or *Peru* ſheep loaded with ſilver, which they took. Running on thence to *Arica* on the coaſt of *Peru* in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was ſome quantity of ſilver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of *Lima* in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of 12 veſſels that lay there, letting them drive whereſoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never ſeen an enemy in thoſe ſeas. Near cape S. *Francis* in 1 degree of north-latitude he took a rich ſhip called *Cacafuego*, and a little further another. Then he plundered *Guatulco*, and after refitting his ſhip in a ſmall iſland run away to the northward into 43 degrees of latitude, where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coaſt of *California*, which *Drake* called *Nova Albion*. Here he was well received by the people, and continued ſome time, and ſailing hence directed his courſe for the *Moluccо* iſlands, ſeeing no land till the thirteenth day of *October*, when he diſcovered the iſlands *de los Ladrones* in eight degrees of north-latitude. On the fourteenth of *November* he fell in with the *Molucco* iſlands, and came to an anchor in that of *Ternate*, the king whereof came aboard *Drake*'s ſhip, offering him all the iſland could afford; and he having taken in what was moſt neceſſary and could be had there, went over to a ſmall iſland ſouth of *Celebes*, where he graved his ſhip, and fitted her to return home, which took him up twenty ſix days. Thinking to return to the *Moluccos*, they were drove by contrary winds to the northward of the iſland *Celebes*, till turning again to the ſouthward for fear of the many ſmall iſlands in that ſea, the ſhip on a ſudden ſat upon a rock, where it was feared ſhe would have periſhed; but lightning her of three tun of cloves, eight guns and ſome proviſions, ſhe got off. On the eighth of *February* 1579, they fell in with the iſland *Barateve*, where they refreſhed themſelves after their fatigues, and took in ſtore of ſuch proviſions as the place afforded, the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, they left this place, and again made ſome ſtay at the iſland of *Java*, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they ſteered directly for the cape of *Good Hope*, which was the firſt land they came near from *Java*, yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to *Sierra Leona*, the weſtermoſt point of *Guinea*, in 8 degrees of north-latitude, on the twenty ſecond of *July*, and there recruited themſelves with proviſions. Departing thence on the twenty fourth, they arrived in *England* on the third of *November* 1580, and the third year after their departure. This relation is to be ſeen at large in *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 742. and in *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.

An. 1586. Mr. *Thomas*, afterwards ſir *Thomas Candiſh*, undertook the third voyage round the world with three ſmall veſſels, one of a hundred and twenty, the ſecond of ſixty, and the third of forty tuns burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and ſailed from *Plymouth* on the twenty firſt of *July* 1586. On the twenty third of *Auguſt* he put into a bay on the coaſt of *Africk*, and deſtroyed there a village of the *Blacks*, becauſe they killed a man with a poiſoned arrow. After ſome days ſpent about this place, he ſailed away ſouth-weſt, and on the firſt of *November* put in between the iſland of S. *Sebaſtian*, and the continent of *Braſil*, in 24 degrees of ſouth-latitude, where the men were ſet to work aſhore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the caſks, and fill freſh water, which took them up till the twenty third of the month, when ſailing again on the ſeventeenth of *December*, they entered port *Deſire* in 47 degrees and a half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpoſe careened their ſhips, and refitted what was amiſs. The third day of *January* 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the ſtraits of *Magellan*, the weather being very ſtormy, which laſted three days, all which time they continued there, but loſt an anchor, and the ſixth day entered the ſtrait. The ſeventh as they drew near the narrow part of the ſtrait they took a *Spaniard*, being one of the twenty three that ſtill remained alive, which were all then left of five hundred landed there three years before to

guard the ſtrait, the reſt being dead with hunger. Theſe had built a town, which they called king *Philip*'s city, and fortified it, but they could make no works againſt famine, which conſumed them all to thoſe before mentioned, who except him that was taken were gone along the coaſt, hoping to get to the river of *Plate*. *Candiſh* having wooded and watered here, called this place *Port Famine*. The weather proving very boiſterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and therefore did not get out into the South-ſea till the twenty fourth of *February*. On the firſt of *March* a violent ſtorm parted the bark of forty tuns from the other two ſhips, and they met not before the fifteenth betwixt the iſland of S. *Mary* and the continent of *Chile*, in 37 degrees and a half of ſouth-latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have, and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the iſland for the *Spaniards*, beſides as many hogs as they could ſalt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fiſhes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the laſt of the month landed at *Punta de Quenuro* in 33 degrees of latitude, but ſaw no man, though they travelled ſome miles, only ſpied ſome herds of very wild cattle; but the firſt of *April* going to water, the men were ſet upon by the *Spaniards*, and twelve of them cut off. Proceeding hence along the coaſt of *Chile* and *Peru*, they took ſome coaſting veſſels carrying proviſions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the iſland *Puna*, in about 3 degrees of ſouth-latitude, being a place famous for ſupplying all thoſe coaſts with cables. Here the *Engliſh* took what they found for their uſe, the iſland being inhabited by none but *Indians*, except ſome few *Spaniards* that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the *Engliſh*, but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This ſecond loſs of men obliged *Candiſh* to ſink his bark of forty tun, that had attended him out of *England*. On the twelfth of *June* they cut the equinoctial line, and holding on their courſe to the northward all that month, on the firſt of *July* came upon the coaſt of *New-Spain*; where on the ninth they took and burnt a ſhip with ſeven men in her, and ſoon after a bark, whoſe men were fled to ſhore. The twenty ſixth day they anchored at *Copalita*, in 16 degrees of north-latitude, whence they went with thirty men to *Aguatulco* a ſmall *Indian* town, which they burnt and rifled. Then keeping along that coaſt, they continued ravaging the *Indian* towns, till they came to a ſmall iſland in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven leagues from the city *Chiametlan*; where having watered, and ſtaid till the ninth of *November*, they then ſtood over to cape S. *Lucar*, which is the ſouthermoſt point of *California*, and beating about it till the fourth of *November*, met then with the S. *Ann*, being the *Spaniſh* galeon bound from the *Philippine* iſlands to the port of *Acapulco* in *New-Spain*. After a fight of ſix hours the galeon was taken and carried into the port called *Puerto Seguro*; where ſetting aſhore the *Spaniards*, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the galeon, and on the nineteenth of *November* ſailed thence towards *India*. This night *Candiſh*, who was in the *Deſire*, loſt his other ſhip called the *Content*, and never ſaw her after. Being thus left alone he ſailed before the wind, as is uſual there, for the ſpace of forty five days, and on the third of *January* 1588. came up with the iſlands *de los Ladrones*, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape *Eſpiritu Santo*, a great head-land of one of the *Philippine* iſlands to the weſtward in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the iſlands *Ladrones*. At the iſland *Cabul* he continued ſome days getting freſh proviſions, and ſailing amidſt all thoſe iſlands ſouth-weſt and by ſouth, on the eighth of *February* diſcovered the iſland *Batochina* near *Gilolo*, in 1 degree of ſouth-latitude; whence he ſteered to the ſouth ſide of the great iſland of *Java*, and touching there on the twelfth of *March*, traded with the natives for proviſions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the ſixteenth he ſet ſail for the cape of *Good Hope*, and doubled it about the middle of *May*; having ſpent nine weeks betwixt the iſland of *Java* and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues diſtance. On the ninth of *June* he anchored at the iſland of S. *Helena*, about five hundred leagues diſtant from the cape of *Good Hope*, lying betwixt the coaſt of *Africk* and *Braſil*, in about 15 degrees of ſouth-latitude. This iſland is generally touched at by ſhips going to and returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*, becauſe of the conveniency of watering, beſides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as alſo abundance of fowl, ſwine, and goats, the place being extremely pleaſant, but very ſmall. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ſhip, on the twentieth of *June Candiſh* ſailed for *England*; on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt* he diſcovered the iſland *Flores* and *Corvo*, two of the *Azores*, and on the ninth of *September* after a terrible ſtorm, which carried away part of his ſails, put into the port of *Plymouth*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 803. and *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.

An.

An. 1598. The *Dutch* reſolving to perform as much as had been done before by *Magellan*'s ſhip, and by ſir *Francis Drake* and ſir *Thomas Candiſh*, they fitted out four ſhips under the command of captain *Olivier d'Oirt*, as *Van Meteren* calls him, or *Oliver Noort*, according to *Purchas*. The reſt proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of *July*; and to omit particulars of leſs moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of *December* they came to the *Prince's Iſland*, or *Ilha do Principe* on the coaſt of *Congo*, in 2 degrees of north-latitude; where the *Portugueſes* killed ſome of their men, and the *Dutch* commander in revenge aſſaulting their fort, was repulſed with greater loſs. This made him deſiſt; and ſailing thence, on the fifth of *February* 1599. came on the coaſt of *Braſil*. Here they ſpent much time, ſeeking refreſhment and water along the ſhore, and being much ſhaken by a ſtorm, and abundance of the men ſick, beſides, that it was the winter ſeaſon there, they put into a little iſland called S. *Clare*, on the coaſt of *Braſil*, in about 21 degrees of ſouth-latitude. Here the ſick men being ſet aſhore, ſome of them preſently died; the reſt ailing nothing but the ſcurvy, were cured with eating ſour plumbs they found there. One of the ſhips being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of uſe had been taken out of her. On the ſixteenth of *July* they left this place, ſteering for *Port Deſire* in 47 degrees; and after many ſtorms put into it on the twentieth of *September*, careened their ſhips, and took abundance of fowl. Some men were here killed by the *Indians*. Departing hence on the twenty ninth, they came to cape *Virgines* at the mouth of the ſtrait of *Magellan*, on the fourth of *November*; where they met with ſtorms of wind, rain, hail, and ſnow, beſides much ſickneſs and contention among themſelves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the ſtrait: ſo that it was the laſt of *February* 1600. before they came out into the South-ſea. *March* the twelfth they loſt ſight of the vice-admiral, and ſailed without him to the iſland *Mocha*, in 38 degrees ſouth. Another ſhip miſſing the iſland of S. *Maries*, and being drove by neceſſity to make the continent for proviſions, loſt moſt of its men aſhore, the reſt putting to ſea with the veſſel. Being now in fear of the *Spaniſh* men of war, he directed his courſe with the two ſhips he had left for the iſlands *de los Ladrones*, which he had ſight of on the fifteenth of *September*; and on the fourteenth of *October* diſcovered the iſland of *Luzon* or *Manila*, the chief of the *Philippines*. Near this iſland he met the two *Spaniſh* ſhips bound thence for *New-Spain*; and after a deſperate fight, *Noort* ſunk one of them; but at the ſame time the other took his ſecond ſhip, and he made all haſte away to *Borneo*, but made no ſtay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore ſailing hence, he traded for pepper at *Java*, and at length returned by the cape of *Good Hope*, and iſle of S. *Helena*, arriving at *Amſterdam* on the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt* 1601. *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 71. *Van Meteren*, lib. XXIII.

An. 1614. *George Spilbergen*, commander of five *Dutch* ſhips, ſailed out of the *Texel* on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and entered the ſtrait of *Magellan* on the twenty eighth of *March* 1615. but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the ſecond of *April*. In the ſtrait they continued going aſhore on the ſouth ſide upon the land called *Tierra del Fuego*, known ſince to be an iſland, till the ſixth of *May*; when they came out into the South-ſea, which received them with ſtorms, and on the twenty ſixth came up with the iſland *la Mocha*, on the coaſt of *Chile*, mentioned in all the former voyages. Here they traded with the *Indians*, exchanging hatchets, and other utenſils, as alſo coral, for large *Peru* ſheep, which ſerve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the iſland of S. *Mary* on the 29th, they had a ſkirmiſh with ſome few *Spaniards*, and got ſome booty of ſheep. Running along the coaſt, they touched at *Valparaiſo*, cape *Quintero*, and other places; but finding the *Spaniards* every where had taken the alarm, they durſt not do any thing aſhore. *July* the ſeventeenth keeping along the ſhores of *Peru*, they diſcovered eight *Spaniſh* ſhips ſet out to engage them. That very night they engaged, and after a hot diſpute, three of the *Spaniſh* ſhips ſunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and ſixty wounded. Drawing too near the ſhore at *Collao* the port of *Lima*, the *Huntſman*, one of the *Dutch* ſhips, was almoſt ſunk with a thirty ſix pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their courſe to the northward, they took the little town of *Peita*. Therefore *Auguſt* the twenty firſt they ſet out to ſea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of *October*, when they put into the harbour of *Acapulco* in *New-Spain*, and there exchanged the priſoners they had taken for proviſions. Which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty ſixth of *November* ſtood over for the iſlands *de los Ladrones*. In *January* following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diſeaſes. On the twenty third of the ſame month they diſcovered the *Ladrones*, and on the ninth of *February* cape

Eſpiritu Santo, the eaſtermoſt point of the *Philippine* iſlands to the northward; paſſing among which, they arrived at *Ternate*, the chief of the *Moluccos*, on the twenty ninth of *March*, which the *Dutch* in the iſland reckoned the twenty eighth; the fleet by following the courſe of the ſun having loſt a day, whereas they that ſail round to the eaſtward gain a day. About theſe iſlands they continued ſome months, and arrived at *Jacatra* in the iſland of *Java* on the fifteenth of *September*, on the thirtieth of *March* 1617. at the iſland of S. *Helena*, and in *July* following in *Zealand*. *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 80.

An. 1615. *Iſaac le Maier* a merchant of *Amſterdam*, and *William Corneliſon Schouten* of *Horn*, reſolving to find out a new way to the *Eaſt Indies*, beſides thoſe already known by the cape of *Good Hope* and ſtrait of *Magellan*; at their own charges fitted out a good ſhip of three hundred and ſixty tun and twenty guns, and a ſmaller of an hundred and ten tun and eight guns, in which they ſailed themſelves out of the *Texel* on the ſixteenth of *June* in the aforeſaid year, reſolving to find another paſſage into the South-ſea, to the ſouthward of the ſtrait of *Magellan*; which their deſign they kept ſecret, till they came near the line, where they diſcovered it to the ſeamen, who were well pleaſed with the undertaking. To paſs by all other particulars, as too like thoſe in the foregoing voyages, on the ninth of *December* they ſailed up into *Port Deſire*, on the coaſt of *America*, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of ſouth latitude; where bringing their ſhips aſhore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the leſſer of them, ſhe took fire, and burnt till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet ſo that nothing of her could be ſaved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron-work. The thirteenth of *January* 1616. the great ſhip now left alone ſailed out of *Port Deſire*, and on the twenty fifth diſcovered the iſland they called *Staten-land* to the eaſtward, and the point of *Tierra del Fuego* to the weſtward, which they called *Maurice-land*, in almoſt 55 degrees of ſouth latitude. Entring betwixt theſe two lands, they ſteered ſouth ſouth-weſt, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they ſtood ſouth-weſt, and then ſouth. Thus the twenty ſixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty ninth diſcovered thoſe they called *Barnevelts* iſlands. The third of *February* they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the ſtraits of *Magellan* lay eaſt of them; and therefore being ſatisfied that they were in the South-ſea, they called the new-found paſſage the ſtrait of *Le Maire*. *March* the firſt they came near the iſlands of *John Fernandez*, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of ſouth latitude, and at ſome diſtance from the coaſt of *Chile*: but tho' they endeavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being ſtill beaten off by the wind and current, and therefore ſteered away to the weſtward to proſecute their voyage; and in *April* they diſcovered ſeveral ſmall iſlands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. Theſe iſlands were in about 14 and 15 degrees of ſouth latitude. Sailing on ſtill weſtward, they ſaw many more iſlands in *May*, and had ſome trade with the natives, who attempted to ſurprize the ſhip, or at leaſt the boat; but were ſoon ſcared away by the fire-arms, when they ſaw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noiſe. Finding no continent, and perceiving they were at leaſt ſixteen hundred leagues to the weſtward of *Chile* or *Peru*, they ſteered to the northward, for fear they ſhould fall ſouth of *New-Guinea*, and perhaps not be able to clear themſelves of the coaſt, the winds being always at eaſt. Many more iſlands are mentioned in the journal, at ſome of which they touched and got refreſhment; but on the firſt of *July* they anchored near the coaſt of *New-Guinea*, whence they ſailed ſtill along the ſhore, and amidſt a multitude of iſlands, till they came into half a degree of ſouth latitude, where they ſaw a ſmall iſland off the ſhore of the land of *Papous*, and called it *William Schouten's Iſland*, after the captain's name, and the weſtermoſt point of it the cape of *Good Hope*. *September* the 17th they arriv'd at the iſland *Ternate*, and thence in *October* to *Jacatra*, or *Batavia* in the iſland of *Java*; where the preſident of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company ſeized the ſhip and goods. Whereupon *William Corneliſon Schouten* the maſter, *Jacob le Maire* the merchant, and ten ſeamen put themſelves aboard the *Amſterdam*, a *Dutch* ſhip homewards bound, and twelve others aboard the *Zealand*, and arrived in ſafety at *Amſterdam* in *July*; having diſcovered the new ſtrait called *le Maire*, as was ſaid before, and performed the voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days. *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 88.

An. 1643. *Brewer*, or *Brower*, went another way into the South-ſea, by a paſſage called after his own name, which is eaſt of *le Maire*'s ſtrait; but whether this was a ſtrait with land on each ſide, or an open ſea, is not known, his diary not being made publick: but moſt maps make it a new ſtrait.

An. 1683. one *John Cook* ſailed from *Virginia* in a ſhip of eight guns and fifty two men a buccaneering; and with him one *Cowley*, as maſter. On the coaſt of *Guinea*

they took a ſhip of forty guns by ſurprize, in which they ſailed away to the South-ſea, meeting by the way another ſhip commanded by one *Eaton*, who joined them to follow the ſame trade. They ran into 60 degrees of ſouth latitude, and paſſed that way into the South-ſea, where *Cowley* ſays they diſcovered ſeveral iſlands about the line. Thence they ſailed over to the *Ladrones*, whence they continued their courſe, and anchored at *Canton* in *China*. Departing *Canton*, they came to the iſland *Borneo*, where *Cowley*, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to *Java*. At *Batavia* the author, with two others, ſhipped himſelf aboard a *Dutch* veſſel, and ſo returned to *Europe*. The relation of this voyage is ſhortned, becauſe there have been ſo many voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the ſame ſhip; whereas in this there was much ſhifting. Thoſe that deſire may ſee it at large in the collection of original voyages, publiſhed by capt. *Will Hack*, *An.* 1699.

Captain *Dampier* in his firſt book of voyages gives an account of this ſame laſt mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the ſame *Cook*; and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it, tho' there may be many circumſtances which this diſcourſe cannot deſcend to: wherefore here ſhall end the voyages round the world, it being time to proceed to what remains.

After ſo long a diſcourſe of voyages and diſcoveries, it may ſeem ſuperfluous to treat of the advantages the publick receives by navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being ſenſible of the other; and therefore a few words may ſuffice on this ſubject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is ſo viſible and plain, and to ſave running out this introduction to an unreaſonable length. What was coſmography before theſe diſcoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a ſcience, ſcarce deſerving ſo good a name? When all the known world was only *Europe*, a ſmall part of *Africk*, and the leſſer portion of *Aſia*; ſo that of this terraqueous globe not one ſixth part had ever been ſeen or heard of. Nay, ſo great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned perſons made a doubt of its being round; others no leſs knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, deſart and uninhabitable. But now geography and hydrography have received ſome perfection by the pains of ſo many mariners and travellers, who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have ſailed and travelled round it, as has been here made appear; to ſhew there is no part uninhabitable, unleſs the frozen polar regions, have viſited all other countries, tho' never ſo remote, which they have found well peopled, and moſt of them rich and delightful; and to demonſtrate the *Antipodes*, have pointed them out to us. Aſtronomy has received the addition of many conſtellations never ſeen before. Natural and moral hiſtory is embelliſhed with the moſt beneficial increaſe of ſo many thouſands of plants it had never before received, ſo many drugs and ſpices, ſuch variety of beaſts, birds and fiſhes, ſuch rarities in minerals, mountains and waters, ſuch unaccountable diverſity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politicks, and religions. Trade is raiſed to the higheſt pitch, each part of the world ſupplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted moſt precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and ſcanty manner, as when the *Venetians* ſerved all *Europe* with ſpice and drugs from *India* by the way of *Turky* and the *Red Sea*; or as when gold and ſilver were only drawn from ſome poor *European* and *African* mines; but with plenty and affluence, as we now ſee, moſt nations reſorting freely to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the *Weſt* yearly ſending forth prodigious quantities of the moſt eſteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of *Europe* is now extended to the utmoſt bounds of the earth where ſeveral of its nations have conqueſts and colonies. Theſe and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of thoſe who expoſe themſelves to the dangers of the vaſt ocean, and of unknown nations; which thoſe who ſit ſtill at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to ſtir up another to imitate him, whilſt the reſt of mankind, in their accounts without ſtirring a foot, compaſs the earth and ſeas, viſit all countries, and converſe with all nations.

It only remains to give ſome few directions for ſuch as go on long voyages; which ſhall be thoſe drawn up by Mr. *Rook*, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry profeſſor of *Greſham* college, by order of the ſaid ſociety, and publiſhed in the philoſophical tranſactions of the eighth of *January* 1665-6, being Numb. 8. They are as follow:

1. To obſerve the declination of the compaſs, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude and longitude of the place where ſuch obſervation is made, as exactly as may be, and ſetting down the method by which they made them.

2. To carry dipping needles with them, and obſerve the inclination of the needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully the ebbings and flowings of the ſea in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the tides; as, their preciſe time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the current runs, what perpendicular diſtance there is between the higheſt tide and loweſt ebb, during the ſpring tides and neep tides, what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the higheſt and loweſt tides fall out: and all other conſiderable accidents they can obſerve in the tides, chiefly near ports, and about iſlands, as in S. *Helena*'s iſland, and the three rivers there, at the *Bermudas*, &c.

4. To make plots and draughts of proſpect of coaſts, promontories, iſlands and ports, marking the bearings and diſtances as near as they can.

5. To ſound and mark the depth of coaſts and ports, and ſuch other places near the ſhore, as they ſhall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the ground at the bottom of the ſea, in all ſoundings, whether it be clay, ſand, rock, *&c.*

7. To keep a regiſter of all changes of wind and weather at all hours, by night and by day, ſhewing the point the wind blows from, whether ſtrong or weak: the rains, hail, ſnow, and the like; the preciſe times of their beginnings and continuance, eſpecially hurricanes and ſpouts; but above all, to take exact care to obſerve the trade-winds, about what degree of latitude and longitude the firſt begin, where and when they ceaſe or change, or grow ſtronger or weaker, and how much, as near and exact as may be.

8. To obſerve and record all extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, *ignes fatui*, comets, *&c.* marking ſtill the places and times of their appearing, continuance, *&c.*

9. To carry with them good ſcales, and glaſs-vials of a pint, or ſo, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with ſea-water in different degrees of latitude, as often as they pleaſe, and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

This may ſuffice for ſea-voyages; but in regard it may be expected ſomething ſhould be ſaid for thoſe who travel by land, a few inſtructions have been collected from experienced travellers, who are beſt able to direct ſuch as deſign to follow them into remote countries. We will therefore begin with monſieur *de Bourges*, who with the biſhop of *Berytus* made a journey through *Turky*, *Perſia* and *India*, as far as *Cochinchina*. He adviſes ſuch as intend for thoſe parts ſo to order their affairs, that they may come into *Turky* in *October*, to avoid the exceſſive heats of thoſe countries for four or five months before that time. If our traveller will hold on his journey to *Perſia*, he muſt go with the caravan from *Aleppo* to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, which will take him up a month; thence he embarks upon the river *Euphrates*, which carries him down to *Baſſora*, whence he proceeds by ſea to *Bander*, where he may find convenience by land to *Iſpahan*, the capital of *Perſia:* From *Iſpahan* the difficulties of travelling by land to *India* are almoſt invincible, and therefore the proper way is to repair to the port of *Gomron*, whence there is a conſtant and ſafe paſſage to *Suratte*, or any other part of *India*. All perſons that travel in *Turky* muſt change their habit into that of the country, and muſt lay aſide the hat, and wear a turbant, and the meaner the habit the ſafer they will be from extortions and robberies: They muſt endeavour to have a *Turkiſh* interpreter on the road with them, who may own whatever goods they carry, and protect them againſt any affronts that may be offered them; but above all, they muſt endeavour to be well recommended to the captain of the caravan, which will be their greateſt ſafeguard. This recommendation muſt be from ſome of the chriſtian conſuls, but generally the beſt from the *French*, who are much regarded in thoſe parts. Such as will not carry all their ſtock in ready money, muſt be careful to carry thoſe commodities that will turn to beſt account, amongſt which the brighteſt yellow amber, and the largeſt red coral, are in great eſteem. Theſe, tho' not wrought, are profitable; and to avoid the duties paid at ſeveral places, may be carried in a bag, or portmanteau on the horſe the traveller rides, for thoſe are not ſearched. The beſt money they can carry are *Spaniſh* pieces of eight, provided they be full weight, and not of *Peru*, which are not ſo fine ſilver as the others. By this money they will have ſeven or eight *per cent.* profit in ſome parts, and ten *per cent.* in others, and the ſame in *French* crowns. As for gold, the greateſt profit is made of the *Venetian* and *Hungarian*, and it is very conſiderable. There is ſo great an advantage to be made by thoſe who rightly underſtand the beſt coins and their value, that thoſe who are well inſtructed in it can travel for a very inconſiderable expence. It is abſolutely neceſſary to carry good arms to defend themſelves upon all occaſions, but more particularly

cularly to fight the *Arabs*, and other rovers. Above all, it is requiſite in *Turky* that travellers be armed with patience to bear many affronts the infidels will put upon them, and with prudence and moderation to prevent, as much as poſſibly may be, any ſuch inſolencies. They will do well never to go without proviſions, becauſe the caravans never ſtop to bait, and very often at night have no other inn but the open fields, where they lie in tents, and eat what they carry. When they travel with the caravan, they muſt take care never to be far from it, for fear of being devoured by wild beaſts, or by the wilder *Arabs*. This in *Turky*, for in *Perſia* it is quite otherwiſe; here we may travel in the *European* habit, and wear hats, which are better againſt the heat than turbants; the roads are ſafe, and the *Perſians* courteous to ſtrangers, eſpecially the better ſort. However, the traveller muſt watch the ſervants, and meaner ſort of people of the country, who elſe will impoſe upon him in matter of payments, of buying and ſelling; and therefore his beſt way is, where there are miſſioners to repair to them, who will aſſiſt and inſtruct him. He muſt carry no gold into *Perſia*, becauſe it bears a low price, and he will be a great loſer by it: The beſt way is to change his money on the *Turkiſh* frontiers into *Perſian* coin, or elſe to carry a quantity of good amber and coral, which will yield profit, as will alſo gold watches. In *India Spaniſh* gold yields ſome profit, tho' ſmall, which the traveller may take notice of, in caſe he has no goods to carry that may yield a greater profit: This at *Suratte*; but further in *India*, and particularly at *Golconda*, gold yields more, and eſpecially old gold: however, at *Siam* again there is great loſs in *Spaniſh* gold, and all other ſorts, for there it is lower than in any other part of the *Eaſt-Indies* nearer to us, and ſtill decreaſes beyond it, as in *Cochinchina*, *Tonquin* and *China*. In *India* the way of travelling by land is commonly in carts drawn by oxen, and in ſome parts on elephants, but in *China* the moſt common carriage is in *palankenes*, or chairs on mens ſhoulders, who travel ſwift and cheap.

Theſe particulars may ſerve in relation to the eaſtern nations; and as for *Europe*, the methods of travelling are too well known to require any particular inſtructions, therefore it only remains to ſet down ſome general rules which may concern all travellers to obſerve. They are in the firſt place to conſider, that they do not go into other countries to paſs through them, and divert themſelves with the preſent ſight of ſuch curioſities as they meet with, nor to learn the vices of thoſe people for which they need not take the pains of going abroad, nor to obſerve their faults that they may have matter to rail when they come home. If they will make an advantage of their trouble and coſt, they muſt not paſs through a country as if they carried an expreſs, but make a reaſonable ſtay at all places where there are antiquities, or any rarities to be obſerved; and not think that becauſe others have writ on that ſubject, there is no more to be ſaid; for upon comparing their obſervations with other mens, they will often find a very conſiderable difference. Let them therefore always have a table-book at hand to ſet down every thing worth remembring, and then at night more methodically tranſcribe the notes they have taken in the day. The principal heads by which to regulate their obſervations are theſe, the climate, government, power, places of ſtrength, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufactures, wealth, biſhopricks, univerſities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and artiſts, publick ſtructures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, cuſtoms, habits, laws, privileges, ſtrange adventures, ſurpriſing accidents, rarities both natural and artificial, the ſoil, plants, animals, and whatſoever may be curious, diverting, or profitable. It is not amiſs, if it may be, to view all rarities in the company of other ſtrangers, becauſe many together are apt to remark more than one alone can do. Every traveller ought to carry about him ſeveral ſorts of meaſures, to take the dimenſions of ſuch things as require it; a watch by which, and the pace he travels, he may give ſome gueſs at the diſtances of places, or rather at the length of the computed leagues, or miles; a proſpective-glaſs, or rather a great one and a leſs, to take views of objects at greater and leſs diſtances; a ſmall ſea-compaſs or needle, to obſerve the ſituation of places, and a parcel of the beſt maps to make curious remarks of their exactneſs, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a traveller muſt endeavour to ſee the courts of princes, to keep the beſt company, and to converſe with the moſt celebrated men in all arts and ſciences. Thus much for travellers; but that every man may have his due, as we owned the inſtructions for the eaſtern countries to be thoſe given by monſieur *de Bourges*, ſo we muſt here confeſs, that moſt of theſe general rules may be found in monſieur *Miſſon*'s travels. Having given an account of the advancement of navigation, and all diſcoveries made by help of it, of the countries ſo diſcovered, of the advantages the publick receives by the relations of travellers, and ſome directions for them; it now only remains to ſubjoin a catalogue and character of books of travels, for the information of ſuch as are addicted to this ſort of pleaſant and profitable reading.

The

The Catalogue and Character of moſt Books of Travels.

Latin.

Deſcriptio Africæ, 8°.
Deſcriptiones Aſiæ.
De Lege Mahumetica, and
De Rebus Mahumeticis.

Theſe four by *John Leo*, a *Spaniard* by birth, and a *Mahometan* by education, but afterwards converted, who before his converſion travelled through the greateſt part of *Africk*, and has given the beſt light into it of any writer, as *Johannes Bodinus* affirms. He firſt writ them in the *Arabick* for his own nation, but afterwards tranſlated them himſelf into *Italian*, and *John Florianus* into *Latin*. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, cuſtoms and manners of the people of *Africk*, but is too brief in martial affairs, and the lives of the *African* princes.

Epiſtolæ viginti ſex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty ſix letters concerning the affairs of *Japan*, to be ſeen in ſeveral collections of this ſort of letters.

Hiſtorica relatio de legatione regis Sinenſium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the embaſſy ſent by the emperor of *China* to *Taicoſoma* king of *Japan*, *An.* 1596. and of the ſtrange prodigies that happened before the embaſſy, *Rome* 1599. 8°.

Hiſtorica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, *An.* 1596. *à patribus ſocietatis durante perſecutione geſtis:* or an account of the proceedings of the jeſuits in *Japan*, in the year 1596, during the proſecution. Theſe three by F. *Lewis Froes*, a jeſuit, who lived forty nine years in the eaſt, and thirty ſix of them in the iſland of *Japan* as a miſſioner. It is believed theſe relations were writ in *Portugueſe* by the author, and afterwards tranſlated into *Latin*.

De Abaſſinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ patriarchis, *Lions* 1615. 8°. The author was F. *Nicholas Godinho*, a *Portugueſe* jeſuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous hiſtory writ by F. *Urreta*.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutenſi Toletanæ provinciæ uſque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the univerſity of *Alcala* in *Spain* to *Rome*, by Dr. *James Lopez de Zuniga*, a pious and learned man.

Literæ annuæ. The annual or yearly letters out of *Ethiopia*, *China*, *India*, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of thoſe countries, and are to be found in ſeveral volumes, and ſcattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needleſs to give any account in this place.

Athanaſii Kiroheri è ſocietate Jeſu China, monumentis qua ſacris qua profanis, illuſtrata, fol. This is a complete hiſtory of *China*, and held in great reputation for ſome years, but of late its reputation has declined, ſince ſo many books of that empire have appear'd writ by miſſioners, who have reſided there many years, and diſcovered great miſtakes in *Kircher*.

Jobi Ludolfi hiſtoria Æthiopica, fol. This hiſtory of *Ethiopia* is written by a *German*, who having gathered moſt of it from the writings of the jeſuits, yet makes it his buſineſs to contradict them, from the information given him by an *Ethiopian* he was acquainted with *in Germany*, for he was never near *Ethiopia* himſelf; and his whole book has more of controverſy, and of the *Ethiopian* language, than of hiſtory.

Relatio eorum quæ circa S. Cæſ. Majeſt. ad magnum Moſcorum Czarum ablegatos anno æræ chriſtianæ 1675. *geſta ſunt, ſtrictim recenſita per Adolphum Lyſeck, dictæ legationis ſecretarium*, 8°. *Saltzburg* 1676. In this account of an embaſſy to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, we have an account of his travels through *Sileſia*, *Pomerania*, *Pruſſia*, *Lithuania*, and *Muſcovy*, to the court of *Moſcow*, and of all things of note the author ſaw or heard of, being an ingenious perſon, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as ſecretary to the embaſſy, *Giom. de Letter.*

Joannis Schefferi Argentoratenſis Lapponiæ, id eſt regionis Laponum & gentis nova & veriſſima deſcriptio, 4°. *Lipſiæ* 1674. An account of *Lapland*, which though it be not by way of travels, well deſerves a place here, becauſe we ſhall ſcarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a juſt relation of it. This however is authentick, as gathered from the *Swediſh* writers, who are beſt acquainted with thoſe parts.

Theodori & Joannis de Brye India orientalis & occidentalis, 6 vols. fol. *Francfort* 1624. This collection being three volumes of the *Eaſt* and three of the *Weſt-Indies*, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of *Congo* in *Africk*, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been diſcovered before *India*; this account tranſlated from the *Italian* writ by *Philip Pigaſetta*. Next follow five voyages of *Samuel Bruno* of *Baſil*, the three firſt to *Congo*, *Ethiopia*, and other parts round the coaſt of *Africk*; the fourth to ſeveral parts in the *Straits*, and the fifth to *Portugal* and *Spain*, &c. tranſlated into *Latin* from the author's original in *High-Dutch*. The next are *Linſchoten*'s *Indian*

voyages,

voyages, tranſlated from the *Dutch*, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in thoſe parts. Then three *Dutch* voyages to the north-eaſt paſſage, and after them a great number of cuts and maps, beſides very many diſperſed throughout the book, and a conſiderable number at the beginning. Theſe are the contents of the firſt volume. The ſecond begins with a large account of *Bantam*, *Banda*, *Ternate*, and other parts of *India*, being a voyage of eight *Dutch* ſhips into thoſe parts in the year 1598, tranſlated out of *High-Dutch*. After that the deſcription of *Guinea* out of *High-Dutch*. *Spilberg*'s voyage, *An.* 1601. *Gaſpar Balbi*'s voyage, *An.* 1579. In the third volume *Jacob Neck*'s voyage, *An.* 1603. *Jo. Hermon de Bree*, *An.* 1602. *Corn. Nicolas*, *Cornelius Ven*, and *Stephen de Hagen*, all to *India*. *Verhuff*'s voyage to *India*, *An.* 1607. Dialogues in *Latin* and the *Malayc* language. *Hudſon*'s voyage to the north-eaſt paſſage. An account of *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, by capt. *Peter Ferdinand de Quir*; and the deſcription of *Siberia*, *Samoieda*, and *Tingoeſia*. Two voyages of *Americus Veſputius* to the *Eaſt-Indies*. A very ſtrange relation of an *Engliſhman*, who being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of *Cambaia*, travel'd through many of thoſe eaſtern countries; and the deſcription of the northern country of *Spitzbergen*: the whole illuſtrated with a vaſt number of maps, and other cuts. Thus far the three volumes of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The three of the *Weſt* are compoſed of theſe parts. Vol. I. an ample account of *Virginia*: The unfortunate expedition of the *French* to *Florida*, *An.* 1565. *Laudonniere*'s voyage thither, *An.* 1574. Two voyages of *John Stadius* to *Brazil* and the river of *Plate*, where he lived among the *Indians*. *Leri*'s account of *Brazil*. *Villagano*'s voyage to *South America*. *Benzo*'s hiſtory of the diſcovery of *America*. Vol. II. The ſecond and third parts of *Benzo*'s hiſtory of the *Weſt-Indies*. *Faber*'s deſcription of ſeveral parts of *America*, where he travelled. Voyages of ſir *F. Drake*, *Cavendiſh* and *Raleigh*. *Dutch* expedition to the *Canaries*. General account of *America*. *Sebald de Weert*'s voyage through the ſtraits of *Magellan*. *Noort* round the world. Vol. III. Two voyages of *Americus Veſputius*. *Hamor*'s account of the ſtate of *Virginia*. Captain *Smith*'s deſcription of *New-England*. *Schouten* and *le Maire*'s diſcovery of a new paſſage into the South-ſea, called *Strait le Maire*: *Spilbergen*'s voyage through the ſtraits of *Magellan*. *Herrera*'s deſcription of the *Weſt-Indies*. Theſe are the contents of the ſix volumes, the whole illuſtrated and adorned with ſuch a vaſt number of maps and cuts, repreſenting all ſuch things as require it, that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at ſo exceſſive an expence. To be ſhort, this collection is a ſmall library, including all the voyages and diſcoveries of any note till the time it was publiſhed, when moſt of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent uſe and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi & viaggi, *Raccolſe da M. Gio Battiſta Ramuſio*, *Venice*, 3 vol. fol. 1613. *Ramuſio*'s collection of voyages and travels, the moſt perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatſoever: containing all the diſcoveries to the eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; with full deſcriptions of all the countries diſcovered; judiciouſly compiled, and free from that great maſs of uſeleſs matter, which ſwells our *Engliſh Hackluyt* and *Purchas*; much more complete and full than the *Latin de Brye*, and in fine, the nobleſt work of this nature. The contents of it as briefly as may be ſet down, are as follow. In the firſt volume, *John Leo*'s deſcription of *Africk*. *Alviſe de ca da Moſto*'s voyage, and that of *Peter de Santra* to the coaſt of *Africk*. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*'s navigation on the coaſt of *Africk*. Voyage from *Liſbon* to the iſland of S. *Thomas*. *Gama*'s voyage to *Calicut*. *Peter Alvarez* to *India*. Two voyages of *Americus Veſputius*. Voyages to *India* by *Tho. Lopez* and *Gio. da Empoli*. *Barthema*'s travels to, and account of *India*. *Corſali* to *India*. *Alvarez* to *Ethiopia*. Diſcourſe of the overflowing of *Nile*. *Nearchus* admiral to *Alexander the Great*, his navigation. Voyage down the *Red-ſea* to *Diu*. *Barboſa* of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Voyages of *Conti*, and S. *Stephano*. Firſt voyage round the world performed by the *Spaniards*. *Gaetan* of the diſcovery of the *Molucco* iſlands. Account of *Japan*. Extracts of *Barros*'s hiſtory of *India*. The ſecond volume; *Marcus Paulus Venetus*'s travels. *Hayton* the *Armenian* of the great *Chams*, or emperors of *Tartary*. *Angiolello* of the wars betwixt *Uſſuncaſſan* king of *Perſia*, and *Mahomet* emperor of the *Turks*; of *Iſmael Sophy* and the ſultan of *Babylon*, and of *Selim* the *Turk*'s ſubduing the *Mamalucks*. *Barbaro*'s travels to *Tartary* and *Perſia*. *Contarino*'s embaſſy from the republick of *Venice* to *Uſſuncaſſan* king of *Perſia*. *Campenſe* of *Muſcovy*. *Jovius* of *Muſcovy*. *Arianus* of the *Euxine*, or *Black-ſea*. *Geor. Interiano* of the *Circaſſians*. *Quini*'s ſhipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north-latitude. The ſame by *Chriſt. Fioravante* and *J. de Michele*, who were with him. Baron *Herberſtain* of *Muſcovy* and *Ruſſia*. *Zeno*'s voyage to *Perſia*.

Nich. and *Ant. Zeni* diſcovery of *Frizeland*, *Iceland*, and to the north-pole. Two voyages to *Tartary* by *Dominicans* ſent by pope *Innocent* IV. *Odoricus*'s two voyages into the eaſt. *Cabot*'s voyage into the north-weſt. *Guagnino*'s Deſcription of *Poland*, *Muſcovy*, and part of *Tartary*. The ſame by *Micheorus*. In the third volume; an abridgment of *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria* his decads of the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*. An abridgment of *Oviedo*'s hiſtory of the *Weſt-Indies*. *Cortes*'s account of his diſcovery and conqueſt of *Mexico*. *Alvarado* of his conqueſt and diſcovery of other provinces above *Mexico*. *Godoy* of ſeveral diſcoveries and conqueſts in *New-Spain*. Account of *Mexico* and *New-Spain*, by a gentleman belonging to *Cortes*. *Alvar Nunez* of the ſucceſs of the fleet ſet out by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, and his ſtrange adventures for ten years. *Nunno de Guzman* of ſeveral cities and provinces of *New-Spain*. *Francis de Ulloa*'s voyage to *California*. *Vaſquez Coronado* and *Marco de Nizza* of the provinces north of *New-Spain*. *Alarcon*'s voyage by ſea to diſcover the ſeven cities north of *Mexico*. Diſcovery and conqueſt of *Peru*, writ by a *Spaniſh* captain. *Xeres*'s conqueſt of *Peru*. The ſame by *Pizarro*'s ſecretary. *Oviedo*'s account of a voyage up the great river of *Maranon*. *Verazzano*'s diſcovery of north *America*. *Jaques Cortier*'s firſt and ſecond voyages to *Canada* or *New-France*. *Federici*'s voyage to *India*, with a large account of the ſpice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in thoſe parts. Three voyages of the *Dutch* to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage to *China* and *Japan*, in which they found the ſtraits of *Weygats* and *Nova Zembla*, and the coaſt of *Groenland* running to 80 degrees of north-latitude. Theſe, with many learned diſcourſes and obſervations of the author's, are the contents of the three volumes.

Prima ſpeditione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Gioſeppe di Santa Maria, 4°. *Roma* 1668. This author was ſent by pope *Alexander* VII. to the *Malabar* Chriſtians of S. *Thomas*, being himſelf a barefoot *Carmelite*, and has in this left a moſt excellent piece of curioſity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he ſaw, of birds, beaſts, and other animals, and of the philoſophy of the *Brahmans*, their ſecrets, and of all the other *Malabars*, as alſo of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vaſt empire of the *Mogul*, of the pearl-fiſhery, of the *Sabeans* about *Baſſora*, who pretend they received their religion from S. *John Baptiſt*; and concludes with the errors of the *Jacobites*, *Neſtorians*, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and other eaſtern ſects.

Hiſtoria delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progreſſi dell' arme Mocovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moſcovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Belluneſo, 4°. *Venetia* 1672. Though the wars of *Poland* may not ſeem relating to travels, this work is inſerted, as giving a good account of the *Poles*, *Tartars*, and *Coſſacks*, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of *Muſcovy* and *Sweden*, where the author travelled, and made his excellent obſervations.

Il viaggio all' Indie orientali, del P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. Roma 1673. A voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, performed by F. *Vincent Maria* of S. *Catharine* of *Siena*, procurator general of the barefoot *Carmelites*, and ſent to *India* by the way of *Turkey* and *Perſia* by the pope, together with F. *Joſeph* of S. *Mary*, who writ alſo an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the firſt and laſt is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The ſecond treats of the affairs of the *Malabar* Chriſtians. The third and fourth of all the nations of *India*, their manners, cuſtoms, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is ſo faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in thoſe parts, that ſcarce any other can equal it.

Iſtorica deſcrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, & Angola, & delle miſſione apoſtoliche eſſercitaevi da religioſi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, & nel preſente ſtile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini, fol. Bologna 1687. An hiſtorical deſcription of the kingdoms of *Congo*, *Matamba*, and *Angola*; the authors were *Capuchin* miſſioners, who compiled it by order of the congregation *de propagânda fide*, and have given a moſt accurate deſcription of thoſe countries, and all things of note in them; as alſo of the miſſions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relatione della citta d' Attene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queſte paſſeggiate da Cornelio Magni l' anno 1674. 4°. *Parma* 1688. An account of *Athens*, and the provinces of *Attica*, *Focia*, *Beotia*, and *Negropont*, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of, and for further ſatisfaction conferred with Mr. *Spon*, who had travelled the ſame parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of *Syria*, *Chaldea*, and *Meſopotamia*, and principally inlarges himſelf upon the city of *Athens*, the condition whereof he deſcribes more fully than any other has done.

Relatione e viaggio della Moſcovia del ſignor cavaliere D. Ercole Zani, Bologneſe, 12°. *Bolognia* 1690. This voyage to *Muſcovy* is writ by a moſt judicious perſon, and who had ſpent a great part of his life in travelling, and deſerves to be highly valued, as coming from ſuch a hand; and the more, becauſe we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12°. He performed this voyage to mount *Libanus* by order of pope *Clement* VIII. to inquire into the faith of the *Maronite* Chriſtians; he deſcribes the country, gives an account of the peoples doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, biſhops, prieſts, and religious men. A work very curious and uſeful. It is tranſlated into *French*, and the tranſlator has added many uſeful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Conſtantinopoli, &c. da Gio. Benaglia, 12°. *Bologna* 1664. This is an account of count *Caprara*'s embaſſy to the great *Turk*, the author being his ſecretary, and has many good remarks of that court, and of the *Turkiſh* army, taken by him upon the ſpot, and therefore well worth the obſervation of the curious, *Biblioth. Univ.* vol. XV. p. 75.

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. Melchiſedec Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a collection of curious travels in two volumes in folio. The firſt contains *Greaves*'s deſcription of the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and *Buratini*'s account of the *Mummies*. An account of the *Coſſacks*, another of the *Tartars*, another of *Mengrelia*, and another of *Georgia*. *Jenkinſon*'s voyage to *Cathay*. An extract of the *Dutch* embaſſy to the *Tartar*. A relation of the conqueſt of the iſland *Formoſa* by the *Chineſes*; another of the court of the *Mogol*. Sir *Thomas Roe*'s and *Terry*'s voyage to the *Mogol*. A *Greek* deſcription of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The *Arabick* geography of *Abulfeda*. The antiquities of *Perſepolis*. The beginning of a book of the *Chaldeans* of *Baſſora*. Relations of the kingdoms of *Golconda*, *Tanaſſari*, and *Aracan*, of the gulph of *Bengala* of *Siam*. *Bontekoue*'s voyages to *India*. The diſcovery of *Terra Auſtralis*. The ſailing courſe to *India*. Inſtructions upon the trade of *India* and *Japan*. *Beaulieu*'s voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*. Accounts of the *Philippine* iſlands, of *Japan*, of the diſcovery of the land of *Yedſo*. A deſcription of the plants and flowers of *China*. Ancient monuments of chriſtian religion in *China*. The ſecond volume; the *Dutch* embaſſy to *China*; the *Chineſe Atlas*. The ſtate of *India*. The portraicture of the *Indians*. *Acarete*'s voyage on the river *Plate*, and thence to *Peru* and *Chile*. Journey by land to *China*. The ſecond book of *Confucius* the *Chineſe* philoſopher. The hiſtory of *Ethiopia*, and of ſome countries about it. Travels to the province of *Zaide* in *Egypt*. The hiſtory of *Mexico* in figures explained. *Taſman*'s voyage to *Terra Auſtralis*. Inſtructions for the navigation from *Holland* to *Batavia*. Two embaſſies to the emperor of *Cathay*. A chronological ſynopſis of the *Chineſe* monarchy. *Barros*'s *Aſia*, or conqueſt of *India*. An account of the Chriſtians of St. *John*. A voyage to *Tercera*. The elements of the *Tartar* language. A fragment concerning the iſles of *Solomon*; another of the hiſtory of ſome eaſtern princes.

Thevenot has alſo compoſed one volume in 8°, in which is an embaſſy from the Czar of *Moſcovy* to *China* by land. The diſcovery of ſome countries in north *America*, and of the great river *Miſſiſſippi*. A diſcourſe of navigation. The natural hiſtories of the *Ephemera*, or fly that lives but a day, and the *Cancellus*.

Les ſix voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier en Turquie, en Perſe, & aux Indes. Theſe travels are printed in ſeveral ſorts of volumes in *French*, according to the ſeveral editions, and have been tranſlated into *Engliſh*. He is a faithful writer, and deſerves full credit in what he delivers upon his own ſight and knowledge; but in ſome relations taken from others, he was impoſed upon, being a perſon of integrity, and not ſuſpecting others would give a falſe information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great; having taken ſeveral ways in his ſix journies. But above all, he gives the beſt deſcription of the diamonds, mines and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the ſpot, as being a great dealer in thoſe precious ſtones.

Recuill de pluſieurs relations & traitez ſinguliers & curieux de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, diviſe en cinque parties, 4°. This is an addition to his voyages, in which he treats of the *Dutch* practices to exclude all Chriſtians from *Japan*, negotiations of *French* deputies in *Perſia* and *India*, remarks on the trade of *India*, an account of the kingdom of *Tunquin*, and the hiſtory of the proceedings of the *Dutch* in *Aſia*.

Relation nouvelle de la Caroline, par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau paiz, ou il par le de la route

quil

quil faut tenir pour y aller le plus ſuremant, & de l'etat ou il a trouve cette nouvelle contrée. A la Haye 1686. 12°. This is a modern account of *Florida*, its eſtate in the year 1684, and the beſt way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as *Florida* is one of thoſe *American* countries we have not the beſt account of, this is a conſiderable light into it.

Relation du voyage de monſieur l'eveſque de Beryte par la Turquie, la Perſe, les Indes juſques au Royaume de Siam, & outres lieux, eſcrit par monſieur de Bourges Preſtre, 8°. An account of the biſhop of *Berytus*'s journey by land through *Turkey*, *Perſia*, and *India*, into *China*, , by a prieſt that went with him; very curious in the deſcription of thoſe countries and manners of the people, with inſtructions for travellers to thoſe parts, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 591.

L'Embaſſade de D. Garcia de Silva Figuerra. This is a tranſlation out of *Spaniſh*, and the account of the book is among the *Spaniſh* under the title, *Embaxada*, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertiſed that he may ſee more concerning this tranſlation in *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 205.

Les voyages de monſieur de Monconys. Monſieur *Monconys*'s travels in three volumes, 4°. The firſt through *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Conſtantinople*. The ſecond into *England*, the *Low-countries*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. The third into *Spain*. Beſides the general account of thoſe countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary obſervations and ſecrets in phyſick and chemiſtry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the preſs, it is in ſome meaſure imperfect, and has many particulars of no uſe to any but himſelf; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 339, and 424.

Deſcription des coſtes de l'Amerique ſeptentrional, avec l'hiſtoire de ce pays, par monſieur Denys, 2 vol. 12°. The firſt volume is a deſcription of the northern coaſts of *America* and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by ſeveral ſtories related. The ſecond is the natural hiſtory, very curious and learned, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. III. p. 141.

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, & les eſtabliſſements de pluſieurs nations, &c. 12°. This author ſet out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for ſeveral obſervations not eaſily to be found in others; but moſt for his account of the ſettlements of *European* nations, yet all ſhort.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypt, par le P. Vanſleb en 1672, & 1673. 12°. The author to what he ſaw himſelf, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to *Egypt*.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, & du Levant, aux années 1675, & 1676. *par Jacob Spon*, 12°. 3 vol. This work, beſides the general obſervations of travellers, is ſingular for its curioſity in the ſearch of antiquities, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VI. p. 128, and 185.

Voyage de François Pirard de la Val aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, & au Braſil, &c. 4°. This is one of the exacteſt pieces of travels, and the moſt diverting hitherto made publick. M. *Pirard* the traveller furniſhed the materials, which were digeſted, and methodiſed by ſeveral very able men in *France*. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and yet he has ſome curioſities which others have not touched upon, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VII. p. 85.

Ambaſſade de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An. 1641. *fol.* It is a perfect account of all that happened to the ſaid embaſſadors, and full deſcription of the country, towns, cities, *&c.* with variety of cuts, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 130. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. IV. p. 499.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Conſtantinople, preſentée au roy par le Sieur Grelot, An. 1680, in 4°. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the ſpot, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 296.

Relation des miſſions & des voyages des eveques vicaries apoſtoliques, & de leurs eccleſiaſtiques en années 1676, & 1677. in 8°. This is a relation of what thoſe preachers obſerved in their travels in *Aſia*.

Les voyages de Jean Struys en Moſcovie, &c. in 4°. In theſe travels through *Muſcovy*, *Tartary*, *Perſia*, *India*, the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and other places, being a vaſt extent of ground, and to be travelled many ſeveral ways, there are abundance of notable obſervations, not to be found in other books of this ſort; the whole very inſtructive and diverting, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. IX. p. 260.

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez & de Moroc, en l'an 1681, 12°. Beſides what theſe fathers did, as the peculiar buſineſs of their religious profeſſion, this book contains many curioſities relating to the king of *Morocco*, and the cuſtoms of the country, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. X. p. 354.

river;

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduit par M. Gomberville, ſur l'original Eſpagnol du P. d'Acuſia jeſuiet. This is a relation of the ſaid father's voyage down this vaſt river; to which the tranſlator has added a diſſertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of *Manoa*, *Dorado*, and the lake of *Parima*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XI. p. 107.

Relation du voyage de Veniſe a Conſtantinople de Jaques Gaſſot, 12°. This author, though he writ above a hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious obſervations not to be found in later travellers, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XII. p. 139.

Relation du voyages des Indes orientales, par M. Dellon, two volumes 12°. The author affirms, he has inſerted nothing but what he ſaw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coaſt of *Malabar*; and concludes with a treatiſe of diſeaſes in thoſe parts, and their cures, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 121.

Hiſtoire de la conqueſte de la Floride par les Eſpagnols, traduit du Portugais, 12°. This is a very exact account of that country, and all that happened in the conqueſt of it, writ by a *Portugueſe* gentleman, who ſerved in that war, and was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 394.

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, auſquels on a joynt une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique, 12°. It treats of two journies the emperor of *China* made into the eaſtern and the weſtern *Tartary*. The other part ſhews the ſettlement made by the *Spaniards* in the iſland of *California*, An. 1683. *Journ. des Scav.* vol XIII. p. 446.

Relation de l'embaſſade de Mr. le Chevalier de Chaumont a la cour du roy de Siam, 12°. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an embaſſador, and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often deſcending to things of leſs moment worth the general obſervation, as the deſcription of the country, cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 396. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. III. p. 521.

Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perſe, & aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, & par la Colchide, fol. Though ſo many travellers as have viſited thoſe parts before him, ſeem to have left nothing new for him to write of, yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be ſeen in any other, and remarks no where elſe to be found, and particularly the expoſition of ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, which the author makes out by cuſtoms preſerved in the eaſt from the time of *Moſes* till our day, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 535. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. III. p. 520.

Ambaſſades de la compagnie Hollandoiſe d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon, 2 vol. 12°. It is an abridgment of a volume in *folio*, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the firſt is the deſcription of *Japan*; the ſecond an account of the embaſſy there; and the third of five other embaſſies. To which is added, a relation of the civil wars in *Japan*, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XV. p. 139.

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monſieur l'Abbe de Choiſi, 4°. It is compoſed of ſeveral letters writ by this gentleman, who was ſent by the king of *France* with the character of embaſſador in caſe the king of *Siam* had embraced Chriſtianity, as was hop'd; and does not only inform as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as *Tonquin* and *Cochinchina*, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the *Dutch* colony at the cape of *Good Hope*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 301.

Hiſtoire des Indes orientales, 4°. It is divided into two parts. The firſt treats of the voyage to, and obſervations at cape *Verde*, of the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and ſeveral paſſages which happened in *Argier* and *Conſtantinople*. The ſecond of two voyages into *India*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 436. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. II. p. 307.

Hiſtoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, 4°. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the ſituation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and cuſtoms of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monſieur *Gervaiſe* the author of it reſided there four years, underſtood the language perfectly, read their books, and converſed with the moſt intelligent perſons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made publick, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 612.

Relation nouvelle & exact d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12°. Contains an exact deſcription of all the places where the principal paſſages of our Saviour's paſſion happened, and many other things well worth obſerving, being very ſhort, and yet full enough, *Journal des Scavans*, vol. XVI. p. 204. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. III. p. 417.

Voyage en Moſcovie d'un ambaſſadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12°. *An.* 1661. He deſcribes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government and religion of the people, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 232.

Deſcription hiſtorique du royaume de Macaçar, 12°. It is divided into three books, the firſt the deſcription of the country, the ſecond the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 532. and *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. V. p. 324.

Relation de la Nigritie, 12°. It contains an exact deſcription of the kingdoms of the *Blacks*, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country; with the diſcovery of the river *Senega*, and a map of it. By four *Franciſcan* friars, who went thither upon the miſſion in the year 1689, from *France*, *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 311.

Voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jeſuites envoyez par le roy au royaume de Siam, An. 1685. 4°. This is an hiſtorical, phyſical, geographical, and aſtronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The firſt book is moſtly aſtronomical obſervations in the voyage to the cape of *Good Hope*; the ſecond a relation of the table-mountain, and many other things about the aforeſaid cape; the third paſſages at *Batavia* and *Macaſſar*; the fourth of affairs of *Siam*, and others; the fifth continues the ſame matter; the ſixth much natural hiſtory, concluding with the king of *Siam*'s letters to the pope, king of *France*, and F. *le Chaiſe*; the ſeventh the father's return home; and the eighth from thence to *Rome*, *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 415. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. IV. p. 472.

Second voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jeſuites envoyez par le roy au royaume de Siam, 1689. 8°. This father returned from his firſt voyage to carry more miſſioners; and this ſecond voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many hiſtorical, phyſical, geographical and aſtronomical remarks, beſides abundance of other obſervations and curioſities omitted in the firſt voyage, *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. XIV. p. 445.

Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe du Japon, par Mr. l'Abbé de T. 2 vol. 4°. It was writ by F. *Solier*, a jeſuit, and publiſhed by *l'Abbé*, who refined the language. This, though an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being compoſed by thoſe fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 486.

Journal du voyage fait a la Mer du Sud. avec les Flibuſtiers de l'Amerique, en 1684. *& années ſuivantes, par le Sieur Raveneau de Luſſand*, 12°. It is a bukaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the *Iſthmus* of *America*, and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land, *Journ. de Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 721.

Hiſtoire de monſieur Conſtance premier miniſtre du roy de Siam, & de la derniere revolution de cet eſtat. Par le P. d'Orleans, 12°. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in *Siam*, where he attained to be firſt miniſter to that great monarch in the year 1685. and thoſe that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the perſecution that enſued againſt the Chriſtians, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVIII. p. 373.

Du royaume de Siam. Par Mr. de la Loubere, envoye extraordinaire du roy aupres du roy de Siam, en 1687, & 1688. 2 vol. 12°. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The firſt volume divided into three parts; the firſt geographical, the ſecond of cuſtoms in general, and the third of manners in particular. The ſecond volume begins with ſtrange fables and ſuperſtitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary curious and remarkable, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 256, & 269.

Relation du voyage d'Eſpagne, 3 vol. 12°. Treats of the country in general, of the ſituation of its towns, of publick and private ſtructures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, *&c.* of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquiſition: with many pleaſant adventures, in which there is much of the romantick, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 364. It is writ by the counteſs *d'Aunoi*, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaſpeſie. Par le P. Chretien le Clercq. 12°. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the ſavages called *Gaſpeſians*, carrying croſſes, and worſhipping the ſun; and other nations of *Canada* in north *America*. It was taken in twelve years, the author reſiding there as miſſioner, beginning *An.* 1675, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 395. and *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. XXIII. p. 86.

Premier eſtabliſſement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. le Clercq. miſſionaire, 2 vol. 12°. It is the complete hiſtory of *Canada*, or *New-France*, from the firſt diſcovery of it till this time, containing the diſcoveries, ſettling of colonies, conqueſts, and all other paſſages from thoſe northern parts down to the gulph of *Mexico*, with the battles with the *Engliſh* and *Iroquois*, *An.* 1690, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 131.

Voyages en divers eſtats d'Europe & d'Aſie, pour decouvrir un nouveau Chimin a la Chine, 4°. Theſe travels were writ and performed by F. *Avril*, a jeſuit, who ſpent five years traverſing *Turky*, *Perſia*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, *Moldavia* and *Tartary*, and imbarked in ſeveral ſeas to find out this way to *China*, to avoid the tedious voyage by the cape of *Good Hope* and *India*. The relation is phyſical, geographical, hydrographical, and hiſtorical, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 187.

'*Les avantures de Jaques Sadeur dans la de couverte, & le voyage de la Terre Auſtrale*, 12°. This is a very extraordinary account of *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being caſt upon that country after the loſs of the ſhip he was in, and living thirty years among thoſe ſavages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, ſtudies, wars, of the birds and beaſts, and other rarities, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 256.

Voyages hiſtoriques de l'Europe, 8 vol. 12°. The firſt of theſe volumes treats only of *France*; the ſecond of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the third of *Italy*; the fourth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the fifth of the ſeven *United Provinces*; the ſixth of the empire; the ſeventh of *Muſcovy*; the eighth of *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Iſeland*. Theſe volumes are travels into the moſt conſiderable parts of *Europe*, and contain abundance of ſingularities not obſerved by other travellers and writers, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 93, 95, 276.

Relation du voyage, & retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691. *par un garde de la marine ſervant ſur le bord de M. Duqueſne commandant de l'Eſcadre*, 12°. It has many curious obſervations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the ſquadron touched at, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 177.

Les voyages du ſieur le Maire aux iſles Canaries, Cap Verde, Senegal & Gambie, 12°. In this are many particulars of thoſe *African* countries, little known, and ſcarce to be found in other travellers, *Journ des Scav.* vol. XXIII. p. 364.

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1668. *par le R. P. Gabriel de Magaillans, de la Compagnie de Jeſus*, 8°. This was originally writ in *Portugueſe*, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth tranſlating into *French* firſt, and from that into *Engliſh*, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account, *Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scav.* vol. II. p. 203.

Relation univerſelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le Sieur de la Croix, 12°. 4 vol. Beſides the chronology and geography, it has the cuſtoms, manners, religion, trade, plants and other particulars of the continent and iſlands, and what the king of *France* has done againſt the *Barbary Corſairs*, An. 1688. *A Lyon.*

Le Bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques & chretiens, &c. *Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, & la Barbarie. Par le R. R. Jean Coppin*, 4°. This father was firſt a ſoldier, then conſul for the *French* nation at *Damietta* in *Egypt*, and laſtly, a religious man. The deſign of his work is to ſtir up chriſtian princes to make war on the *Turk*, and accordingly his firſt and ſecond books are taken up in ſhewing of how great conſequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the cauſes of the riſe and decay of the *Ottoman* empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; firſt in *Egypt*, where he has many curious obſervations not to be found in other travellers, but more particulary, in that he took the pains to travel the great deſart of *Thebaida*, where few beſides him have been in theſe latter times; and this is his ſubject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of *Barbary*, *Phœnicia*, and the *Holy Land:* and the work concludes with an exact deſcription of the city *Damietta*, where he reſided ſome years. His relation is faithful, and deſerves all credit, eſpecially in thoſe things he delivers as an eye-witneſs. It was publiſhed at *Paris* in the year 1686, *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. V. p. 103.

Journal, ou ſuite du voyage de Siam, en forme de lettres familieres, fait en 1685, & 1686. *par monſieur l'Abbé de Choiſi*, 8°. It is the third account of the *French* embaſſadors ſent to *Siam*; monſieur *de Chaumont*, and *P. Tachard*, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that voyage, has all the ſea-terms, much of the ſame as F. *Tachard*, and ſeveral other remarks. He treats of the war in *Bantam*, of the iſland of *Java*, of *Batavia*, the power of the *Dutch* in *India*, of *Siam*, *Tonquin*, *Cochinchina*, &c. *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. VI. p. 274.

Hiſtoire naturelle, & politique du royaume de Siam, par monſieur Gervaiſe, 1688. 4°. The author lived four years at the court of *Siam*, and affirms nothing but what he ſaw, or found in the beſt books of that country, as alſo by diſcourſe with the beſt people there. He ſays little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other travellers to *Siam*, and adds much, which they, as be-

ing only paſſengers, could not obſerve. The work is divided into four parts: the firſt contains the deſcription of the country; the ſecond the laws, cuſtoms, manners and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth ſpeaks of the king, royal family and court, *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. X. p. 516.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyag de la Terre Sainte, ou deſcription de l'etat preſent dies lieux, ou ſe ſont paſſées les principales actions de la vie de Jeſu Chriſt. Paris 1688. 8°. This is a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and therefore writ in a religious ſtile, and contains the account of all the holy places in *Paleſtine*, and deſcription of *Malta*; and is a good guide for ſuch as deſire to travel into thoſe parts.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot en Aſie & en Afrique. Paris 1689. 3 vol. 12°. It is to be obſerved, that whereas before mention is made of *Thevenot*'s travels, that is a collection of other men, as appears there, but theſe are M. *Thevenot*'s own travels, divided into three parts; the firſt of the eaſtern countries under the *Turk*; the ſecond continues other eaſtern parts, proceeding towards *Perſia*; and the third the *Eaſt-Indies*. It is one of the moſt curious and exact works of this nature hitherto publiſhed, and well deſerving to be read by all that are curious of travels, *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. XIII. p. 246.

Voyages d'Amerique, hiſtoire des avanturieres qui ſe ſont ſignalez dans les Indes, &c. *Par Alexander Olivier Oexmelin. Paris* 1688. 2 vol. 12°. This was a ſurgeon ſent over in the ſervice of the *French Weſt-India* company, and ſold in *America*, where he lived ſeveral years. The author of the *Biblioth. Univerſ.* gives a great character of this work, and ſays, no man has yet given ſo good an account of the manner of living in thoſe parts, beſides very good deſcriptions, and all that is requiſite in ſuch a work; of which ſee more in the ſaid *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. XVIII. p. 129.

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688. *avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles a ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye*, 1691. 2 vol. 12°. *Par monſieur Miſſon.* This author gives a general account of all things obſervable in *Italy*, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in *Holland*, of which he gives a ſhort account; then croſſing *Germany* and *Tirol*, he runs down *Italy* by the *Adriatick* ſhore, and returns on the other ſide through *Tuſcany*, *Genoa*, *Piedmont*, *Swiſſerland*.

Voyage en divers etats d'Europe & d'Aſie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine. Par le P. Avril. Paris 1693. 12°. The firſt book contains the author's travels from *Marſeilles* to *Ezivan* in *Perſia*; the ſecond from *Ezivan* to *Moſcow*; in the third he gives an account of *Tartary*, but it was ſuch as he received from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to *Poland*, thence to *Conſtantinople*, and thence for want of health to *France*, *Biblioth. Univerſ.* vol. XXIV. p. 203.

Hiſtoire de la revolution de l'Empire du Mogol. Par monſieur F. Bernier, 8°. This hiſtory of the revolution of the empire of the *Mogul*, contains the whole account of *Aurenge Zeb* dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the deſcription of *Agra* and *Delhi*, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, cuſtoms, &c. of the *Indians*, the *Mogul*'s journey to *Cachemire*, and many other curious obſervations made by the author *in his travels in that* country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie. Par le ſieur Roland Frejus, 8°. The author of this voyage into *Mauritania* was ſent by the king of *France*'s order in the year 1666, to ſettle trade in the kingdom of *Fez*, and gives a very juſt, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monſieur *Charant*, who lived twenty five years in *Suez* and *Morocco*, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of thoſe people.

Voyages en Aſie, Afrique, & l'Amerique. Par monſieur Jean Mocquet, 8°. See this among the *Engliſh*, 8°.

Voyage par monſieur du Queſne aux Indes en 1691, & 1692, &c. See more of this among the *Engliſh*, 8°.

Voyages hiſtoriques & curieux en Allemagn, Boheme, Suiſſe, Holland, &c. *de monſieur Charles Patin*, 8°. See this among the *Engliſh*.

Voyage aux Indes, de Dellon, 2 vol. 12°.

Hiſtoire de la Chine ſous la domination des Tartares. Par le P. Greſlon de la Comp. de Jeſus, 8°. *Paris* 1672. We have here a ſuccinct hiſtory of *China* from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a miſſioner reſident there many years; his principal ſubject is the aſtronomy of *China*, which gained the firſt admiſſion to the miſſioners; of which, and all its parts, and how uſed and practiſed there, he treats very ingeniouſly and learnedly, *Giom. de Letter.*

Voyage du Levant. Par monſieur de Loir, 12°. A voyage to the *Levant* in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the iſlands of *Archipelago*, *Epheſus*, *Smyrna*, *Conſtantinople*, *Scutari*, *Negropont*, *Greece*, the *Morea*, and all the coaſts to *Venice*; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have ſaid of them,

them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no leſs learned than curious, *Giom. de Letter.* An. 1673.

Voyage d' Angleterre, par monſieur Sorbiere, 12°. This account of *England* is not methodical, but contains ſome obſervations worth reading.

Relation univerſelle de l' Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le ſieur de la Croix, 4 vol. 12°. *Lyon* 1688. This is the fulleſt and moſt perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world, being a judicious and laborious collection of all the beſt that has been writ on the ſubject. *Giom. de Letter. An.* 1689.

Hiſtoire de l' iſle de Ceylan, par le capitain Jean Ribeyro, traduite du Portugais en François, 12°. *Paris* 1701. This ſhort hiſtory of *Ceylon*, though writ originally in *Portugueſe*, and publiſhed in the year 1685. is here inſerted in the *French* tranſlation, becauſe the tranſlator Mr. *Le Grand* has added to it ſeveral chapters, collected from the beſt authors that have writ of that iſland. It is divided into three books: the firſt is the deſcription of the iſland, its government, religion, product, *&c.* the ſecond treats of the wars there between the *Portugueſes*, the natives, and the *Dutch:* and the third, of the errors the *Portugueſes* committed in their conqueſt of *India*, and the power of the *Dutch* in thoſe parts. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 29. p. 389.

Nouveaux memoires ſur l' eſtat preſent de la Chine, par le P. Louis le Comte, 2 vol. 12°. *Paris* 1696. F. *Le Comte*'s memoirs of *China* have appeared in *Engliſh*; they have abundance of very remarkable paſſages and ſingular curioſities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be ſaid of them. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 25. p. 58.

Dernieres deſcouvertes dans l' Amerique ſeptentrionale de monſieur de la Sale, mirſes au jour par monſieur le Chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du fort S. Louis aux iſlinois, 12°. *Paris* 1697. This is an account of a vaſt diſcovery in *North America*, being the whole length of the river *Miſſiſſipi*, from the *French* plantations in *Canada* down to the gulph of *Mexico* to the ſouthward, and from the ſame plantation to the ſource of the ſaid river northwards. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 25. p. 311.

Relation d' un voyage fait en 1696 *&* 1697, *aux coſtes de l' Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & iſles Antilles, par le ſieur Froger.* This is a relation of an expedition of ſix *French* ſhips fitted out during the war with *Spain* in thoſe years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all ſorts. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 26. p. 164.

Memoires du Chevalier Beaujeu, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, & en Hongries, 12°. *Paris* 1679. The author of theſe memoirs having travelled in *Poland, Germany,* and *Hungary,* undertakes to rectify many miſtakes in the maps as to diſtances of places; he gives a particular account of theſe countries, and moſt eſpecially of *Poland,* and all things relating to it. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 26. p. 284.

Relation du voyage du Sieur de Montauban capitain des Flibuſtiers en Guinée, dans l' année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ſhip; but ſo that the captain eſcaped, and got aſhore on the coaſt of *Africk*, of which he gives ſome account; thence he got over to *Barbadoes*, and thence into *France.*

Relation curieuſe & nouvelle de Moſcovie, contenant l' etat de cet empire, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This account of *Muſcovy* is compoſed by Mr. *de Neuville*, envoy from the king of *Poland* to the *Czar*, who during his reſidence there collected the beſt account of a way through *Muſcovy* and *Tartary* to *China*, as convenient as any for travellers in *Europe*, which he ſays he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the Czar at the requeſt of the *Dutch* has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui ſ'y eſt fait & paſſe par l' eſcadre de ſa majeſte, envoye ſous le commandement de M. de la Haye, 12°. *Orleans* 1697. This is a voyage of a *French* fleet to the *Indies* in the year 1670. it deſcribes *Goa*, and gives ſome account of thoſe coaſts, of taking the city of *S. Thomas* or *Meliapor*, and the loſing it again to the *Dutch* and infidels, with the return of the *French.*

Voyage d' Italie & de Grece, avec une diſſertation ſur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This author ſet out from *France* in the year 1691. and gives ſuch a deſcription of the countries he paſſed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whoſe behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleaſant and diverting than ſolid. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. 26. p. 535.

Spaniſh.

Hiſtoria del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que Rup Gonzales de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del ſenor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Caſtilla. Sevil 1582. Fol. This is the firſt *Spaniſh* book of travels, at leaſt of any reputation, now extant, and is of no leſs than 300 years antiquity; for tho' the book was publiſhed

as above, the embaſſy was in the year 1403. in which the author ſpent three years, ſaw a conſiderable part of *Aſia*, following *Tamerlan*'s camp, and beſides what he ſaw during thoſe three years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: It is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande Alphonſo de Albuquerque capitao general da India, collegidos por ſeu filho das propias cartas, que elle eſcrivio ao rey D. Manoel. Liſboa 1576. *Folio.* This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the firſt *Portugueſe* conquerors of the *Eaſt-Indies*; and a particular encomium of it is given by *Anthony Ferreira* in his poems.

Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, y

Comentarios de Alvar Nunez Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata. Valladolid 1555. 4°. The firſt was writ by *Alvar Nunez* himſelf, wherein he gives an account of his ſhipwreck, and unparallelled ſufferings in *Florida*. The ſecond was compoſed by his order by *Peter Fernandez* his ſecretary, and is an account of the province of the river of *Plate*, where he was governor: both curious and ſcarce.

Nuevo deſcubrimiento del gran Catayo, o Reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by F. *Anthony de Andrada* a jeſuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the moſt remote eaſtern countries.

Verdadera deſcription de la Tierra Santa como eſtava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531. 8°. It is an exact account of the *Holy Land* at that time, writ by F. *Anthony de Aranda*, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim at that time.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654. 4°. The deſcription of the *Holy Land* in a pious ſtile, for the help of pilgrims, by F. *Antony del Caſtillo*, a *Franciſcan*; who was ſuperior of the monaſtery at *Bethlehem*.

Relacion de lo ſucedido a los Padres de la compania de Jeſus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 *y* 1631. Valladolid 4°. An account of the travels and actions of the jeſuits in *India* and *Japan*, by F. *Antony Collaco*.

Jornada do Arcebiſpo de Goa D. F. Aleino de Meneſes, &c. as ſerras de Malabar, & lugares em que moram os antigos Chriſtaos de S. Thome. Coimbra 1606. *Fol.* It was writ by F. *Antony de Gouvea* of the order of S. *Auguſtin*, who treats very curiouſly of the inland parts of *Malabar*, and Chriſtians of *S. Thomas* there.

Hiſtoria general de los Hechos de los Caſtellanos en las iſlas, y Tierra firma del mar oceano, eſcrita por Antonio de Herrera. Madrid 1615. 4 vol. *Folio.* A moſt excellent and compleat hiſtory of the diſcovery and conqueſt of *America* by the *Spaniards*, not omitting to mention the diſcoveries made at the ſame time by other nations. It reaches from *Columbus*'s firſt diſcovery *an.* 1492, till 1554. divided into four volumes, and thoſe into eight decads, with a very juſt deſcription of that vaſt continent.

Hiſtoria general de la India oriental, los deſcubriemientos y conquiſta que hon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Braſil, &c. hoſta el ano de 1562. Valladolid 1603. *Folio.* This tho' ancient is the fulleſt account there was till that time of the actions of the *Portugueſes* in the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Braſil*, writ by F. *Antony de S. Roman* of the order of *S. Benedict*.

Hiſtoria de la conquiſta eſpiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639. 4°. It is an account of the progreſs of the preaching jeſuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of ſome colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra ano 1520. Coimbra 1565. 16°. A journal of *Antony Tenreiro*'s travels from *India* by land into *Portugal*. It was more rare in thoſe days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage deſde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by F. *Auguſtin de Tordeſillas*, a *Franciſcan*, but publiſhed by *John Gonzales de Mendoza*, *an.* 1585. being a voyage from the *Philippine* iſlands to *China*; which I have not ſeen, nor met with any further account of it.

Hiſtoria del deſcubrimiento, y conquiſta del Peru, de Auguſtin de Zarate. Sevilla 1577. 8°. The author was an examiner or controler of accounts in the king's houſhold, and ſent over to *Peru* to enquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in thoſe parts, where he gathered materials for his hiſtory, which has always been in good eſteem where known, as appears by its having been twice tranſlated into *Italian*.

Hiſtoria da Etiopia alta, do P. Baltaſar Tellez. Folio. He was a *Portugueſe* jeſuit, who collected this hiſtory of *Ethiopia* from the writings of the jeſuits, who reſided there. He is highly commended by *D. Franciſco Manoel* in his epiſtles and his hiſtory, and no leſs by *Georgius Cordoſus* in *Agiologio*.

Conquiſta de las iſlas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argenſola. Madrid 1609. *Fol.* This author was hiſtoriographer of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and the moſt accompliſhed maſter of the *Spaniſh* tongue in his time: So that his hiſtory is not only valuable for his excellent account of the *Moluccо* iſlands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone moſt men.

Manual y relacion de las coſas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634. 4°. The author was a native of *Peru*, and biſhop of *Paraguay*; ſo that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577. 8°. It is a ſhort but ingenious treatiſe of the eaſtern voyages, and ſome affairs of *China*.

Hiſtoria de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lizana. The author was a miſſioner in the province of *Yucatan*, whoſe hiſtory he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Hiſtoria de las coſas antiguas que los Indios uſavan en ſu infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sahagun. This hiſtory treats of the idolatry, rites and ceremonies of the *Indians*, and of their government, laws and politicks. The ſame author alſo writ *La Conquiſta*, or the conqueſt of *Mexico*.

Hiſtoria verdadera de la Conquiſta de la Nueva Eſpana, por Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo. Fol. The author of this hiſtory of the conqueſt of *Mexico*, ſerved in it under *Cortes*, from the beginning till the laſt; and therefore ſpeaks as an eye-witneſs, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be preſent at from thoſe that were. He ſays he finiſhed his work in the year 1568. but it was not publiſhed till ſome years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angelos de Bernardo de la Vega. Mexico 1601. 8*vo*. This is only a collection of rarities in thoſe parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of *Tucuman* in *South America*.

Sitio naturaleza y propriedades de Mexico, de Diego de Ciſneros, 1618. The author was phyſician to the marquiſs *de Guadalcacar* viceroy of *Peru*, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas de Aſia, de Joao de Barros. He finiſhed three decades, in as many volumes, of the hiſtory of *India*; of which work the learned *Nicholaus Antonius*, in his *bibliotheca Hiſpana*, pag. 498. ſays it is a moſt compleat work, which will laſt for ever to the honour of the compiler. His 4th volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finiſhed by *John Baptiſt Labanha*, hiſtoriographer to K. *Philip* II. But after that *James de Couto* undertook to continue the hiſtory from the third decade, where *Barros* ended, and writ nine more; ſo that the whole work conſiſts of twelve decades, but of theſe only ſeven have been printed at *Liſbon*.

Relaciones del Pegu, de Duarte Fernandez. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de Fernando de Quintana. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the firſt that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las iſlas Philippinas, de Fernando de los rios Coronel. The author was a prieſt in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the *Philippine*, but of the *Molucco* iſlands, repreſenting at the ſame time what faults there are in the government of thoſe parts to be redreſſed.

Verdadeira informazao do Preſſe Joao das Indias, de Franciſco Alvarez. Liſboa 1540. *Folio.* The author, a man of great probity, was ſent by king *Emanuel* of *Portugal* into *Ethiopia*, with his embaſſador *Edward Galvao*, and reſided there ſix years returning thence in the year 1533. and during his ſtay there had time to collect this hiſtorical account, in which he gives a deſcription of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the ſtay of the *Portugueſes*.

Relazao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. *do P. Franciſco Cordim.* The author was a *Portugueſe* jeſuit, who had been in thoſe parts; and his work was ſo well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be tranſlated into *French*, and printed at *Paris* 1645.

Hiſtoria general de las Indias de Franciſco Lopez de Gomara. This author wrote in a commendable ſtile; but his hiſtory is of no credit, being full of falſe relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of thoſe parts, ſome of whom were eye-witneſſes of the things he miſrepreſents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquiſta del Peru, por Franciſoo de Xeres. Salamanca 1547. *Fol.* The author was ſecretary to *Francis Pizarro* the great diſcoverer and conqueror of *Peru*, and wrote this account of the conqueſt of that vaſt kingdom, as an eye-witneſs which he preſented to the emperor *Charles* the fifth.

Commentarios de los reges Incas del Peru. Liſboa 1609. *Folio.*

Hiſtoria general del Peru, 1617. *Fol.*

Hiſtoria de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695. 4°. Theſe three by *Garcilaſo de la Vega*, who calls himſelf *Inca*, as being the ſon of a *Spaniard*, who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of *Peru*, by an *Indian* woman of the imperial race of the *Incas*, from whom he took that name. The hiſtory of the ancient *Incas* he received from the natives, that of the actions of the *Spaniards* from his father and others, who had a ſhare in them.

Traſado em que ſe contam muitopor eſtenſo as couſas da China, e aſſi do regno de Ormuz,

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pelo P. Gaſparda Cruz. Ebora 1569. 4°. The author, a Dominican friar, travelled as a miſſioner in *India*, *Perſia*, and *China*, where he made his obſervations, and dedicated his work to king *Sebaſtian* of *Portugal*. Several authors of note make mention of him.

Hiſtoria general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547. *Fol.*

Hiſtoria del Eſtrecho de Magallones, 1552. *Fol.*

Navigacion del Rio Marannon. Theſe three by *Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo*, who after many honourable employments in *Spain*, was ſent governor of the city of *Santo Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, where he reſided ten years, and compiled his hiſtory of the *Indies* mentioned in the firſt place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume abovemention'd; to which is added one called, *Of ſhipwrecks*. The reſt have not appeared, unleſs we allow his hiſtory of the ſtraits of *Magellan*, the ſecond here ſpoke of, to be his 20th book, which is publiſhed by it ſelf. His account of the river *Marannon* is in the 3d volume of *Ramuſio*'s travels.

Tratado de la Conquiſta de las iſlas de Perſia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diverſas gentes, y eſtranas y grandes batallas que vio, por Juan Angier. Salamanca 1512. 4°. The author, of whom we have no further account, aſſures he ſaw all he writes, which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that it treats of the conqueſt of the iſlands on the coaſts of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, and of ſeveral nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Hiſtoria de las Coſas mas notables, ritos y coſtumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586. 8°. This hiſtory of the moſt remarkable things, and the cuſtoms and manners of *China*, was writ by F. *John Gonzalez de Mendoza*, of the order of St. *Auguſtin*, who in the year 1580 was ſent into *China* by K. *Philip* the 2d of *Spain*, where he gathered the materials of his hiſtory, and compoſed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obiſpo de la Puebla de los Angelos. 4°. This is a treatiſe writ in defence of the *Indians* by the good biſhop, and gives an account of their diſpoſition and manners, in oppoſition to thoſe that repreſented them as brutal, and ſcarce endued with reaſon. This, tho' it ſeems not a book of travels, being the manners and cuſtoms of ſtrange nations, and by a traveller to thoſe parts, very well deſerves admittance among them.

Ethiopia oriental, e varia hiſtoria de couſas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. Joao dos Santos. Ebora 1609. *Fol.* It treats of the eaſtern parts of *Africk*, where the author, who was a Dominican, reſided eleven years as a miſſioner, making his collections on the ſpot, which he after methodized in his own country.

Hiſtoria natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. Joſeph de Acoſta. Madrid 1610. 4°. This hiſtory is ſo well known and generally eſteemed, that little needs be ſaid of it; the univerſal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the hiſtory natural and moral of the *Weſt-Indies*.

Deſcription del nuevo orbe, y de los naturalez del, por el P. F. Luis Jeronymo de Ore. Lima 1598. *Fol.* The author was an *American* by birth, a great traveller in thoſe parts, an able ſcholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which render'd him capable to write well upon this ſubject.

Deſcription general de Africa, por Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vol. *Folio.* This is the fulleſt account extant of *Africk*, generally eſteemed in all parts, and has been tranſlated into *French*. The author being a ſlave at *Morocco*, there read and heard thoſe accounts he afterwards publiſhed, of the interior parts of *Africk* which remain inacceſſible to Chriſtians. *Thuanus & Ambroſius morales*, in their hiſtories commend this work.

Hiſtoria de Ethiopia, y

Hiſtoria de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. Luis de Urreta. 2 vol. 4°. Both theſe generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by *F. Nicholas Godinho* in his book *de Abyſſinorum rebus*.

Hiſtoria de las iſlas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. Morcello de Ribadencira. Barcelona 1601. 4°. This hiſtory of thoſe eaſtern countries was collected there by the author, who travelled the greateſt part of them as a miſſioner.

Relacion del Nombre, Sitio, Plantas, &c. *de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr. Martin Camillo. Barcelona* 1612. 4°. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being ſent by King *Philip* of *Spain* into *Sardinia*, to inſpect all the courts there, travelled over the whole iſland of *Sardinia*, and took that opportunity to write this learned treatiſe of its name, ſituation, plants, conqueſt, converſion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Govierno de los Quixos en Indias. 1608. 4°. An account of the province called *Los Quixos* in *South America*, writ by D. *Peter de Caſtro Eorle* of *Lemos*. What more to ſay of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philippinas, por el P. Pedro Chirino. Roma 1604. 4°. The author of this account of the *Philippine* iſlands, ſpent

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the greateſt part of his life, and ended his days there, ſo that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it conſiſts of the actions of the jeſuits in thoſe parts, he being of that ſociety.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de Pedro Cieca de Leon. Antwerp 1554. 8°. It treats of the limits and deſcription of the provinces of *Peru*, the founding of cities, and the cuſtoms and manners of the *Indians*. Only this firſt part is extant, the other four, which the author promiſes, and were hiſtorical having never been publiſhed; which is a great loſs, for by the value of this firſt we may judge of the reſt.

Hiſtoria da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Braſil. The hiſtory of the province of *Santa Cruz*, vulgarly *Braſil*, by *Peter de Magalhaens Gandavo*. *Liſbon* 1579. 4°. It is commended by *Antonius Leo*, in his *bibliotheca Indica*.

Relacion dos reges de Perſia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of *Perſia* and *Ormuz*, and travels from *India* to *Italy* by land, in the year 1614. 4°. The author *Peter Texeira* a *Portugueſe*, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las miſſiones orientales, con une ſumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eaſtern miſſions, and of the empire of the *Mogol*. *Rome* 1649. 4°. Compoſed by *Sebaſtian Manrique*, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. Hernando Cortes Marques del Valle, de la conquiſta de Mexico, al emperador. The orginal letter writ by *Cortes* the famous conqueror of *Mexico*, giving the emperor *Charles* the *5th* an account of his expedition. There is no need to ſpeak of the value of ſuch papers, than which nothing can be more authentick, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his ſovereign.

Corta do P. Gonzalo Rodrigues do ſua embaixado a Etiopia, e do que la le ſucedeo com o ſeu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embaſſy of *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*, ſent by the king of *Portugal* to the emperor of *Ethiopia*. It is to be ſeen in *F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyſſinorum*, lib. II. cap. 58.

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonſalo de Nodal hermanos al deſcubrimento del Eſtreco Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalhanes. This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above-nam'd to the ſtraits of *St. Vincent*, which we call ſtrait *le Mayre*, and to view that of *Magellan*, in the years 1618, and 1619. *Madrid* 1621. 4°. It is an exact journal of their voyage and obſervations whilſt they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able ſeamen, who had ſerved the king many years.

Viage a la ſanta ciudad de Jeruſalem, deſcripcion ſuya y de toda la tierra ſanta, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. Bernardo Italiano. Naples 1632. 8°. A journey to *Jeruſalem*, the deſcription of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount *Sinai*, performed by the author, a *Franciſcan* friar.

Relacion de los Sagrados lugares de Jeruſalem, y toda la tierra ſanta. The author *F. Blaze de Buiza*, a Franciſcan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the *Turks* the tribute for the privilege of thoſe holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at *Salamanca* 1624. 8*vo*.

Tratado de las Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. Burgos 1578. 4°.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque ſe navega por aquellas partes. Both theſe by *Chriſtopher da Coſta*, a native of *Tangier*, who ſpent many years in his travels in *Africk* and *Aſia*, and was a doctor of phyſick, which enabled him to write that moſt excellent treatiſe firſt mentioned of theſe two, of the plants and drugs of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The ſecond is of the *Eaſt-India* voyage, and of thoſe ſeas.

Relazao da navigazao de Duarte Lopez a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or *Lopez* his voyage to *Africk*, and the kingdom of *Congo*, which is to be ſeen in *Latin* in *Theodore de Bry*'s collection.

Viage de D. Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera a Jeruſalem. Liſboa 1580. 4°. This is a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem* performed by this noble-man, who was marquiſs of *Tariſa*, and ſpent two years in it, ſetting out in *November* 1518. and returning in *October* 1520. when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de Fernan Mendez Pinto. Liſboa 1614. *Fol. Pinto*'s travels in *India*, ſo fabulous that the general conſent of the world has exploded them, tho' ſome few have taken the pains to defend thoſe chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jeruſalem Franciſco Guerero. Sevil 1645. This is another pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of *Sevil*, and can only be a repetition of what we ſee in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que ſtam em hum caminho que Fez Gaſpor Barreiras, o ano de 1546, *de Badajoz em Caſſel la ate Milan en Italia. Coimbra* 1561. 4°. The author gives an account of the places he paſſed thro' in his journey from *Badajoz* in *Spain*, to the city of *Milan*. But *Andrew de Reſende* complains that he ſtole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inſerted them as his own.

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a deſcripzao de Jeruſalem. Liſboa 1611. 4°. This journey was performed and book writ by F. *Gaſpar de Sa*, a *Portugueſe* Franciſcan, being a journal of his travels from *India* to *Portugal* by land, and a deſcription of *Jeruſalem*; but of this ſort there are ſeveral, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de Jeronimo de Santiſtevan de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y ſa buelta a Portugal. A voyage by *Jerome de Santiſtevan* from *Genoa* by the way of *Grand Cairo* to *India*, and his return to *Portugal*. It is to be ſeen in *Italian* in the firſt volume of *Ramuſio*'s collection.

Itinerario de Eſparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. *Martin Ignatius de Loyala*, a Franciſcan, who took his way from *Spain* to *America*, thence to the *Philippine* iſlands, thence to *China*, and ſo round home by the *Eaſt-Indies*. It is printed in F. *John Gonzales de Mendoza*'s hiſtory of *China*, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585. but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. *Nicholas Diaz*, of the order of St. *Dominick*.

Itinerario da terra ſanta, e todas as ſuas particularidades. Another pilgrimage ſtill to the Holy Tand, by F. *Pantaleo de Aveiro. Liſbon* 1593. 4°.

Relazao de Pedro Alvarez Cabral da ſua navegazao a India oriental. This *Cabral* was the next after *Gama* ſent by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* into *India*; and accidentally being drove thither by ſtorms, diſcovered *Braſil*. This relation is to be ſeen in *Italian* in *John Baptiſta Ramuſio*'s collection.

Relazao de Pedro de Cintra, da ſua navegazao a coſta de Guinée, y a India. A voyage to the coaſt of *Guinea* and *India*, by *Peter de Cintra*, of which I find no more, but that it was tranſlated into *Italian* by *Aloiſius Cadamuſtus*.

Relazao do viage de Pedro Covillam de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo. 1587. This *Covillam* was one of the firſt ſent from *Portugal* to diſcover *India* by land, before the way to it had been opened by ſea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to *Grand Cairo*.

Viage que hizo a Jeruſalem el P. F. Pedro de Santo Domingo, de la orden del miſmo ſanto. This was a Dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600. and printed at *Naples* in 1604. in 8°.

Viage de Jeruſalem de Pedro Gonzales Gallardo. Another Holy-Land voyage printed at *Sevil* 1605. 8°.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la Coſta del Peru, de Pedro Goveo de Victoria. This is an account of a ſhipwreck and travels in *America* by this *Goveo* in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610. in 8°.

Viage del mundo, por Pedro Ordonez de Zevallos. 4°. This, tho' the author calls it the voyage of the world, only ſhews a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than *America*, a part whereof the author ſaw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India Tomas Lopez, el anno de 1502. This voyage to *India* by *Lopez*, is to be ſeen in *Italian* in *Ramuſio*'s collection.

Nuevo deſcubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new diſcovery of the great river of the *Amazons*, by *Chriſtopher de Acuna*, a jeſuit, who went upon that expedition by order of the king of *Spain*. *Madrid* 1641. 4°.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de Diego Ramirez. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers *Bartholomew* and *Garcia de Nodal* to the ſtraits of *Le Mayre*; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by *Anthony de Leon* in his *Biblioth. Ind. occident.* p. 91.

Relacion del naufragio de la Nao Santiago, y Itinerario de la gente, que della ſe ſalvo el ano de 1585. This is an account of a *Portugueſe* ſhip caſt away, and of the great ſufferings of thoſe that were ſaved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed *An.* 1602. in 8°.

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de Fernando de Alarcon. The diſcovery of ſeven cities in the north *America* by *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, it is to be found in *Italian* in *Ramuſio*'s collection, vol. III.

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de Franciſco Vaſquez Coronado. The diſcovery of the ſeven cities laſt mentioned by *Coronado*, and to be found in the ſame volume of *Ramuſio*.

Tratado de las guerras de los Chichimecas. An account of thoſe northern people in *America*, called *Chichimecas*, and the wars with them, by *Gonzalo de los Caſas*, a native of *Mexico*, and lord of the province of *Zanguitan* in that country.

Relacion de lo ſucedido a los padres de la compania de Jeſus en la India oriental y Japon en los Anos 1600, 1601, 1607, y 1608. This account was firſt writ in *Portugueſe*, and tranſlated in *Spaniſh*, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica del Japon deſde el Ano 1602. *hoſta el de* 1621. This is an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *Japan* for thoſe years above-

above-mentioned, compoſed by F. *James Collado*, and printed at *Madrid*, *An.* 1623. in 4°. It was continued to the year 1622. by F. *Jacintus Offanel* of the order of S. *Dominick*, as was the other.

Hiſtoria evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. Juan Baptiſta Morales. This hiſtory of *China* has been always in good repute; the author was a *Dominican* and miſſioner firſt in *Camboya*, and then in *China*, where he ſuffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then baniſhed. Coming to *Rome* he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and ſpent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of *Fokien*. Thus much has been ſaid of him, to ſhew that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deſerves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa a la Perſia. This embaſſador was a man curious and knowing, and obſerved many conſiderable things which other authors have not ſpoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient hiſtorians have writ of the eaſtern countries. He gives an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the people, and deſcription of all places in the way he went from *Goa* to *Iſpahan*, the capital of *Perſia*. The relation of the *Perſians* taking *Ormuz* from the *Portugueſes*, a deſcription of *Chilminara* the ancient palace of *Perſepolis*, burnt by *Alexander* the Great when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original *Spaniſh*, the *French* tranſlation being vitiated by the tranſlator, ſo that there is no relying on it.

Conquiſta y antiquedades de las iſlas de la Gran Canaria, ſu deſcripcion, &c. Por el licenciado Juan Nunez de la Pena. 4°. *Madrid.* The conqueſt and antiquities of the *Canary* iſlands, being perhaps the beſt relation we have of them, both as to their preſent ſtate and antiquities.

Engliſh.

Hackluyt, a miniſter by profeſſion, is the firſt *Engliſhman* that compiled any collection of travels now extant: He himſelf was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was publiſhed in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, compoſing one thick volume in *Folio*. The firſt contains the following voyages: 1. K. *Arthur* to *Iſeland*, *An.* 517. 2. K. *Malgo* to *Iſeland*, *Gotland*, &c. *An.* 580. 3. K. *Edwin* to *Angleſey* and *Man*, *An.* 624. 4. *Bertus* to *Ireland*, *An.* 684. 5. *Other* beyond *Norway*, *An.* 890. 6. *Other* into the *Sound*. 7. *Wolſtan* into the *Sound*. 8. K. *Edgar* round his monarchy, *An.* 973. 9. *Edmund* and *Edward* into *Hungary*, *An.* 1017. 10. *Harald* into *Ruſſia*, *An.* 1067. 11. An *Engliſhman* into *Tartary*, *Poland* and *Hungary*, *An.* 1243. 12. F. *de Plano*'s wonderful voyage, *An.* 1246. 13. F. *de Rubricis*'s journal, *An.* 1253. 14. F. *de Linna* towards the north-pole, *An.* 1360. 15. *Hen.* E. of *Derby* into *Pruſſia*, *An.* 1390. 16. F. of *Woodſtock* into *Pruſſia*, *An.* 1391. 17. Sir *H. Willoughby* to *Lapland*, *An.* 1553. 18. *Chancellor*'s diſcovery of *Muſcovy* by ſea, *An.* 1553. 19. *Burrough* to the river *Ob*, *An.* 1556. 20. *Johnſon* to the *Samoeds*, *An.* 2556. 21. *Burrough* to *Wardhouſe*, *An.* 1557. 22. *Jenkinſon* to *Ruſſia*, *An.* 1557. 23. *Jenkinſon* from *Moſcow* into *Bactria*, *An.* 1558. 24. *Jenkinſon* through *Ruſſia* into *Perſia*, *An.* 1561. 25. *Alcock*, &c. by land to *Perſia*, *An.* 1563. 26. *Johnſon*, &c. by land to *Perſia*, 1565. 27. *Southam* and *Spark* to *Novogrod*, *An.* 1566. 28. *Jenkinſon* to *Ruſſia*, *An.* 1566. 29. *Edwards*, &c. by land to *Perſia*, *An.* 1568. 30. *Baniſter* and *Ducket* by land to *Perſia*, *An.* 1569. 31. *Burrough* to *Livonia*, *An.* 1570. 32. *Jenkinſon* to *Ruſſia*, *An.* 1571. 33. *Burrough* by land to *Perſia*, *An.* 1579. 34. *Pet* and *Jackman* to the north-eaſt, *An.* 1580. 35. *Horſey* by land from *Moſcow* to *England*, *An.* 1584. 36. *Ruſſians* to the north-eaſt. 37. Voyage to *Siberia* and the river *Ob*. 38. Vanquiſhing the *Spaniſh* armada, *An.* 1588. 39. Voyage to *Cadiz*, *An.* 1596. Thus far the firſt volume; the firſt 16 of which voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two laſt are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among diſcoveries; the reſt of the volume is filled with treaties, patents and letters. Thus it appears all theſe, except the two laſt, are northern voyages. The ſecond volume contains voyages to the ſtraits, coaſt of *Africk*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*. Of theſe the greateſt part are pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, many of very little moment, expeditions for the *Holy Land*, common trading voyages, that have little or nothing of curioſity, and ſea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inſerting here: the ſmall remaining part are voyages to *Guinea*, and other coaſts of *Africk*, and ſome few to the *Eaſt-Indies*; of all which there is a much better account in *Purchas*, and others, and therefore they are not inſerted in this place. Beſides, as in the firſt part, there are abundance of letters, diſcourſes, patents, and ſuch original papers. The third volume, not to mention many of no worth, has theſe conſiderable voyages, *Sebaſtian Cabot*'s to north *America*, three of

Sir

Sir *Martin Forbiſher* to the north-weſt paſſage, two of *Davis*'s to the north-weſt, *Hore* and *Gilbert* to *Newfoundland*; *Granpre*, and others to the iſle of *Ramea*; three of *Jacques Cartier* to *Newfoundland*, *Canada*, &c. *Roberval* to *Canada*; *Amadas*, *Balow*, *Greenvil*, and others to *Virginia*; *Verazzano*, *Ribault*, *Laudonniere*, and *Gourges* to *Florida*; *Marco de Nica*, *Francis Vaſquez Coronado*, and *Antony de Eſpejo* to *Cibola*, *Culiacon* and *New Galicia*; *Ulloa*, *Alarcon* and *Drake* to *California*; *Ovalle* to the *Philippine* iſlands, *Lequeos*, *China*, and back to *Acapulco*; *Tomſon*, *Bodenham*, *Chilton*, *Hawks*, *Philips*, and *Hortop* to *New Spain*, *Peru* and *Panuco*; *Pert* and *Cabot* to *Braſil*; *Tiſon* and *Hawkins* to the *Weſt-Indies*; *Hawkins* to *Guinea*, and the *Weſt-Indies*; *Drake* to *Nombre de Dios*; *Oxnam*, *Barker*, *Drake*, *Michelſon* to *Mexico*, &c. *Newport* to *Puerto Rico*, &c. *May* to the ſtraits of *Magellan*; *Dudley*, *Preſton*, *Drake*, *Sherley*, *Parker*, to ſeveral parts of the *Weſt-Indies*; *Raleigh* to the iſland *Trinidad*, and to *Guiana*; *Hawkins*, *Reniger*, *Hare*, *Lancaſter* to *Braſil*; two *Engliſhmen* and *Drake* up the river of *Plate*; *Drake* round the world; *Silva* through the ſtraits of *Magellan*; *Winter* into the ſouth-ſea; *Fenton* to *Braſil*; *Withrington* to 44 deg. of ſouth latitude; *Candiſh* round the world; Ship *Delight* to the ſtraits of *Magellan*; *Candiſh* his laſt voyage. Thus have we briefly run over the contents of *Hackluyt*'s collection, preciſely ſetting down all in the firſt volume, to give the reader a taſte of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad, which has been abridged in relation to the ſecond and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The collection is ſcarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out; but it might be wiſhed the author had been leſs voluminous, delivering what was really authentick and uſeful, and not ſtuffing his work with ſo many ſtories taken upon truſt, ſo many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, ſo many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and ſuch a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpoſe of travels and diſcoveries.

Purchas was the next great *Engliſh* collector of travels after *Hackluyt*, whom he has imitated too much, ſwelling his work into five volumes in *Folio*. The whole collection is very valuable, as having preſerved many conſiderable voyages which might otherwiſe have periſhed. But to particularize with him, as has been done before with *Hackluyt*; his firſt volume is divided into five books. The firſt contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apoſtles and philoſophers, with the warlike expeditions of *Alexander* the Great, and other princes; to which is added an enquiry into languages, and an account of the ſeveral ſorts of religions. The ſecond book treats of navigation in general, the diſcoveries made by *Henry* prince of *Portugal*, King *John* of *Portugal*, *Columbus* of the *Weſt* and *Gama* of the *Eaſt-Indies*: then follow *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Candiſh*, *Noort* and *Spilbergen* round the world, and *le Maires* diſcovery of the new ſtrait of his name. The third book is filled with ſome private voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the ſeven firſt made by the *Eaſt-India* company, with deſcriptions, and an account of all thoſe parts, their product, trade, government, religion, *&c.* but all, as delivered by the firſt that reſorted there and made no long ſtay, imperfect, and far ſhort of what we have had ſince. The fourth book contains the 8th voyage of the *Eaſt-India* company, capt. *Saris* to *Japan*; *Finch* to *India*; 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th voyages of the company; obſervations for ſailors; *Steel* to the *Mogul*'s court; *Milward* to *India*; *Peyton* to *India*; an extract of Sir *Thomas Roe*, embaſſador from King *James* to the *Mogul*, his journal; *Coryat*'s travels. The fifth book ſtill continues upon accounts of the *Eaſt-India*, of all parts thereof, and from many ſeveral hands, upon differences between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, wars of the natives, engagements of the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſes*, and many other paſſages and occurrences to the ſame purpoſe. The ſixth book, being the firſt in the ſecond volume, begins with collections of *John Leo*'s hiſtory of *Africk*, and *R. C.*'s hiſtory of *Barbary*: then follow *Nicholay*'s deſcription of *Argier*; an expedition to *Argier* under Sir *Robert Manſel*; and ſome relations of *Africk*. The ſeventh book begins *Jobſon*'s voyage to *Guinea*; *Battle*'s account of *Angola* is next, then *Pigafetta*'s relation of *Congo*, *Alvarez*'s voyage to *Ethiopia*; *D. John de Caſtro* from *India* to *Suez*; *Bermudez* the patriarch to *Ethiopia*, and *Nunhes Barreto* of the ſame country. The eighth contains ſeveral pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, Chriſtian expeditions to the *Holy Land*; *Barton*'s (Q. *Elizabeth*'s embaſſador to the great *Turk*) account of his voyage and the adventures of *J. Smith*. The ninth book conſiſts of *Sherley*'s travels into *Perſia*; *Benjamin* the ſon of *Jonas* his peregrination; *Terrey*'s voyage to the *Mogul*; *Barthema*'s to *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Perſia* and *India*; Collections of *Aſia* out of *Arabick*; *Meneſes* his account of *India*; *Figueroa* to *Iſpahan*; *J. de Santos* to *Ethiopia*; *Jobſon* on *Gambra* river; account of the *Grand Signior*'s ſeraglio; *Sanderſon*'s voyages in the ſtraits; *Timberley* from *Cairo* to *Jeruſalem*;

Newberry

Newbery of the eaſtern parts of the world; *Fran. Pyrard de la Val* to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The tenth book has a collection of *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* voyages out of *Galvan*; *Trigautius* his voyage to *India*; Letter touching *Japan*; *Frederick*'s *Indian* obſervations; *Balbi* to *Pegu*; *Fitz* to *Goa*, and other parts of *India*; *Pimenta*'s obſervations of *India*; *Linſchoten*'s voyages to *India*; relation of *Ormuz*; Sir *Rob. Sherley* to *Perſia*; *Coryate*'s travels; *Lithgow Scot* to the *Holy Land*, &c. Intelligence out of *Turky*; *Brown*'s *Indian* voyage; *Dutch* proceedings at *Amboyna*; and deſcription of the bay of *Todos os Santos*. The third volume, book the firſt, contains as follows: *W. de Rubricis* travels into the eaſt; relations of *Bacon*, and *Balvacenſis*; *Wendover* of the *Tartars*; Mr. *Paulus Venetus* his voyages; S. *J. Mandevile*'s travels; Extracts of an *Arabick* hiſtory of *Tamerlan*; travels of *Chaggi Memet*, a *Perſian*; treatiſe of *China*, of F. *Gaſpar da Cruz*; *Pereira* of *China*. The ſecond book has, Sir *H. Willoughby*, *Chancellor*, and *Jenkinſon*'s voyages to the north-eaſt; Extracts of *Fernan Mendez Pinto*'s travels; Diſcovery and planting of the *Philippine* iſlands; *Goes* travels from *Labor* to *China* by land; Jeſuits firſt entrance into *China* and *Japan*; *Pantoja*'s account of *China*; Diſcourſe of *China* out of *Riccius* and *Trigautius*. The third book, *Fletcher*'s treatiſe of *Ruſſia*; *Edge*'s northern voyages; *Barents* into the north-ſea; *Gerart de Veer* northern voyages; *Iver Boty* of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; deſcription of *Siberia*, *Samoieda* and *Tingoeſia*; *Gourdon* to *Pecora*; *Logan* to *Pechora*, and his wintering there; *Puſglove* to *Pechora*, and wintering there; *Gourdon* wintering at *Puſtozra*; Voyages to *Cherry* iſland; *Hudſon*'s northern voyages; Diſcovery of *Nicholas* and *Anthony Zeni*; *Quirino*'s ſhipwreck; *Barkley*'s travels in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk* and *America*; *Broniovius* embaſſador to the *Crim Tartar*; *Bleſken*'s voyages and hiſtory of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; *Angrim Jonas* hiſtory of *Iceland*. The fourth book, Sir *T. Smith* to *Cherry Iſland*; *Poole* to *Greenland*; *Baffin* to *Greenland*; *Foſterby* to *Greenland*; ſeveral northern voyages; revolutions in *Ruſſia*; *Coſſack*'s travels out of *Siberia* to *Catay*; Diſcovery of the river *Ob*; *Cabot*, *Thorn* and *Weymouth* voyages to the ſouthweſt; *Hall* to diſcover *Greenland*; *Knight* to the northweſt paſſage. Other northern voyages. The fifth book, *Herrera*'s deſcription of the *Weſt-Indies*, *Acoſta* and *Oviedo* of the *Weſt-Indies*, *Mexican* hiſtory in cuts, conqueſt of *Mexico* by *Cortes*, other particulars of *America*. The fourth volume begins with the ſixth book, and in it as follows; the firſt book, Earl of *Cumberland*'s voyage, *Cabot*, *Pert*, *Hawkins* and *Drake*'s voyages and ſea-fights, *Carder* living among the ſavages in *Braſil*, *Candiſh*'s unfortunate voyage to the ſtraits of *Magellan*, *Knivet*'s adventures with *Candiſh*, *Turner* in *Braſil*, *Parker* taking *Puerto Bello*, *Middleton* and *Geard* to the *Weſt-Indies*. Deſcription of the iſland *Trinidad*, country of *Guiana*, and river *Oronoko*, by *F. Sparrey*. *Leigh*'s voyages to *Guiana*, maſſacre of *Engliſh* in *Guiana*, *Wilſon*'s relation of *Guiana*, *Harcourt* to *Guiana*, deſcription of the river of the *Amazons*. The ſeventh book, a treatiſe of *Braſil* written by a *Portugueſe*; extracts of *Leri*'s hiſtory of *Braſil*; *Schnirdel*'s 20 years travels, *Hawkins* to the South-ſea, *Ellis* of the ſame voyage, relation of an *Engliſhman* 13 years priſoner in *Peru*, *Urſino* of the coaſt of the firm land, and ſecrets of *Peru* and *Chili*; Notes of the *Weſt-Indies* out of *Peter Ordonez de Cevallos*. New diſcovery in the South-ſea by *Peter Fernandez Quiros*, *Lope Vas* of *American* affairs, extracts of *Benzo* of the new world, and of *Garcilaſſo Incas* of *Peru*; *Pizarro*'s conqueſt of *Peru*, occurrences in *Peru* after the conqueſt. The eighth book, *Alvar Nunez* of *Florida*, *Soto* to *Florida*, Diſcoveries to the northward of *Mexico* by *Nuno de Guzman*, *Marco de Nica*, *D. Fr. Vaſquez Coronada*, and *D. Ant. de Eſpejo*; *Caſas* of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, Voyages and plantations of *French* in *North-America*, *Goſnol* to *Virginia*, other voyages to *Virginia*, Deſcription of the *Azores*. The ninth book, Deſcription of *Virginia*, and proceeding of the *Engliſh* colonies there, Wreck of Sir *Thomas Gate*, and account of the *Bermudas*; *Argol* from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*, affairs relating to *Virginia*, fight of an *Engliſh* and two *Spaniſh* ſhips, voyages to the ſummer iſlands, and hiſtory of them. The tenth book, diſcovery and plantation of *New England*, *Chalton*'s voyage for *North Virginia*, extracts of *Smith* of *New England*'s trials, other accounts of *New England*; *New Scotland* the firſt planting of it, *Newfoundland* the firſt ſettlements there, and account of the iſland; warlike fleets ſet out by queen *Elizabeth* againſt the *Spaniards*, the duke of *Medina*'s for invaſion of *England*, ſquadron of the galeons of *Portugal*; the expedition to *Portugal* by Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, ſuppoſed to be writ by colonel *Antony Wingfield*; expedition to *Cadiz*, and the ſucceſs againſt the *Spaniſh* ſhips, and in taking the town; the earl of *Eſſex* his fruitleſs expedition to the *Azores*, the concluſion of the work. The fifth volume is a theological and geographical hiſtory of the world, conſiſting of the deſcription, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like *Hackluyt*, as was obſerved at firſt,

firſt, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up ſo many volumes, and is exceſſive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for ſuch as can make choice of the beſt, the collection is very valuable.

A voyage to *Surat* in the year 1689. giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants and factory of *Engliſh*, deſcribing *Madeira*, *Santiago*, *Annoboa*, *Cablanda*, *Malamba*, *S. Helena*, *Bombay*, *Maſcate*, *Mycate*, the cape of *Good Hope*, and iſland of *Aſcenſion*, the revolution of *Golconda*, deſcription of *Arracan* and *Pegu*, an account of the coins of *India* and *Perſia*, and obſervations concerning ſilk-worms. By *J. Ovington*, 8°. *London* 1696. This is the moſt modern *Engliſh* account of thoſe parts, and by a perſon well qualified to make ſuch obſervations.

Travels and voyages into *Aſia*, *Africk* and *America*, performed by monſ. *John Morquet*, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of *France* in the Tuilleries, in ſix books with cuts. Tranſlated from the *French* by *Nathaniel Pullen* gent. 8°. *London*, 1696. For ſo many travels the relation is too ſhort, however there are things in it worth obſerving.

A new voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a deſcription of ſeveral iſlands, and of all the forts and gariſons in thoſe parts, now in poſſeſſion of the *French*, the cuſtoms, *&c.* of the *Indians*, by monſ. *du Quiſne*. It has alſo a deſcription of the *Canaries*, and of *Senaga* and *Gambia* on the coaſt of *Africk*, with ſeveral cuts and a map of the *Indies*, and another of the *Canaries*. Made *Engliſh* from the *Paris* edition, 12°. *London*, 1696. Of the *French* factories in thoſe parts we have no ſuch account; and few better for the bulk, of all other places the author undertakes to ſpeak of.

The voyages and travels of Sir *John Mandevil* Knt. ſhewing the way to the *Holy Land* and *Jeruſalem*, to the *Great Cham*, *Preſter John*, *India*, and other countries, 4°. *London*, 1696. It is needleſs to ſay much of this book, as being ſo univerſally allowed to be fabulous.

Two journies to *Jeruſalem*, the firſt an account of the travels of two *Engliſh* pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to *Jeruſalem*, *Grand Cairo*, *Alexandria*, &c. The ſecond of 14 *Engliſhmen* in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in ſcripture; there are alſo ancient and modern remarks of the *Jewiſh* nation, the deſcription of the *Holy Land*, captivities of the *Jews*, what became of the ten tribes, *&c.* Here is very much promiſed, but the performance ſcarce anſwers, the volume being too ſmall, and looks more like a collection out of ſome real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Swiſſerland*, *Holland*, and other parts of *Europe*, deſcribing the moſt conſiderable cities and palaces of princes; with hiſtorical relations and critical obſervations, upon ancient medals and inſcriptions, by *Charles Patin* M. D. of the faculty of *Paris*, made *Engliſh* and illuſtrated with copper cuts, 8°. *London*, 169$\frac{6}{7}$. For thoſe who are curious in medals this piece will be moſt acceptable; yet this does not leſſen the value of the deſcriptions and other relations.

A new diſcovery of a vaſt country in *America* extending above 4000 miles between *New France* and *New Mexico*, with a deſcription of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, cuſtoms, and languages of the *Indians*, &c. by *L. Hennepin*; to which are added new diſcoveries in *North America*, and not publiſhed in the *French* edition, 8°. The promiſe is very great, but there is little or rather no proof of ſuch a vaſt extent of land, which no man has yet ſeen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundleſs, idle relations of *Indians*; the other parts have more in them, yet only what is collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to *St. Kilda*, the remoteſt of all the *Hebrides* or weſtern iſles of *Scotland*; with a hiſtory of the iſland natural, moral and topographical, containing an account of the peoples religion and cuſtoms, of the fiſh, fowl, *&c.* As alſo of a late impoſtor there, pretending to be ſent by St. *John Baptiſt*. By *M. Martin* gent. 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here the only hiſtory and account of this iſland, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being ſuch, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to leſſen it.

The hiſtory of the buccaniers of *America*, 8°.

A new account of *Eaſt-India* and *Perſia* in eight letters, being nine years travels, containing obſervations of the moral, natural and artificial ſtate of thoſe countries, as the government, religion, laws, cuſtoms, ſoil, ſeaſons, diſeaſes, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and meaſures, in the principal places there. By *John Fryer*, M. D. with maps and tables, *London* 1698.

A voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, giving an account of the iſles of *Madagaſcar* and *Maſcarenhas*, of *Surat*, the coaſt of *Malabar*, *Goa*, *Gomron*, *Ormuz*, and the coaſt of *Braſil*, &c. and of the religion, cuſtoms, trade, *&c.* of the inhabitants, alſo a treatiſe of diſtempers peculiar to the *Eaſtern* countries.

countries. There is annexed an abſtract of monſ. *Reneford*'s hiſtory of the *Eaſt-Indies*, with his propoſals for improvement of the *Eaſt-India* company; written originally in *French*, by monſ. *Dellon*, M. D. 8°. *London*, 1698. This work has been well received both in *French* and *Engliſh*.

A new voyage and deſcription of the *Iſthmus* of *America*, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coaſts, hills, rivers, wood, ſoil, weather, *&c.* Trees, fruit, beaſts, birds, fiſh, *&c.* The *Indian* inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, cuſtoms, employments, marriages, feaſts, hunting, computation, language, *&c.* With remarkable occurrences on the South-ſea and other places, by *Lionel Wafer*, with cuts, 8°. *London*, 1698. A work that has been well received by the publick.

A new account of *North-America*, as it was lately preſented to the *French* king; containing a more particular account of that vaſt country, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto publiſhed, 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here a *French* account of thoſe countries, but more particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

The new *Atlas*, or travels and voyages in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, *&c.* 8°. *London*, 1699. A little volume, which ſeems rather ſome collections out of books and travels, than any real voyage.

An account of a voyage from *Archangel* in *Ruſſia*, in the year 1697, of the ſhip and company wintering near the north Cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: Their manner of living, and what they ſuffer'd by the extreme cold; alſo remarkable obſervations of the climate, country and inhabitants: with a chart deſcribing the place where they lay, land in view, ſoundings, *&c.* By *Thomas Alliſon* commander of the ſhip. This is the lateſt relation we have of any ſuch northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with ſuch others as write of thoſe northern parts.

A relation of two ſeveral voyages made into the *Eaſt-Indies*, by *Chriſtopher Fryke* ſurgeon, and *Chriſtopher Schwartzer*, particularly deſcribing thoſe countries that are under the *Dutch*, 8°. *London*, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a *Dutch* embaſſy to the emperor of *China*, writ by one of thoſe embaſſador's retinue, *Fol.* It is a tranſlation from the *Dutch* original, and contains a deſcription of the country, and all places they paſſed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the ſpot; It treats alſo of the government of *China*, and manners of the people.

The deſcription of the iſland of *Ceylon* by captain *Knox*. He lived 19 years upon the iſland, being taken, and kept there all this while by the *Dutch*, and had the opportunity of ſeeing the greateſt part, and being informed of the reſt by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that befel him till he made his eſcape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the iſland. The *Dutch* who are maſters of *Ceylon*, have thought this account worth tranſlating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which muſt add to its reputation.

Travels to *Dalmatia*, *Greece* and the *Levant*, by Mr. *George Wheeler*. He travelled with Mr. *Spon*, who publiſhed the ſame travels in *French*, but Mr. *Wheeler* remaining there behind him, has ſeveral curioſities that eſcaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; ſo that his work ſeems the moſt compleat, or at leaſt both together confirm one another.

Terry's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, begun in the year 1615. 12°. He was chaplain to Sir *Thomas Roe*, embaſſador to the *Mogol* from K. *James* the firſt, and gives an account of ſome things in that country omitted by Sir *Thomas* in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with diſcourſes of his own, very little to the purpoſe.

An account of ſeveral late voyages and diſcoveries to the ſouth and north, containing Sir *John Narbrough*'s voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, to the coaſt of *Chile*, in the year 1669. Capt. *Wood*'s voyage for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage, *An.* 1676. Capt. *Taſman*'s round *Terra Auſtralis*, *An.* 1642, and *Frederick Martens* to *Spitſberg* and *Greenland*, *An.* 1671. With a ſupplement, containing obſervations and navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of ſeveral voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and ſeems very well to deſerve it.

Collection of original voyages, publiſh'd by capt. *Hack*, 8°. It contains *Cowley*'s voyage round the world, which is the ſame with *Dampier*'s mentioned in the next place: Capt. *Sharp*'s voyage into the South-ſea, both buccanier voyages. The third is capt. *Wood*'s voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, which is the ſame as Sir *John Narbrough*'s before-mentioned: And the fourth Mr. *Roberts*'s adventures among the *Corſairs* of the *Levant*; ſo that there is little new in them, the three firſt being in other collections, and the laſt a very indifferent piece.

Dampier's voyages in three volumes, 8°. The firſt a new voyage round the world, begun

begun *An.* 1697. It deſcribes the *Iſthmus* of *America*, and ſeveral of its coaſts and iſlands, the paſſage by *Tierra del Fuego*, the iſle of *Guam* one of the *Ladrones*, the *Philippines*, *Formoſa*, *Luconia*, *Celebes*, the cape of *Good Hope*, iſland and of S. *Helena*.

The ſecond volume he calls a ſupplement to his voyage round the world, where he deſcribes *Tonquin*, *Achen*, *Malaca*, &c. Their product, inhabitants, manners, trade, *&c.* The countries of *Campeche*, *Yucatan*, *New Spain* in *America*; and diſcourſes of trade, winds, breezes, ſtorms, ſeaſons, tides, currents of the torrid zone.

The third volume is his voyage to *New Holland*, which has no great matter of new diſcovery, but gives an account of the *Canary iſlands*, ſome of thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, and the town and port of *Baya de Totos os Santos* in *Braſil*. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A collection of voyages by the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, being three to the north eaſt, two to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and one to the ſtraits of *Magellan*. Little can be ſaid in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be ſeen in ſeveral other collections. 8°.

An hiſtorical relation of the iſland of *Ceylon* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, &c. illuſtrated with cuts and a map of the iſland, *Fol.* The author who lived long in that country, gives a general deſcription of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural hiſtory.

Laſſel's travels through *Italy*, firſt printed in one volume 12°. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of moſt things of note there.

Relation of the diſcovery of the iſland *Madera*, 4°. This is a diſcovery before it was peopled, and it continued loſt again for ſeveral years, and has little of certainty.

Gage's ſurvey of the *Weſt-Indies*, 8°. This book has gained ſome reputation.

The diſcoveries of *John Lederer* in three ſeveral marches from *Virginia* to the weſt of *Carolina*, and other parts of the continent, begun in *March* 1669. and ended in *September* 1670. 4°. This is a ſmall account of the author's, who was a *German*, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; is contained in about four ſheets, publiſhed by Sir *William Talbot*, in which there is much worth obſerving.

Relation of the travels and captivity of *W. Davies*, 4°. A ſmall pamphlet of a few ſheets.

Account of the captivity of *Thomas Phelps* at *Machaneſs* in *Barbary*, and his eſcape. Another ſmall 4° pamphlet.

The golden coaſt, or deſcription of *Guinea*, in which are four Engliſh voyages to *Guinea*. A 4° pamphlet and has ſeveral pretty obſervations.

Herbert's travels into divers parts of *Africa*, and *Aſia the Great*, more particularly into *Perſia* and *Indoſtan*, *Fol.* Theſe travels have always deſervedly had a great reputation, being the beſt account of thoſe parts written by any *Engliſhman*, and not inferiour to the beſt of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent deſcription of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur, not to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

Brown's travels in divers parts of *Europe*, *Fol.* The author, a doctor of phyſick, has ſhewed himſelf excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the obſervation of ſo curious a perſon, having ſpent much time in the diſcovery of *European* rarities, and that in thoſe parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themſelves with ſeeing *France*, and *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*; whereas his relation is of *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, *Auſtria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola* and *Friuli*; adding to theſe *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and a great part of *Italy*, of all which he has compoſed a work of great uſe and benefit.

The voyages and travels of *J. Albert de Mandelſlo*, a gentleman belonging to the embaſſy ſent by the duke of *Holſtein*, to the duke of *Moſcovy* and king of *Perſia*, *Fol.* Theſe are alſo known by the name of *Olearius*'s travels; the firſt part, which is of *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*, being altogether his, who was ſecretary to the aforeſaid embaſſy: But then the following part, which treats of all parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, is ſolely *Mandelſlo*'s, who left the embaſſadors and *Olearius* at *Iſpahan*, and proceeded to view thoſe remoter parts. It is needleſs to give any other character of this work, than to inform ſuch as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſh'd books of travels now extant.

Blunt's travels to the *Levant*, is a very ſhort account of a journey through *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Boſnia*, *Hungary*, *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, *Thrace*, *Rhodes* and *Egypt*. The whole very conciſe, and without any curious obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions; his account of the religions, and cuſtoms of thoſe people, only a brief collection of ſome other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A deſcription of the preſent ſtate of *Samos*, *Nacaria*, *Patmos*, and mount *Athos*; by *Joſ. Georgirenes*, archbiſhop of *Samos*, 8°. This prelate reſided long as archbiſhop at *Samos*, and ſaw *Nicaria* as being a dependance of his dioceſs; but being weary of that function, he retired to *Patmos*, where he continued ſome time, and after viſited mount *Athos*; ſo that all he delivers of theſe places is as an eye-witneſs, and indeed the moſt particular account we have of them. The deſcription is very exact, and what he ſays of the *Greek* religion may be relied on, as having ſo much reaſon to know it. All that can be excepted againſt, is what he ſays of the people in *Nicaria*, converſing at four or five miles diſtance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface the reader muſt obſerve is the tranſlator's, not the author's, which is requiſite to be known.

A voyage to *Conſtantinople*, by monſ. *Grelot*, 8°. tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *J. Philips*. This, tho' perhaps in the relation may not contain much more than what may be picked out of other travellers who have writ of thoſe parts, yet it exceeds them in 14 curious cuts, the exactneſs of which is atteſted by ſeveral travellers that have been at *Conſtantinople*, and ſeen the places they repreſent; beſides that all the ingenious people of *Paris* gave their approbation of the work, and upon their teſtimony the K. himſelf having ſeen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any ſcruple, to reckon it among the beſt books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to *Conſtantinople*, the *Propontis*, *Helleſpont* and *Dardanels*, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worſhip, government, manners, *&c.* of the *Turks*, are ſingular.

A deſcription of the iſlands and inhabitants of *Færoe*, being 17 iſlands, ſubject to the king of *Denmark*, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in *Daniſh*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, 12°. The deſcription is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of thoſe miſerable northern iſlands; but the author was provoſt of the churches there, and had time to gather ſuch an account, which is ſomewhat enlarged with philoſophical obſervations on whirpools and other ſecrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and favours more of affection than ſincerity; but the worſt part of this ſmall book, is firſt a collection of ſome romantick ſtories of the ancient inhabitants of *Færoe*; and in the next place, what is yet worſe, a parcel of inſignificant tales of ſpectres and illuſions of Satan, as the author calls them.

Joſſelin's two voyages to *New England*, 8°. In the firſt of theſe there is little beſides the ſea-journal and common obſervations, unleſs it be an account of neceſſaries for planters. The ſecond is a very particular deſcription of all the country, its beaſts, fowl, fiſh, plants and trees, the manners and cuſtoms of the *Engliſh* inhabitants, the time of their ſettling there, with many other matters well worth obſerving. Of the *Indians* he has very little or nothing. The relation is curious and faithful, but in many places where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddeſt uncouth expreſſions imaginable, which look very conceited, but that is only as to his ſtile. He concludes with what he calls chronological obſervations of *America*, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the reſt is of no great uſe, eſpecially for that there are ſeveral errors in it.

Joſſelin's *New England* rarities, a very ſmall 8°. is a more particular account of the fowl, beaſts, fiſhes, ſerpents, inſects, plants, ſtones, minerals, metals, and earth of that country, than he has given in his voyages.

The adventures of M. *T. S.* an *Engliſh* merchant, taken priſoner by the *Turks* of *Argier*, and carried into the inland country of *Africk*, 12°. Containing a ſhort account of *Argier* in the year 1648. of the country about it, and more particularly of the city *Tremizen*, where the author reſided three years, going abroad with ſeveral parties which his maſter commanded, and relates ſome love intrigues he had with *Mooriſh* women, as alſo very ſtrange metamorphoſes of men and other creatures turned into ſtone. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn it out at the ſtraits mouth with a weſterly wind.

Wyche's relation of the river *Nile*, its ſource and current, a ſmall *Octavo*. This is only a tranſlation of a *Portugueſe* jeſuit's account who lived in *Ethiopia* ſome years, being the ſame that is given by *F. Alvarez*, and others of the ſociety who lived there, and no doubt is very authentick, as delivered by an eye-witneſs, who was a perſon of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradiſe, pelican and phenix, he writes upon hearſay, which deſerve not the ſame credit, particularly what he ſays that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have ſeen in *England* to be otherwiſe; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are alſo ſufficiently known. But theſe are trifles: he diſcourſes well of the reaſon of calling the *Ethiopian* emperor *Preſter John*, on

the Red-ſea, and of the palm or coco-tree.

Ray's travels, or his obſervations topographical, moral and phyſiological, made in a journey through part of the *Low-Countries*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious deſcription of every town he ſaw, obſerves ſome particulars of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of the people; and curiouſly lays before us any thing that is rare in it ſelf, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one ſo underſtanding in thoſe particulare, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuſe for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. *Venice* he deſcribes more particularly than any other place; but of all univerſities, as being himſelf a ſcholar, he ſays more than of other towns. Of *France* not much, as having made but a ſhort ſtay there. He cloſes his work with a Latin catalogue of plants he obſerved abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in *England*. He has inſerted *Willoughby*'s travels in *Spain*.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French* and *Engliſh*, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore thoſe who miſs any in the *Engliſh*, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of *Dutch*, becauſe they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were tranſlated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in ſome places it is quoted where they were had; but if ſuch authority be not quoted, it is becauſe the books have been purpoſely peruſed and examined, where ſuch account could not be found of them. Laſtly the reader muſt obſerve, that in this catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in this collection, which would be a needleſs repetition, they being all mentioned and characterized in the general preface.

AN

A N

A C C O U N T

OF THE

Empire of CHINA,

Hiſtorical, Political, Moral and Religious.

A ſhort DESCRIPTION of that Empire, and Notable Examples of its Emperors and Miniſters.

Alſo an ample Relation of many remarkable Paſſages, and Things worth obſerving in other Kingdoms, and ſeveral Voyages.

There are added the Decrees of Popes, and Propoſitions defin'd at *Rome* for the Miſſion of *China*; and a Bull of our moſt Holy Father *Clement* X. in favour of the Miſſioners.

Written in *Spaniſh* by the R. F. *F. Dominick Fernandez Navarette*, Divinity Profeſſor in the College and Univerſity of St. *Thomas* at *Manila*, Apoſtolick Miſſioner in *China*; Superior of thoſe of his Miſſion, and Procurator General at the Court of *Madrid* for the Province of the Roſary in the *Philippine* Iſlands, of the Order of Preachers.

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

THERE is no doubt but he who writes and aſpires to the name of an hiſtorian, is obliged in the firſt place to ſhield and guard himſelf with truth, and the ſincerity of what he deſigns to expoſe to the eyes of all men, otherwiſe he will gain the title of a fabulous author. S. Iſidorus, lib. I. orig. cap. 40. *ſays thus.* Hiſtory is a relation of a thing tranſacted, by which thoſe things that were done in times paſt are known: it is called hiſtory either from ſeeing or knowing, for among the antients no man writ hiſtory but he who had been preſent, and ſeen thoſe things that were to be writ.

If he who takes pen in hand is not an eye-witneſs, or is not fully inform'd of what he commits to writing, but only relies on and truſts to other mens accounts, which he credits without examining into them, his reputation will certainly be in danger, and the ſincerity of his work be called in queſtion. Thales *being aſk'd,* How far diſtant is truth from falſhood? *anſwer'd,* A wiſe man was of opinion, that as far as the eyes are from the ears. Cornelius à Lapide in cap. i. Iſai. *ingenuouſly ſays,* That thoſe things are undoubtedly true, which a man ſees with his eyes, not thoſe he hears with his ears. *What the eyes ſee may be affirmed with ſafety, what is heard is told with miſtruſt and apprehenſion.* S. Jerom epiſt. ad Deſid. *ſays,* There is a difference in relating thoſe things which are ſeen, and thoſe which are heard, and therefore he that has ſeen may write more certainly. *Being wholly governed by theſe principles, I reſolved not to make account in this work of any thing but what I have ſeen, read, and has gone through my hands. The penalty he incurs who does not ſtick to truth in all particulars, is, not to be believed when he ſpeaks true.* Ariſtotle *being aſk'd,* What benefit liars reap'd? *anſwer'd,* Not to be believed when they ſpeak truth. *S. Jerom epiſt. ad Jul. ſays,* That credit is not given to liars when they ſpeak truth. Eccluſ. xxxiv. 4. *ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe,* What truth will be ſpoke by a liar? *A Puniſhment juſtly due to ſuch as are governed by their own fancies or imaginations, or aſpire to gain applauſe by fictions and dreams.* Laertius, lib. I. cap. 5. *ſays thus,* That this was the puniſhment of *Caſſandra, Priam*'s daughter, who practiſed the art of divination, not to be believed when ſhe foretold the ruin of her country. *This woman by her falſe ſtories got ſuch an ill reputation, that ſhe was not believed when ſhe truly foretold the deſtruction of her country.*

It cannot be denied, but that many falſe accounts have been ſent into Europe, *as well of* China *as other parts of* Aſia; *for the miſſioners themſelves who are well acquainted with thoſe parts, and are eye-witneſſes, unanimouſly confeſs and affirm it. My own knowledge and experience, what I have ſeen and diſcourſed with others upon ſeveral occaſions, are ſufficient to make me agree with them, and aſſert the ſame; ſo that I ſhall with ſafety keep at a great diſtance from what ſome perſons have publiſhed in theſe parts.*

My deſign was to have firſt publiſh'd the antient and modern controverſies that have been in the Chineſe *miſſion from its firſt beginning, till the year* 1669, *as being a more neceſſary and advantageous ſubject. But ſome perſons thought this work ought to be immediately committed to the preſs, becauſe ſome points in it help to make many difficulties more intelligible that are to be handled hereafter, as alſo becauſe it treats of common affairs.*

I do not queſtion but the language is plain, and like a man that has ſpent twenty four years in ſtudying ſtrange languages, and thoſe very different from any in Europe. *The ſubject is uncommon, and therefore diverting, yet withal beneficial and profitable, which*

ought always to be aim'd at. S. Iſidorus, cap. 40. *of the above mentioned book, ſays thus,* The hiſtories of nations do not hinder the readers from making their advantage of what is profitable in them: for many wiſe men committed to hiſtories the paſt actions of men for the inſtruction of the preſent.

The delight many take in reading hiſtory, as well as other things, cannot but be commended. Faſciculus Temporum, fol. 3. *has theſe words:* It is therefore very advantageous to know many hiſtories, and be well acquainted with them, that we may be able to follow the good examples of others, and ſhun the bad. *The* Chineſes *teach the ſame doctrine. What I write may be applied to all thoſe uſes, this is all I aſpire to; and tho' I attain not my end, yet my labour deſerves to be ſtil'd profitable.* Salvianus in præfat. *ſays,* At leaſt it is not unprofitable to attempt to do good. *And* Plinius Jun. lib. II. epiſt. 5. *has theſe words;* And I would have theſe things ſo taken, not as if I had compaſs'd my deſign, but as if I had labour'd to compaſs it. *And* lib. VI. epiſt. 17. *he ſays farther,* And truly I am wont to honour and imitate all men that perform any thing in ſtudy. *Do you therefore, reader, accept of my labour and good wiſhes, and wink at my faults.*

Some Particulars to be obſerved in theſe Books.

1. *IT is well known there is no ſuch method to be found in what the philoſopher* Confucius *taught, and his diſciples writ after him, as other antient philoſophers obſerve: they are all looſe ſentences, not confined to any particular ſubject: however, being but a mere tranſlator in this particular, I follow his ſteps without deviating in the leaſt.*

2. *So in tranſlating the* Chineſe *book called,* The mirror of the ſoul, *I obſerve the author's method, which is the cauſe that one and the ſame ſentence is ſeveral times received: but in regard we ſometimes ſee the ſame in* European *authors, I do not look upon it as an objection of conſequence, or ſo conſiderable as to oblige me to alter its order, eſpecially becauſe my deſign is no other but to make known what light of nature a nation ſo remote from converſation and commerce with all others as* China *is, has had for ſo many ages. This we have taken notice is the cauſe why ſome points relating to one and the ſame virtue are divided into ſeveral parts; but in my opinion it is better not to deviate from the method thoſe authors follow, whoſe doctrine we write, than to reduce it to a certain number of chapters.*

3. *It is to be obſerved, that other nations muſt not look upon thoſe things as incredible, which are peculiar to any one in particular; otherwiſe only what we ſee in our own countries would be true, and all the reſt fabulous, which is unreaſonable. We muſt not be governed by paſſion, or private affection, but by reaſon, and the underſtanding, which we know does not comprehend all that is in the world. How many years did a certain philoſopher break his reſt to learn the nature of the ant, and at laſt made nothing of it? At* Macaſar, *as I write in the ſixth book, I ſaw a child that had twenty four fingers and toes, and was alſo an* hermaphrodite, *two diſtinct monſtrous parts, perhaps ſeldom ſeen in the world in the ſame creature. The firſt part has infallible examples of its truth, one in* 2 Sam. xxi. 20. where was a man of great ſtature, that had on every hand ſix fingers, and on every foot ſix toes, four and twenty in number. *Another is in* 1 Chron. xx. 6. where was a man of great ſtature, whoſe fingers and toes were four and twenty, *&c. And though theſe ſeem to be but one and the ſame, yet they may paſs for an example: but I know not that there is any in antient books of both theſe things together, and yet it does not follow that there is no ſuch monſter in the world. The ſame I ſay in other reſpects, for not to believe them argues no want of truth on their ſide, but it ſhews little knowledge and ſmall acquaintance with the world. Thoſe who are well read and curious, are ſafer, becauſe they take better meaſures to go by; eſpecially thoſe who leaving their own country, have travell'd through ſtrange countries, theſe have more lofty and univerſal ideas of things; they are leſs ſurpriz'd, and make a different judgment of what they hear or read, without raſhly judging that doubtful and uncertain, which is new to them. True it is, he that writes ſubmits his labour to the judgment of the multitude, who are wont to be more ready to condemn, becauſe they are leſs capable of underſtanding.* S. Thom. opuſc. 27. *writes thus,* Thence it comes that many unexperienced perſons upon ſlight conſideration eaſily ſpeak their mind. *The only remedy in this caſe is, not to mind what they ſay.*

I ſometimes give my opinion in caſes to appearance not belonging to my profeſſion, wherein I follow the doctrine of our Silveſter verb. concil. tract. 2. *and of* Cajetan 2. 2. q. 45. art. 3. ad 3. *Upon which you may alſo read the learned F.* Sylveira, tom. 5. in evangel. lib. IV. cap. 4. quæſt. 2. & 3. *Beſides, to ſpeak to any buſineſs, it is enough that a man has knowledge and experience of it, which is abſolutely neceſſary, according to* Tully 11. de orat. That the main thing in counſel was to know the common-wealth. *And* Tacitus in Agric. *expreſſes it yet better,* Men acquainted with the manners and deſigns of the province. *He who has gain'd eſpecial and particular*

particular knowledge of ſome points by experience, may freely and without apprehenſion ſpeak to them, eſpecially where there are thoſe who pretend to be heard like oracles, without any other reaſon for it, but that fortune has made them to be fear'd, ſo that no body dares oppoſe their opinions or fancies.

5. *I now and then, as occaſion offers, undertake to plead the cauſe of the* Indians *in the* Philippine *iſlands, as many more have done for thoſe of* America: *this is tolerable, becauſe grounded on compaſſion, mercy, and the inclination of our kings and their ſupreme council of the* Indies, *who love them as their children, and give repeated orders every day for their good, advantage, quiet, ſatisfaction and eaſe. There is no other fault to be found with thoſe poor creatures, but that which S.* Peter Chriſologus *found in the holy innocents,* whoſe only crime was that they were born. *There is no reaſon for all their ſufferings, but their being in the world; and it is worth obſerving, that though ſo many pious, gracious, and merciful orders have paſs'd in favour of them, yet they have taken ſo little effect.* Hab. c. I. *ſays thus,* Therefore the law is rent, and judgment came not unto the end, *&c. So that though theſe wretches have been ſeveral times redeemed, yet they remain in perpetual ſervitude.* Silvanus, lib. VI. de provid. *ſays thus,* All captives when once redeemed enjoy their liberty; we are always redeem'd, and are never free. *This ſuits well with what we ſpeak of. To which we may add that of St.* Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 13. *It is a ſubject deſerves to be conſider'd, and much authority and a high hand muſt make the remedy work a due effect.*

6. *F.* Victorio Riccio, *a* Florentine, *my companion in* China, *and a man of excellent parts, and rarely qualified for all buſineſs, eſpecially for the* Chineſe *language, in which, tho' doubtleſs the moſt difficult in the world, he made a mighty progreſs with much eaſe; in a ſhort time writ one tome, containing an account of what relates to our miſſion from its firſt beginning, till the year* 1665. *we daily expect the means to print it.*

7. *I ſometimes in this hiſtory name ſome perſons, which is not by chance, but deſignedly; for tho' it be in ſpeculative affairs, it is proper to attribute them to their own authors, and not lay them to others.* Oleaſter in Num. xxv. *on thoſe words,* Now the name of the *Iſraelite, &c. writes thus:* It often happens the good name of a whole community is in danger on account of the vices of one member, as long as he that is guilty of thoſe vices is not known; therefore for the moſt part it is convenient to know his name, leſt the reputation of all men ſuffer for him. *'Tis true, there is no ſuch danger upon this occaſion.*

8. *I moſt readily ſubmit all whatſoever is contain'd in this book to the cenſure and correction of our holy mother the catholick church, and of its univerſal head the pope, ſucceſſor to St.* Peter, *and* CHRIST's *vicar, whoſe faith I preach'd and taught pure and untainted for above twelve years to the* Gentiles *of* China, *and other nations in thoſe parts, where I have lived, and through the goodneſs of* God *hope to die.*

F. Dominick Fernandez Navarette.

BOOK I.

Of the Original, Name, Grandeur, Riches, and other Particulars of the Great Empire of CHINA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Name of CHINA.

1. THE utmoſt bounds of *Aſia*, the nobleſt part of the univerſe, are the ſeat of the moſt glorious empire in all natural reſpects, the ſun ever ſhines upon. We *Europeans* vulgarly give it the name of the *Great China*, and with good reaſon; for it is great in all reſpects; rich, fruitful, abounding in plenty of all things, and powerful, as will plainly appear by the ſhort account I ſhall here give of it. But before I enter upon the matter, it will be proper to make known its name, and whence it is derived, for the more methodical proceeding, and to follow the example ſet me by many grave authors; who before they launch into the account of the great affairs of thoſe empires and kingdoms they treat of, have firſt clear'd the original and etymology of their names.

China.

2. It is well known that the name *China*, (which the *French* and *Italians* pronounce *Cina*) is not the proper appellative of that empire, but a name given it by ſtrangers trading thither. The *Portugueſe* firſt took it from them; and afterwards the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* iſlands. Father *Julius Aleni* a jeſuit, in his book written in the *Chineſe* tongue, ſpeaking of this ſubject, ſays, That *China*, in the language of thoſe ſtrangers, ſignifies a country or kingdom of ſilk; which being there in ſuch great plenty, thoſe who ſailed thither to purchaſe this commodity, uſed to ſay, *Let us go to the land of ſilk*, or to *China*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. *Don F. Gregory Lopez*, biſhop of *Baſilea*, who now governs the *church* of *China*, a religious man of our order, and born in that empire, affirmed the ſame to me. *Trigaucius*, *lib.* I. *cap.* 2. and *Kircher*, *fol.* 3. ſeem to incline to this opinion: the firſt ſays, *China* is the antient *Sericana*; and the latter, that it was formerly called *Sina* and *Serica*.

Sericana. Sina Serica.

3. *Trigaucius* adds, that he does not queſtion, but *China* is the country of the *Hippophagi*, or *horſe-eaters*, becauſe horſe-fleſh is eaten throughout all that kingdom, as frequently as we eat beef. But I am of opinion it might more properly be called the *country of dog-eaters*; for though they eat much horſe-fleſh, they eat no leſs of aſſes, and very much more of dogs, as ſhall be ſaid in another place. Others will have it, that the ſtrangers trading in *China*, compounded this name of the two *Chineſe* words, *Chi* and *Nan*, which ſignify to point towards the ſouth; and the merchants reſorting thither, coming always upon the ſouth coaſt, which the *Chineſe* expreſſed by thoſe two words above mentioned, theſe ſtrangers made one of them, and called the country by that name. *F. Antony de Gouvea*, a *Portugueſe* jeſuit, was of this opinion: we ſeveral times diſcourſed upon this ſubject, and methinks it is well grounded.

NAVARRETTE. Hippophagi. *Food.*

4. *F. Lucena*, in his *Hiſtory*, *lib.* X. *cap.* 3. ſays, the uſual ſalutation of the *Chineſe* is *Chin*, *Chin*; which the ſtrangers hearing, they underſtood *China*, and ſo took that word for the name of the country. This carries ſome reſemblance of truth to credit it, eſpecially becauſe the manner of the natives accenting *Chin*, is almoſt as if there were an *a* with it, which made it eaſy to apprehend *China*, when they heard *Chin*: And though it is true the right word thoſe people uſe in ſaluting is not *Chin*, but *Zing*, however in ſome parts the country people pronounce it *Chin*. Certain it is the name was given by ſtrangers; and though they might take it from ſome words of the country, yet they corrupted, and made it to ſignify that empire; and this impoſition continues to this day, not only in *Europe*, but in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and many parts of *Africk*. This may be further confirmed by many examples ſtill practiſed in our own and other countries.

5. The

NAVARRETTE.

5. The *Chineſe* merchants that ſail'd to *Manila*, being ask'd, who they were, and what they came for? anſwer'd, *Xang Lai*, that is, we come to trade. The *Spaniards*, who underſtood not their language, conceived it was the name of a country, and putting the two words together made one of them, by which they ſtill diſtinguiſh the *Chineſes*, calling them *Sangleys*. Thus have we *Europeans* corrupted many other words in thoſe parts: the name of the *Philippine* iſland is *Liu Zung*; the *Spaniards* corrupted the words, and call'd them *Luzon*. The city *Manila* is properly call'd *Mainila*, which ſignifies a marſh or boggy ground; our people left out the *i*, and there remain'd *Manila*. The iſland the natives term *Minolo*, the *Spaniard* calls *Mindoro*. That of *Malindic*, we name *Marinduque*, *Cavit*, *Cavite*, and ſo of many others. The name by which all *Aſia* calls *Japan*, is *Je Pùn*, which ſignifies the riſe of the ſun, becauſe this empire lies eaſt of all that part of the world: the *Europeans* have corrupted the name, and call it *Japan*. The name of the kingdom of *Coria*, is *Kao Li*; and with us it is chang'd into *Coria*. *Kiao Chi* was converted into *Cochinchina*, and *Sien Lo* into *Siam*.

Sangleys. Luzon. Japan. Cochinchina.

6. The *Portugueſes* corrupted many names in the *Eaſt-Indies*. The natives call an idol *Pagabadi*, the *Portugueſe* ſpeak it *Pagode*. That which we now name the coaſt of *Charamandel*, or *Caramandel*, as the *French* and *Italians* pronounce it, and runs from the city of *St. Thomas* to *Bengala*, is by the natives called *Toromandalùn*, and *Toromandora*; which denomination does not belong to any kingdom or country, but was the ſtile of the king who was ſovereign of that tract when the firſt *Portugueſes* came thither: they hearing the natives uſe that word to expreſs their prince, after changing and corruping it, took it for the name of the country. They alſo corrupted the names of *Tragambar*, *Nagapatan*, *Jafanapatan*, *Madraſtapatan*, *Paliacate*, *Muſalapatan*, and others, as I made out when I was in thoſe countries. By all that has been ſaid, it appears, that in probability the ſame may have happened to the name of *China*, eſpecially in regard that nation does not uſe or own it.

Pagode.

7. The uſual and moſt common name by which thoſe people call their empire, both in their books and diſcourſe, is *Chung Kue*, *i. e.* the middle kingdom. Formerly this denomination was peculiar to the Province of *Hò Nan*, which is almoſt the center of that empire. From hence in proceſs of time it communicated it ſelf to all that country. Others will have it, that the *Chineſes* meant, their kingdom was in the middle of all the world, being ignorant of the reſt. For this reaſon they alſo term it *Tien Hia*, that is, a world, or the greateſt and beſt part of it. They alſo give it another appellation, and that common enough, calling it *Hoa Kue*, or *Chung Hoa*, ſignifying, a flouriſhing kingdom, a garden, a grove, or delightful place in the middle of the world. During the reign of the emperor *Xun* this name was much in uſe, and is ſtill in writing. It is very proper for that empire, becauſe in truth it is all a beautiful garden, and a moſt delightful grove.

Chung Kue. Tien Hia. Hoa Kue. Chung Hoa.

8. *F. Kircher* ſays, *China* has no proper name of its own, but takes it from the emperor then reigning; yet afterwards, *fol.* 165. he mentions the names *Chung Kue*, and *Chung Hoa*, which are written as proper denominations, and not as deriv'd from emperors. I was more ſurpriz'd afterwards to read the ſame in father *Trigaucius* his *hiſtory*, *lib.* I. *cap.* 2. I cannot conceive how it comes to paſs, that this father having ſpent ſome years in the miſſion of *China*, and travell'd that country, as he writes himſelf, ſhould not diſtinguiſh between the name of the empire, or kingdom, and that of a particular reign. The names of the empire are ever the ſame, and immutable; but the denominations of reigns vary according to the ſeveral families that govern: So thoſe this author quotes, are the names or ſirnames of families that reign'd; as for inſtance, *Tang* ſignifies the time the family reign'd, which was call'd *Tang Hia*, when the family whoſe name or ſirname was *Hia* reign'd, and ſo of the reſt: ſo that thoſe are the names of reigning families, not of the kingdom; as when we ſay the *Auſtrian* or the *Ottoman* empire, *&c.* which only implies the reign of the family of *Auſtria*, or of the *Ottoman* race. And tho' we ſay the *Auſtrian* empire, it does not imply, that therefore the empire it ſelf is call'd *Auſtria*, but *Germany*, where the houſe of *Auſtria* reigns: and thus I think this point is ſufficiently clear'd.

9. As for *China* being the ſame as *Grand Cathay*, I perceive *Trigaucius* is of that opinion, taking it from *Paulus Venetus*. *Kircher*, *fol.* 47. ſuppoſes the ſame thing, adding, that all his order agree in this point; but if he has no other ground for it but that, it being falſe, concludes nothing. Among thoſe of his order in *China*, ſome affirm, others deny, and others are dubious concerning it; and therefore it is no eaſy matter to reſolve which of them to follow. It is poſſible that the name of *Cathay* is corrupted by the *Europeans*, which will make it a difficult matter to decide this point. The *Muſcovite* calls *China*, *Kin*, *Tai*; which name ſeems to have ſome reſemblance with *Cathay*. I think it the wiſeſt way not to decide a matter ſo doubtful,

Cathay.

ful, and which tho' it has been handled in *China*, cannot find any grounds to incline a man more to the one ſide than to the other; but to leave it dubious till ſome further light can be found to lead us into it.

10. In the hiſtory of *Tamerlan the great*, tranſlated into *French*, it is written that he conquered *China*, and that when he was out of this empire, the king of *Cathay* met him with two millions of men. Now according to this *China* cannot be the ſame as *Cathay*. True it is, I do not look upon this account to be infallibly certain, for as much as the *Chineſe* annals, which are very exact, make no mention of any ſuch conqueſt; nor can this be the ſame as was made by the weſtern *Tartar*, becauſe it is much later than that. The ſubject of this chapter requires no further information, nor do I think there is any to be had; but this is ſufficient to know ſomewhat of the name *China*. At the end of this book we ſhall again ſpeak of what relates to *Tamerlan*. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antiquity of the Empire of China.

1. THO' all men grant that the empire of *China* is of very great antiquity, yet I find ſome diſagreement among authors; and no ſmall difference between the miſſioners, who are doubtleſs the beſt judges in this caſe, as having receiv'd better lights from the *Chineſe* books, and convers'd with the natives. I am not ignorant that ſome have written that the empire of *China* was founded before the flood, which I do not relate as a probable opinion, but as a dream or fiction, it being a contradiction of the holy ſcripture, *Gen.* chap. vii, and viii.

Nieremberg. 2. Nor will I here inſert what *F. Nieremberg* publiſh'd concerning the original of *China*, becauſe he foiſts in ſo many, and ſuch extravagant inventions, as cannot be outdone upon the ſubject. A ſufficient proof hereof is, that all thoſe of his ſociety who live in *China*, do make a great jeſt of all he writ concerning this matter. *F. Antony Gouvea* has a particular averſion to this author; he cenſures his writings ſeverely, and looks upon him as unfaithful, and fabulous. If he was miſled by informations, he is the leſs to blame; but what I chiefly obſerved was, that on the 29th of *November* 1661. the aforemention'd *F. Gouvea* told me, that *Nieremberg* was in the wrong in writing, that the *Chineſes* had made *F. Matthew Riccius* a claſſick doctor. For tho' I and all the reſt of us were ſatisfy'd of the miſtake, yet I did not think they would have told it me ſo plainly. I further remark'd, that the good *F. Gouvea* looks upon the two apparitions (the ſame father ſays *F. Matthew Riccius* had of our Saviour, telling him, he would be aſſiſting to him at the two courts of *China*) as mere dreams; and he blames *F. Julius Aleni* as the author and inventer of theſe things. And this father being ſo well vers'd, and of ſo long a ſtanding in that miſſion, he cannot but have perfect knowledge of all theſe affairs. But in my opinion the firſt of theſe ſtories is the moſt unlikely, for the *Chineſes* would not admit of S. *Auguſtin* himſelf as a claſſick doctor, much leſs of *F. Riccius*, who, it cannot be deny'd, was a famous man, and therefore does not ſtand in need of any forged honour.

3. *F. Mendo, lib.* I. *chap.* 3. writes thus: it is look'd upon as an undoubted truth among the natives of this kingdom, that the grandſons of *Noah* were the firſt that peopled it after travelling out of *Armenia* to ſeek ſome land that might pleaſe them, *&c.* In the 5th chapter he repeats the ſame, adding, that what appears plain in the *Chineſe* hiſtory, is, that ever ſince the time of *Vitey*, who was the firſt king, that nation has been reduced into one entire monarchy, *&c.*

4. As to the antiquity, this author is much in the right; but we muſt aſſuredly ſuppoſe, that the *Chineſes* never had any knowledge of *Noah*, nor of his ſons or grandſons. It is generally agreed in their books and hiſtories, that the firſt man they can give any account of, was *Fò Hì*; they have no manner of knowledge of any time before him, which they themſelves daily own to us, when we diſcourſe of this ſubject, and ſo it appears in their writings. I fancy too that there is no ſuch word as *Vitey* in *China*, nor is it known to that nation; it may perhaps be a corrupt word compounded of theſe two, *Vi*, *Tai:* but the name of the firſt emperor of *China*, as I have already obſerv'd, was not *Vi Tei*, but *Fò Hì*, as is expreſly mention'd in their books, and they all unanimouſly agree. And I am of opinion there are few among them, tho' they be peaſants, but know this; for as we have knowledge of our firſt father *Adam*, ſo have they of *Fò Hì*. Nay there have been miſſioners who would make *Fò Hì* to be *Adam*, but that cannot agree with the *Chineſes*, becauſe their empire has continued from the time of *Fò Hì* till now. Fò Hì *firſt emperor.*

5. The moſt receiv'd opinion is, that from this *Fò Hì* the firſt emperor of *China*, till

NAVARETTE. till this preſent year 1675, are four thouſand five hundred and fifty nine years; and there being ſince the flood to this ſame 1675. year, according to the computation of the *Antiquity.* *Roman* martyrology, four thouſand ſix hundred and thirty two years, it appears, that the *Chineſe* empire had its beginning ſeventy two years after the flood, others ſay one hundred and thirteen. This makes out the probability of what *F. John Ruiz* the jeſuit wrote, who is follow'd by the fathers *Longobardo* and *Balat* of the ſame ſociety, and is, that the great *Zoroaſtres* prince of the *Bactrians*, who was the firſt inventer of magick in the eaſt, was alſo the founder of the empire of *China*, and there left behind him his doctrine. There is ſome difficulty in this, for it ſeems moſt certain that *Egypt* was peopled firſt, which yet was one hundred and ſeventy years after the flood, as ſays *A Lapide* in xii. *Geneſis*; ſee there, and *Oleaſter*, *Num.* xii.

6. *F. Emanuel Diaz* a jeſuit writ in the *Chineſe* language, that *Ham* the ſon of *Noah* went into *China*, where he diffus'd his ſuperſtitious and wicked doctrine, which continues to this day. This makes not againſt what has been ſaid above, but rather verifies it; for it is very uſual to ſay, *Ham* and *Zoroaſtres* were the ſame man, as *Beroſus*, *lib.* III. *Burgenſis*, maſter *Mathias*, *Garcia de Loaiſa* out of *Iſidorus*, the *Faſciculus temporum*, the lord of *Arauſo*, *Kircher*, and many others affirm, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſecond tome: ſee *A Lapide*, Exod. vii. 6, 11. *Lactantius Firmianus de orig. err. cap.* 4. writes thus of *Ham*; Ham *flying*, *ſettled in that part of the earth now call'd* Arabia. *This was the firſt nation that knew not* GOD; *becauſe its prince and founder receiv'd not the worſhip of* GOD, *being curs'd by his father, therefore he left the want of knowledge of a Deity to his poſterity.* This agrees very well with what has been ſaid above. *Zoroaſtres* was ſix hundred years before *Moſes*, according to the ſame *A Lapide*. Others would have this empire to be more ancient, but do not prove it.

See the ſupplement to Cajetan *in* Gen. xli. *where you will find the ſame as is here written.*

7. What has been ſaid makes out the truth of what is written by the fathers *Ruiz*, *Sabathino*, *Longobardo*, *Diaz*, *Gouvea*, and others of the ſociety, *viz.* that the *Chineſes* from the beginning wanted the knowledge of the true GOD. Thoſe who have writ and publiſh'd the contrary, have ſuffer'd themſelves to be led away, rather by their inclination, than been govern'd by their underſtanding; as will plainly appear in the book of *Chineſe* controverſies, where I handle this and other points very particularly.

8. It is therefore morally impoſſible abſolutely to determine on what day, month, or year the empire of *China* was founded; but it is moſt certain that it is very ancient, and that the antiquity abovemention'd is made out by their books: tho' I find ſome diſagreement among the miſſioners in the computation, yet not ſo material as quite to take away, or much to leſſen the antiquity we have ſpoke of. Read *A Lapide* in *Gen.* ix. 6, 18. the ſame the *Egyptians* affirm of their nation, the *Chineſes* ſay of theirs.

CHAP. III.

Of the Greatneſs of CHINA.

1. IN the firſt place, I give for granted that all the *Chineſe* names mention'd *Mendoza.* in his hiſtory by father *Mendoza*, nay, and by ſome other authors, are altogether deprav'd and corrupted, and therefore not intelligible, even to us who have liv'd ſeveral years in that country, ſtudied their language, and read their books: none of the names he writes is of the *Mandarine* language, nor can they be of any of the languages us'd in particular provinces, and therefore I ſhall never make uſe of any of them, but of thoſe proper and genuine names us'd by the learned ſect, and all the people of judgment and note in that country; and this does not infer but that many others of the commonalty do make uſe of them.

2. There has been much variety of opi- *Latitude.* nions touching the north latitude of the empire of *China*. *F. de Angelis* of *Liſbon* extends it to 48 degrees; the *Dutch* ſtretch farther to 52. *F. Nieremberg* goes on to 63. *Orlandinus* and *Luzena* ſtop not there; *F. Trigaucius*, *lib.* I. *cap.* 2. places it in 42. This is the opinion I follow and approve of, becauſe all the miſſioners being aſſembled together in the court of *Pekin*, we diſcours'd upon this ſubject, and they who had liv'd there ſeveral years ſaid, they had examin'd and found it to be ſo, adding ſome minutes; ſo that the wall which is the bound of *China* ſtands in near 42 deg. 30 min. The moſt ſouthern part is the iſland of *Hai Nan* (which ſignifies ſouth ſea) *Trigaucius* places it in 19 deg. of north latitude; but I following ſome others fix it in 18, and ſo that empire contains above 24 degrees of latitude. Thus its extent from north to ſouth is above four hundred and twenty *Spaniſh* leagues, allowing 17½ to a degree, and according to the *French* who allow

allow 20 it is four hundred and eighty; but according to the *Dutch*, who aſſign but 15 leagues to a degree, the ſpace from north to ſouth is three hundred and ſixty leagues. As to the longitude, it is eaſier to differ about it, ſome allow it 20 degrees, others extend it to 27; however it is, that country is near ſquare, and the *Chineſes* lay it down ſo in their maps.

3. By this it appears that *China* is not ſo long as *F. Mendoza* repreſents it, *lib.* I. *cap.* 6. nor are the grounds he goes upon to prove his aſſertion ſolid, nor is it ſtrange there ſhould be miſtakes at firſt, when the accounts from thence were imperfect; nor is it yet agreed upon to this day whether *Mile.* ten miles of *China* make a league of ours; but on the contrary, the general opinion is, there goes thirteen or fourteen to a league.

Provinces. 4. *China* is divided into fifteen provinces, each of which in former ages was a large, rich and populous kingdom. I do not include in this number the kingdom of *Tung* Tung King. *King*, which, tho' about three hundred and ſixty years ago was a part of *China*, yet is not ſo now, tho' it owns a ſort of ſubjection to the emperor, and the king receives his inveſtiture from him, as we ſaw it practis'd of late years. Some ſay the kingdom Cochinchina. of *Cochinchina* was part of that of *Tung King*, and that when this latter revolted from *China*, the governor making himſelf king, *Cochinchina* was then actually in rebellion, and had taken a king of its own. But I am confident in the opinion, that it was ever a ſeparate kingdom: for in the reign of *Cheu Kung*, which is above two thouſand years ago, *Cochinchina* was a diſtinct kingdom of itſelf, and its king ſent preſents to the *Chineſe* emperor; and I remember he calls the preſent by theſe names *Chao Hien*, which ſignifies a royal preſent, gift or offering.

Leao Tung. 5. Some reckon *Leao Tung* as a province, but it never was one; it belonged to that of *Xan Tunc*, and the *Tartars* poſſeſſed themſelves of it ſome years ago: nor do I here Coria. make any mention of the kingdom of *Coria*, nor of other iſlands which pay yearly tribute or acknowledgment; neither do I approve of what *F. Luzena* writes, that the Bata China. *Chineſe* was maſter of *Bata China*, for which he has no ground but the name, whereof we have ſpoken before, and this is viſible enough in that the hiſtories of *China* make no mention of that country. In the next place, ſince the *Philippine* iſlands, *Borneo*, *Macaſſar* and others known to the *Chineſes*, are larger, nearer, and much more worth than *Bata China*, and yet the *Chineſes* were never poſſeſt of them; to what purpoſe ſhould they go to conquer poor unprofitable lands very far diſtant from their own? beſides, which way ſhould the *Chineſes* ſteer their courſe to it? *Bata China* lies far ſouth of the iſlands of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, as I ſhall ſhew in my laſt book, which is a troubleſome and dangerous voyage, by reaſon of the infinite number of iſlands that lie in the way, and the many channels, currents and ſtraits not known at this day to the *Chineſes*. NAVARETTE.

6. I am of opinion there is no ground at all for what the ſame author writes, *viz.* that the *Chineſes* ſail'd to the iſland of *Zeilan* (or *Ceylon*) where he ſays many of them ſettled, whoſe poſterity are now call'd *Chingalas*; this he ſuppoſes only on account of the likeneſs of the names, and becauſe the *Chingalas* are men of valour. I have already ſaid that nothing can be concluded from the names, becauſe they are corrupted by the *Europeans:* and the *Chingalas* being valiant men infers the contrary to what he would prove, for they could never inherit valour from the *Chineſes* who want it. What may be ſaid in this matter is, that as the *Indians* of *Manila* call'd *Pampangos* are courageous and reſolute, and the *Tagalos* their next neighbours have no heart; ſo in *Zeilan*, or any other province, there may be a ſpot of ground may produce braver men than any other, tho' they be contiguous, and this ſpot may be call'd *Chingala*. If this be not enough, give me leave to aſk to what purpoſe ſhould the *Chineſes* go to *Zeilan?* what ſilks, garments or drugs could they vent there? what could they buy? no cinnamon I am ſure, becauſe *Cinnamon.* they have a great deal, and that very good, in the province of *Hay Nan*, eſpecially when they muſt leave behind them ſo many large kingdoms where they might diſpoſe of their merchandiſe to content.

7. Others ſay the *Chineſes* were maſters of *Tutucurin*, which country lies eaſt north Tutucueaſt of *Zeilan*, but I find no likelihood of rin. truth in this. The *Chineſes* were never conquerors nor ambitious of poſſeſſing foreign kingdoms, and if they had been ſo they might have made themſelves maſters of many. Several *Portugueſes* affirm that the *Chineſes* traded by ſea as far as the kingdom of *Narſinga*, and the ground they have for it is, that near the city *Calamina*, or *S. Thomas*, there is an idol temple call'd the *Pagod* of *China*, which I ſaw, and it nothing reſembles thoſe in *China*, nor can they who have ſeen the *Chineſe* ſhips be perſuaded this is at all likely. I aſk'd an antient native of that country who was a Chriſtian, and a man of ſenſe, whether they had any knowledge there of *China?* He anſwer'd, they had not. I aſk'd him concerning that temple: he told me the name of it was, *Ta Se Le Na Pe Lo Mal*, which are ſeven idols that are in it: he alſo

NAVARETTE. said it was call'd *China Patalon*, which are all expreſſions us'd in that kingdom.

8. It is perfectly impoſing impoſſibilities upon us to maintain, as ſome *Portugueſes* do, that the *Chineſes* ſail'd as far as the iſland of *S. Lawrence*, or *Madagaſcar*; they had much better affirm they ſail'd to *Suratte* and *Cambaya*, and thence to *Ethiopia* and *Perſia*; but to *Madagaſcar*, to me ſeems not only morally but phyſically impoſſible. Any man would be of the ſame opinion that had ſail'd thoſe ſeas, and had experience of the terrible ſtorms and boiſterous winds they are ſubject to. If to this we add, that the *Chineſes* have no uſe of the *Aſtrolabe*, or croſs-ſtaff to take the meridian altitudes, nor are acquainted with the latitudes or longitudes, nor have any knowledge of the narrow channels, that their veſſels are weak and want rigging, any man will rather credit what I now write. How would a *Chineſe* champan weather the furious ſtorms about the iſlands of *Mauricia* and *Maſcarenhas?* nay, tho' it could ſail thither, what merchandiſe ſhould it carry, or what ſhould it do at *Madagaſcar?* I am of the mind that a champan is not capable of carrying water and proviſion enough for that voyage, and much leſs to ſerve home again, the return being more tedious and difficult. It is my belief that the *Chineſes* never went beyond the ſtraits of *Sincapura* and *Sonda*; nor do I think they have any knowledge of them at this time. They ſail'd to *Manila* long before the *Spaniards* went thither, which is not to be doubted, becauſe the *Indians* affirm'd it; they alſo went to *Siam*, *Camboxa*, *Japan*, and other places that reach'd not to the narrow ſeas: ſo that we muſt take the extent great or ſmall of the empire of *China* within itſelf, without going beyond its own borders, which, as I ſaid before, contains fifteen great provinces, ſubdivided into 150 leſſer, yet there is never a one of them but is much bigger than any of thoſe of the *Low-countries*.

Navigation.

Provinces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fifteen Provinces in general, and the Cities of CHINA.

1. THE true and genuine names of the fifteen provinces of *China* are as follow, *Pe King*, or rather *Pe Chi Li*, *Xan Tung*, *Xan Si*, *Xen Si*, *Ho Nan*, *Hu Kuang*, *Kuei Cheu*, *Ju Nan*, *Zu Chuen*, *Nan King*, *Che Kiang*, *Kiang Si*, *Kuang Si*, *Fo Kien*, and *Kuang Tung*. This laſt is corruptly call'd by the *Europeans Canton*. Every one of them has ſeveral cities, towns and villages, and its bounds ſet out by a fair large ſtone with an inſcription on both ſides, bearing theſe words, *here ends ſuch a province, and begins the province* N. In their books is the number of the cities and towns in each province, with the names of them, all which I had taken notes of, and would have inſerted here but that I cannot find the manuſcript. *F. Mendoza* has writ the whole, and perhaps I would have follow'd him in ſome things, had I not obſerv'd that he is miſtaken in ſeveral particulars he mentions concerning the province of *Fo Kien*; he ſays, *lib.* I. *cap.* 8. there are 33 cities, and 99 towns in *Fo Kien*, which is an unpardonable miſtake; for *Fo Kien* is one of the leaſt provinces of *China*, and all men there know it contains but eight cities; four of them are near the ſea, I paſs'd through them all, their names are *Chang Cheu*, *Civen Cheu*, *Hing Hoa*, and *Fo Cheu* the metropolis; the other four are in the inland. Another of thoſe in the ſecond rank is call'd *Fo Ning*, where we have had a church, and there have been Chriſtians many years ſince: the towns I think are not above 27, the villages and hamlets are innumerable, as they are in all other parts of *China*. In all other provinces he makes the number of towns and cities much greater, ſo that adding together all his cities he makes 591, and of towns 1593, which is no way to be allow'd of.

Mendoza.

Fo Kien.

Cities.

2. *F. Trigautius cap.* 2. ſays there are 247 cities of inferior rank in *China*, and 1152 towns, all which may and ought to be call'd cities, ſince there is no diſtinction in their walls. See *Oleaſter* in *Num.* xxxii. *ad lit.* towards the end. What I could make out is as follows, there are 148 cities of the firſt rank which they call *Fù*, 239 of the ſecond call'd *Cheu*, 1149 towns which they term *Hien*, 11 cities of ſoldiers, in which thoſe military men live, to whom they have given lands for their maintenance paying a ſmall tribute, and with them live ſome vaſſals, for which reaſon they are commonly call'd cities of ſoldiers, and vaſſals, *Kiun Min Fù*; 493 caſtles upon the ſea coaſt, ſome of them ſo populous it is much to be admir'd. We paſs'd by one as we came from court, that reſembled a great city for its vaſt ſuburbs, populouſneſs, number of boats and trade; we were all ſurpriz'd and aſtoniſh'd at the ſight of it. There are beſides 2910 boroughs on the coaſt equivalent to towns, as the caſtles

Caſtles.

are

are to cities. In theſe ſea towns there are 1974 commanders, who have all their commiſſions from the emperor.

Villages. 3. Their boroughs, hamlets, and villages are ſo numerous that the *Chineſes* do not reckon them. Some of the villages are wonderful populous; about four leagues from *Canton* there is one very much noted, call'd *Foxan*, I have been ſeveral times in it, and all we miſſioners were there together when we came away from court to our baniſhment: It is computed to contain as many people as the metropolis, to which ſome aſſign two millions of ſouls, others a million and a half. Every day in the year four great paſſage-boats ſail from the metropolis to *Foxan*, all full of paſſengers, and every one carries 150, beſides an infinite number of ſmall boats hired by private perſons.

Cities. 4. The difference between the cities of the firſt and ſecond rank is, that the firſt have one body politick within them, which has its particular courts and government. Thoſe of the ſecond rank have none of this, but ſome of the ſecond are larger than others of the firſt, as there are towns bigger than cities. In every metropolis there are two diſtinct corporations: and beſides this there is another notable mark of diſtinction, which is, that in every metropolis there are two beautiful towers in ſeveral places, each nine ſtories high. Every other city has one but ſeven ſtories high, and every town one of five.

NAVARETTE. *Towns.* *Metropolis's.*

5. All the capital and leſſer cities and towns are encompaſs'd with high, thick, and beautiful walls. All the gates I have ſeen are plated with iron; the ditches are deep and handſom. There is ſcarce any city or town but what is regularly built, and ſeated on ſome mighty river, or lake. So they are to be founded, ſays *S. Thomas opuſc. de Reg. Princip.* Now they being regularly built, the ſtreets are wide, ſtreight and even, very beautiful and orderly, wherein I am perſuaded they have exceeded the *Europeans*. Thus much may ſuffice in general.

CHAP. V.

Of the ſeveral Families that have reign'd in CHINA.

1. THere muſt needs be much difficulty in deciding ſome points relating to this empire, which has been founded ſo many thouſands of years. As to the matter in hand there is no great danger of erring ſince I follow the *Chineſe* hiſtories. Since the firſt five emperors there have been 22 reigning houſes, or families; as if we ſhould ſay the houſes of *Auſtria* or *Bourbon*, &c. All theſe have made 238 emperors, beſides ſome few whoſe reigns were very ſhort. No mention is made of ſuch as theſe, ſays *Hugo Cardinalis* in *Judit.* i. ℣. 2. I ſhall give ſome account of the greateſt and moſt renowned of them in the following book. There was no proportion in the time of thoſe families continuance, one laſted 400 years in a continued ſucceſſion from father to ſon; another 500; a third to 600; and one extended to 800, which was the longeſt of any. The laſt before the coming in of this *Tartar* family, reigned ſomewhat above 260 years. All that while this empire enjoy'd a profound peace, but all was utterly ſubverted in a few years. We might ſay of *China* as *Philo* the *Jew*, in his book *quod Deus eſt immortalis*, ſaid of the *Perſian* empire; *Before the riſe of the* Macedonians, *great was the proſperity of the* Perſians, *but one day put an end to a mighty kingdom.*

Emperors 238.

2. By what has been ſaid, which is beyond all controverſy, it appears, they did not rightly inform *F. Mendoza*, who gave him an account of the emperors of *China*. He handles this matter, *lib.* III. *cap.* 1. where he ſets down ſo many names of emperors as is amazing. Among other things he ſays, there were 106 kings of the race of *Vitey*, who reign'd 2256 years. I have always ſaid *Fo Hi* was the firſt emperor and not *Vitey*, and that the longeſt continuance of the crown in any family was 800 years, which all the ſchool-boys in *China* know, becauſe it is written in their primmers; and therefore in theſe particulars I ſhall write not what others have written before me, but what I have read and received from the learned men of *China*.

Fo Hi.

3. All the reigns we have ſpoke of were tyrannical, tho' the kings were natives, excepting only this family now in being, and another call'd *Sung Chao*, which were both ſtrangers, the latter coming from the *Weſt*, and the other from the *Eaſt*. *F. Mendoza* writes that *Sung Chao* govern'd 90 years, and us'd the natives tyrannically, making ſlaves of them: but he is out in both, for he reigned but 60 years, and gave ſuch content, that the *Chineſes* even at this day applaud, and beſtow high commendations on him. In proceſs of time a long poſſeſſion, and the love of the ſubjects, it is likely mended their title, as has happened in other countries and families. And *Suarez*, *lib.* III. *cont. Reg. Angl. cap.* 2. *n.* 20. ſays, *It often*

Sung Chao.

NAVARRETTE. *often happens that a kingdom is poſſeſt by unjuſt war, but then it comes to paſs, that in proceſs of time, either the people freely give their conſent, or elſe the heirs govern the kingdom with moderation and then tyranny ceaſes, and a lawful government begins.* But certain it is, infidels will not be nice in this point. A miſſioner was us'd to ſay, that all the emperors that ever were in *China* were rightful and lawful, becauſe it was ſettled and agreed that the ſtrongeſt ſhould carry it, and conſequently every *Chineſe* in the empire had a title to it. I never lik'd this doctrine which he only grounded upon his own opinion and fancy, contrary to the general ſentiments of that empire and its laws.

Zing Chao. Kang Hi. Silveir. *t.* 6. *p.* 590. *q.* 2. Poteſtas illegitima dura legitima affabilis.

4. The family now reigning is call'd *Zing Chao*, that is a pure and unſpotted reign. The emperor's name is *Kang Hi*, that is, joy, repoſe, peace, and tranquillity. It cannot be deny'd but that he governs with ſome ſeverity: he is hated by the natives which is not to be wonder'd at, becauſe he is a ſtranger, and his nation is look'd upon as barbarous by the *Chineſes*. This alone was ſufficient to have made him odious, tho' there had not been beſides ſuch a mighty quantity of blood ſhed as was in the conqueſt; beſides many cruelties and diſaſters that attended him. The *Chineſes*, if they were unanimous, might with great eaſe deſtroy him: but it ſeems GOD made uſe of the *Tartar* as an inſtrument to cruſh the pride of the *Chineſes*, as his divine Majeſty has often done to other powerful kingdoms. Let ſuch as are curious read *S. Thomas*, *lib.* III. *cap.* 7. *de Reg. Princ.* where he will find this plainly made out. In the 8th chapter the ſaint ſhews how GOD uſes to puniſh thoſe very men he has made uſe of as his inſtruments for the purpoſes above-mentioned; and ſo perhaps the *Tartar* may have his deſerts in a ſhort time. To this effect ſee *A Lapide* in xiv *Gen.* ℣. 5. in xiv *Exod.* ℣. 1, 25. and *Oleaſter* in xiv *Numb.*

Tartars *that conquer'd.*

5. The miſſioners do not agree about the *Tartars* title, I ſhall diſcuſs this point among the controverſies; but it will be convenient in this place to make it known in ſome meaſure who theſe *Tartars* are. I find many ſuppoſe them to be the ſame that make war on the *Poles*, the *Muſcovites*, and others in that part of the world, which is a groſs miſtake. The *Chineſes* call them *Ta Zu*, and divide them into the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, and ſo diſtinguiſh them by the two words *Tung* and *Si*, ſignifying *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, tho' the eaſtern lie north-eaſt of *China*, which is little to our purpoſe, eſpecially in regard the north-eaſt is towards the eaſtern quarter. The *Chineſes* ever looked upon all theſe *Tartars* as a rude, wild, and barbarous people; and ſo when they would ſay a man is a *Barbarian*, they call him *Ta Zu*.

Eaſt Tartars.

6. Here I take it for granted, that *Muſcovy* is ſix months journey diſtant from *China*, as we were given to underſtand by the embaſſadors the *Muſcovite* ſent ſome years ſince to the *Chineſe*. In this interval there are deſarts, high mountains, deep valleys, and mighty rivers, whence may be gather'd how far it is to thoſe we call *Tartars* of *China*, who inhabit near the great wall. It is agreed on all hands that their kingdom is ſmall, mountainous, full of woods, but abounds in cattel and wild beaſts. It is call'd *Ning Kue Ta*, by which the *Chineſes* expreſs, a kingdom of mountains, ruſtick and wild people: they have no houſes or buildings, the people live in dens and cottages; of late they have begun to build after the *Chineſe* manner. They were always robbers and continually infeſted *China*, plundering towns and villages. They have great multitudes of horſes, are themſelves good horſemen, and ſkilful archers. Theſe *Tartars*, ſo we will call them, never were poſſeſs'd of *China*, as *F. de Angelis* has writ. He was alſo deceiv'd in placing them in 73 degrees of north latitude. As for their religion, the ſame author ſays, they acknowledge one GOD in heaven, and another upon earth; as alſo the immortality of the ſoul, which I ſuppoſe he took from *F. Mendoza*. But whence they both had it I know not, for even at this time, tho' that people is better known and diſcover'd, we can ſay nothing with certainty of them, ſaving that they incline of late to follow the ſects of *China*, and are much given to worſhiping of idols.

7. This preſent *Tartar* who reigns in *China*, and his father have been the moſt fortunate men in the world, eſpecially if he that is now living knows how to keep what he inherited. But this is no eaſy matter, fortune is very inconſtant; one day man is rais'd to the height of power, and the next he is caſt down into an abyſs of miſery. Nothing that is violent is laſting; ſee *Oleaſter* in xxi *Num. in fin. expoſit. moral.* This world is like the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, ſaid *Philo*, *lib. quod Deus eſt immut.* I am very well ſatisfy'd no potentate in the world is greater than this. He is peaceably poſſeſſed of the fifteen provinces we have ſpoken of, his own kingdom *Leao Tung*, a great part of *Coria*, whence he draws a good quantity of ſilver, beſides many kingdoms that are tributary to him. I know no prince in the world that has ſuch large dominions together, ſo many ſubjects, and ſuch vaſt riches. It cannot be deny'd but the *Mogul* is a mighty prince, his empire very large; that he is powerful, and has kings that pay him tribute, as does he of *Golocondar*;

Largeneſs of its preſent empire.

Golocondar; that he is at this time, not only ſovereign of his own kingdom, but of the empire of *Narſinga*; yet I am fully perſuaded he has not half ſo many ſubjects as the *Chineſe*, nor near the revenue: But be it as it will, my buſineſs is not here to make compariſons, but only to ſhew how great the *Chineſe* is, and hereupon every one may make ſuch judgment as he ſhall think fit.

8. Enough has been writ concerning the irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*, and how in ſo ſhort a time they made themſelves maſters of it. *F. Martin Martinez* publiſh'd a ſmall book upon this ſubject, I have it by me in *Latin*, and tranſlated into *Spaniſh*. I have read neither, nor have I any inclination to it, for reaſons I ſhall give hereafter: I ſuppoſe they agree in ſubſtance, tho' in ſome circumſtances not very material, I find there is difference and diſagreement. I will write what I heard of the court of *Pe King*, from the miſſioners and others of the natives. To pretend to make monarchies eternal, is like ſailing againſt the wind. Which of them was ever permanent? None. Read the ſacred and profane hiſtories, and it will appear, that to mount to the greateſt height, is but to begin to fall. Even now in our own days we experience this truth, without being neceſſitated to have recourſe for examples to the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. It was a good ſaying of a modern author, much applauded by preachers: when any thing is lifted up to a great height, you may know its downfal and ruin is at hand.

Silv. to. 1. l. 2. c. 3. q. 2. n. 7.

9. *China*, which was nothing inferior to thoſe monarchies we have mention'd, tho' leſs known to the *Europeans*, roſe to the height of majeſty, grandeur, and wealth; it is plain then, it could not plead a ſingular privilege beyond all the world. A little worm deſtroy'd and conſum'd the verdure and ſpreading greatneſs of the prophet *Jonas* his ivy-tree. So a robber burnt, and pull'd up the delightful and flouriſhing garden of *China*, he was like a flaſh of lightning that fir'd and defaced all that beauty.

Laſt revolution.

10. Certain it is the *Chineſe* emperor hang'd himſelf upon a tree: and very credible perſons told us at *Pe King*, as a thing out of diſpute, that he himſelf firſt hang'd a daughter he had, and his firſt wife. Conſider what a diſmal ſpectacle that was! what trouble muſt it raiſe in the hearts of men to ſee ſuch fruit upon three trees! ſo great a monarch and emperor, and empreſs and their eldeſt daughter hung by the boughs. O inconſtancy of worldly proſperity! O wonderful changes of fortune! O uncertainty of all that is temporal! ſeven thouſand pieces of cannon lay on the walls of that renowned and beautiful city, as the inhabitants affirm'd, and above four millions of ſouls inhabited that mighty metropolis. The emperor liv'd within nine walls; numerous guards did duty at his gates, counſellors, miniſters, and ſervants attended him in vaſt numbers, and nothing of all this could avail to ſave the lives of thoſe wretched carcaſes.

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11. It is univerſally allow'd that the robber ſpent eight days, tho' ſome ſay but five, in conveying the gold, ſilver, jewels, and other riches, from the palace in carts, upon camels, horſes, and mens ſhoulders; and that nevertheleſs there remain'd conſiderable riches in the royal treaſury, which afterwards the *Tartar* ſeiz'd upon. It is alſo agreed on all hands that infinite numbers dy'd, and there is no doubt but many were their own executioners.

Riches.

12. Some blame the emperor for living too retir'd, they ſay he never went out of his palace. They alſo tax him with covetouſneſs. His predeceſſors heap'd vaſt treaſures, and he increas'd them conſiderably, *and he knew not for whom he gathered.* Others blame the eunuchs for not acquainting him with what was in agitation: I am of opinion they were all faulty.

13. *Uſan Kuei* general of the frontiers, a moſt faithful and loyal ſubject to his ſovereign lord the emperor, but ill adviſ'd, to revenge the miſchief that robber had done, crav'd aid and aſſiſtance of him that ever was a declar'd and mortal enemy of *China*; he invited the *Tartar*, and made uſe of a tiger to be reveng'd of a wolf. The *Tartar* joyfully embrac'd the offer, he immediately rais'd an army of 80000 horſe, and ſwelling with it, trampled down all *China*, which he already look'd upon as a prey expos'd to his barbarous fury. He join'd *Uſan Kuei*, and with their united force they purſued the robber, ſlew an infinite number of people, recover'd the rich booty he carry'd; and tho' the rebel with ſome of his followers eſcap'd, yet the *Tartar* remain'd victorious, and more proud and arrogant than before. In order to put in execution what he had before contriv'd, he reſolv'd to go to *Pe King*, and entred the court, the gates being laid open to him; where making uſe of force, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all, without any better title than mere tyranny and uſurpation. *Uſan Kuei* was quite aſham'd and confounded to ſee how he was impos'd upon by the ill meaſures he had taken; for what could be worſe than to call in thouſands of robbers to reduce one? and his force being inferior to the enemies, he durſt not encounter him. What afterwards happened in the conqueſt of the whole empire, the ſlaughters, the blood that run about the fields, the robberies, the outrages, the miſerable cries and complaints which pierced

Uſan Kuei.

NAVARETTE. the clouds, have not perhaps been parallel'd throughout the world. Millions of *Chineſes* were put to death, vaſt numbers ſlew themſelves to avoid falling into the hands of the ſavage *Tartars*. Many cities and towns were left deſolate. The men fled to the mountains, and thought not themſelves ſecure in the caves. The women, who are as reſerved and modeſt as the ſtricteſt nuns in *Europe*, ran about the fields weeping and tearing their hair, flying from the ſcourge that purſued them. Many virgins caſt themſelves into rivers and wells, thinking, through a miſtaken zeal, it was lawful, by that means to ſhun their ſhame and the loſs of their chaſtity.

Modeſty of the women.

14. That thunderbolt overrun all *China* with fire and ſword, and left not a foot of land unconſum'd; ſo that in the year 58, when I entered upon that miſſion, the *Tartar* was abſolute lord of the whole, except a few holes which he ſoon ſubdued. There were ſuch multitudes of men ſlain at the taking of ſome cities, and particularly the capital of *Fo Kein*, that the dead bodies heap'd together equal'd the height of the wall, and ſerv'd the *Tartars* inſtead of ladders to mount up and poſſeſs themſelves of the city. This was affirm'd to me for a truth, when I paſſed through that place, and they ſhew'd me the curtain of the wall, which was of a conſiderable height, that the dead bodies had been heap'd againſt.

Slaughter.

15. In *China* were verified the words of the firſt chapter of the firſt of *Macchab.* *According to its glory its diſgrace is multiplied, and its loftineſs is turn'd into mourning.* And that of the fifth *chap.* ℣. 11. fits in this place, *She that was free, is become a ſlave.* Let no man confide in his own power, or forget to ſtand upon his guard, becauſe he is rich, great and mighty. It is abſolutely neceſſary to be diligent and watchful, eſpecially when the enemy is at hand; too much precaution or diffidence cannot be hurtful, too much ſecurity may. The *Chineſes* even in my time liv'd in hopes that *Uſan Kuei* would ſtill ſtand up for his country, his credit, and reputation, and endeavour to make amends for thoſe loſſes and deſtructions caus'd by his overſight, and ill conduct; but now conſidering his great age, their expectation is vaniſh'd. I could not but think he has been the cauſe of infinite miſchiefs. The *Tartar* was ever upon his guard, and jealous of this commander; thrice he endeavour'd by fair means to draw him to court, which had ſecured all danger that might be in him. He in not going, behav'd himſelf with more wiſdom than he had done before. We ſhall ſpeak of the *Tartar* in another place, thus much ſuffices at preſent. But becauſe this did not ſatisfy a great friend of mine, who thought it requiſite I ſhould enlarge upon this point, I reſolv'd to do ſo, and write a particular chapter upon this ſubject, which is the laſt but one of the laſt book; there the reader will find what was omitted in this place.

CHAP. VI.

A farther Account of the Grandeur of the Chineſe *Empire.*

1. FOR the more regular proceeding, we will here treat of the two courts now frequented and famous in *China*, without meddling with others in ſeveral provinces where many antient emperors reſided.

2. The ſouthern court, for this very reaſon call'd *Nan King*, is moſt renowned in thoſe parts, tho' the emperors have not theſe many years reſided there. I never was within it, but have oftentimes heard ſome miſſioners, who liv'd there ſeveral years, and other judicious Chriſtians talk of its greatneſs. As we went from court to baniſhment, we came to an anchor very near to its firſt wall, where we lay ſome days. The wall is high, beautiful, and of a goodly ſtructure, and the firſt I ever ſaw of that ſort. It has no battlements as is uſual, but runs in the nature of a ſcollop-lace, as is us'd in ſome buildings in *Spain*. The whole is very graceful to behold, and the *Chineſes* ſay its circumference is a hundred and ſixty of their miles, which, according to ſome of the miſſioners computation, make ſixteen *Spaniſh* leagues, and according to others thirteen or fourteen. At the firſt entring upon the miſſion they allow'd ten *Chineſe* miles to a league of ours, afterwards upon better conſideration they aſſign'd thirteen, and ſome fourteen; and tho' we ſhould allow fifteen, the compaſs of the wall would be very great.

Nan King.

3. I have mention'd, that every metropolis has two towers nine ſtories high. One of thoſe at this court is ſo beautiful and ſightly, it may cope with the faireſt in *Europe*. There is ſome, but no great diſtance betwixt the firſt and ſecond wall, by what we could diſcover through the gate; and the concourſe of people is extraordinary. Thoſe who were acquainted with it, and particularly *F. Emanuel George* who had liv'd there ſeveral years, ſaid, that the ſecond wall which is it that immediately compaſſes the city, was a common day's journey a horſeback in circumference, which

according to the cuſtom of that country is about eight leagues betwixt ſun and ſun; and ſo this father ſaid, that a man going out at one of the gates at ſun-riſing, and compaſſing the city, would come to the ſame gate at ſun-ſetting.

4. The number of people living within the two walls, according to the reckoning of the *Chineſes*, is above eight millions, and herein the miſſioners agree with the natives; but allowing only ſeven millions of ſouls, or ſomething leſs, it is certain that no two cities in *Europe*, *Africk*, or *America*, can compare with this for number of inhabitants, conſidering the *Chineſe* and *Spaniſh* million are the ſame. It muſt alſo be obſerv'd, in purſuance of what has been ſaid before, that the number here mention'd is not aſcrib'd to the city alone, but to it and the two ſeparate towns corporate which are within it; but the whole is included within the two walls.

5. Among other remarkable things there are at this court, one is a vaſt prodigious bell. *F. Felician Pacheco* ſaw, and took particular notice of it, and aſſured us, that tho' one half of it was bury'd in the ground, yet that which riſes above the earth is ſo high, that if two tall men ſtand one of each ſide, they cannot ſee one another. Another wonder is, that there are nine hundred ninety nine fiſhponds within the walls, in which they breed fiſh to ſupply the natives. There is the ſame number in the city *Kan Cheu* in the province of *King Si*; but we could not diſcover the myſtery why they muſt not be a thouſand, and yet I doubt not but the *Chineſes* have ſomething to ſay for it. And yet notwithſtanding theſe fiſhponds, the city lies upon the mighty and renowned river, which they call *The ſon of the ſea*, againſt whoſe ſtreams we ſaw the *porpoiſes* ſwim above forty leagues up the river, ſo that none need admire there ſhould be fiſh enough for ſuch a multitude. Upon this river they yearly celebrate a feſtival in their boats, richly adorn'd and ſet out to the honour of an antient *Mandarin*, who is highly reſpected throughout all that empire, as I ſhall write in another place. It happened but a few years ago there ſtarted up ſuch a furious guſt of wind, that five hundred boats were caſt away, a miſerable object of pity and compaſſion.

Bell.

6. In all courts of judicature throughout *China* they have a drum, either bigger or leſs, according to the preheminence of the court, and they beat it when there is any hearing. That which is in the ſupreme court of this metropolis is ſo large, that the head is made of an elephant's hide, and the drumſtick is a great piece of timber hanging to the roof by ſtrong ropes. They ſay it is incredible what vaſt quantities of merchandiſe, ſilks, cottons, and other curioſities are to be had here, in ſuch abundance, that whole fleets might be loaded at very reaſonable rates. In this city they make flowers of wax, with the colours ſo exact and lively, that we could not chooſe but admire them; and till they told us they were made of wax, we could never gueſs at it.

NAVARRETTE.

Flowers in wax.

7. Six miſſioners of us came together on *Saturday* the 27th of *June*, being the eve of the feaſt of *St. Peter*, to the northern court, ſignified by the name *Pe King*, of which many ridiculous falſhoods are written by *Romanus Mendoza*, *Nieremberg* ~~*de Angelis*~~, and others. We ſaw a ſtrange confuſion and wonderful multitude of people. From the firſt gate we walk'd above two leagues to come to the eaſtern church of the fathers of the ſociety. It is call'd the *Eaſtern*, to diſtinguiſh it from that which father *John Adamus* had in the *Weſt*. This metropolis has three walls: the firſt which encompaſſes the other two, as the fathers who liv'd there told us, and we our ſelves perceived, is five leagues in circumference, little more or leſs, and not as *Pinto*, and the authors above-mention'd write of it. *Mendoza*, *lib.* III. *cap.* 2. ſays, it is a whole day's journey upon a good horſe, and a man muſt ride hard to croſs from one gate to another, without including the ſuburbs which are as large again; and yet he declares he ſpeaks of the leaſt. The *Chineſes* impos'd upon him: I am ſatisfy'd none of thoſe that go over to *Manila* have been at *Pe King*. In ſhort, what I write is the very truth; and tho' I may as well as others err in ſome ſmall matter, as for example, in half a league, yet I cannot deviate ſo groſly. Nor could the fathers of the ſociety be miſtaken, who had liv'd above twenty years in that city.

Pe King. deAngelis.

8. The ſecond wall runs directly athwart from eaſt to weſt; it is higher than the other, and ſo broad that two coaches may go abreaſt on it with eaſe. Within theſe two walls, towards the ſouth, the *Chineſes* live at preſent; there are the ſhops, tradeſmen, and mechanicks; a man may there find all he can wiſh or deſire, at the ſame rates as in any other part of the empire. On the north ſide live the *Tartars*, the ſoldiery and counſellors, and there alſo are all the courts of juſtice. The third wall is in the ſhape of a half-moon, and incloſes the imperial palace, the temples of their anceſtors, gardens, groves, fiſhponds, and other places for pleaſure. This alſo is on the north ſide, and is almoſt a league in circumference. The *Chineſes* reckon nine walls from the firſt gate to the emperor's apartment, and ſo tell it as a piece of oſtentation, that their emperor lies within nine walls.

Palace.

NAVARETTE. walls. They ſtood him in little ſtead againſt the robber. None lives within the palace but the emperor, his wives, concubines, and eunuchs. The *Chineſe* obſerves the cuſtom of other antient monarchs, *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xxvii. ℣. 36, 37, and 35. Only the viceroys, counſellors, great mandarins, and officers, can go into the palace. Among twenty four miſſioners that met in the metropolis the year 1665, only father *John Adamus*, who was profeſſor of mathematicks, had ever been within the palace. Afterwards about 68 and 69, the three that remain'd there went in, being ſent for by the emperor.

9. They report the apartments and rooms are very ſtately and noble, eſpecially the emperor's bed-chamber; but I never heard there were ſeventy nine, as biſhop *Maiolus* writes, wherein he follows *Mendoza* in his ſecond chapter quoted above; nor are there any rooms of gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones, as the ſame author ſays, and *F. Lazena* affirms. How could theſe things be hid from us who liv'd ſo many years in that country, and ſome time at the court, enquiring diligently, and examining into the moſt remarkable things there? The *Chineſe* hiſtory tells us, the arch'd roof of an antient emperor's ſtate-room was of gold, which I do not find any difficulty to give credit to; and I am ſatisfy'd he that now reigns might have the like if he pleas'd. Nor are there tiles of gold, as others have reported, but they are glaz'd yellow, which is the emperor's colour; when the ſun ſhines on them, they look like gold, or poliſh'd braſs. The petty kings of the blood royal uſe exactly the ſame; and they are on the temples of deceas'd emperors. There are other tiles blew glaz'd, which I have ſeen on ſome temples, and look very graceful. I have ſometimes ſeen the tiles with which the floors of the palace are laid, they are ſquare, and as large as the ſtones on the floor of *S. Peter*'s church at *Rome*; ſome were glaz'd yellow, and others green, as ſmooth and gloſſy as a looking-glaſs, and muſt doubtleſs be a great ornament to a room.

Yellow, the emperor's colour.

10. When *Xun Chi* father to the preſent emperor died, they turn'd out of the palace ſix thouſand eunuchs, and I conceive they expell'd as many women, for every eunuch has a woman to wait on him. The emperor has as many concubines as he pleaſes; but the empire is obliged to furniſh him as many as there are towns and cities in it. There are twenty four kings at the emperor's court, but they are only titular, and have no ſubjects, as among us the titular biſhops *in partibus infidelium:* the emperor maintains them all. The miſſioners call them *petty kings*, and they are generals of the army. There are as many major generals, whom they call *Cuſan*, theſe are introduced by the *Tartar*, the *Chineſe* had none of them. When any ſervice is to be done, only two or three of theſe receive the orders, and they convey them to their men, who are always in readineſs; and they immediately march, and with great ſecrecy execute the commands they have receiv'd. Among many other things excellent in the *Chineſe* government, one is, their great care in ſcouring their high-ways from vagabonds and robbers. As ſoon as ever there is the leaſt rumour of thieves being abroad in any part of the country, immediate notice is given to the next town, thence it is carried to the city, and if requiſite to the metropolis, whence they inſtantly ſend out officers and ſoldiers, who uſing their utmoſt diligence, never return home without their priſoners. This is the duty of thoſe that have the power of government, ſays *S. Thomas*, *lib.* II. *de Reg. Prin. cap.* 2.

Concubines of the emperor.

Generals.

Robbers.

11. I find very extravagant and ſtrange things in the authors abovemention'd, concerning the ceremonies us'd by the emperor at the reception of embaſſadors; I do not ſet them down, becauſe I would not countenance dreams and chimera's. The *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* whoſe embaſſadors have of late years been at *Pe King*, are eye-witneſſes of what is practis'd there; and therefore why ſhould we give credit to fabulous relations? *Mendoza* and *Mayo* write, that the emperor ſhews himſelf at certain times through glaſs-windows. Another ſays, he us'd to ſhow his arm at a window. All this is ſubject to a thouſand contradictions, for the emperor has no glaſs-caſements, nor his rooms windows, nor is there one place where the people might aſſemble, and tho' there were, the ſubjects might not go into it. The ſame I ſay in reſpect of the ſoldiers they tell us are upon his guard. *Romanus* writes ſeventy thouſand men; *Mendoza* allots ten thouſand that day and night guard the palace without, beſides many more in the courts, at the gates, *&c.* What I can ſay to it is, that the emperor might well have that, or a greater number; but he has not, nor is he ſo jealous of his ſubjects as that author makes him.

12. The emperor keeps ſix thouſand horſes in his ſtables, as I heard at court, and is able to keep many more. He has alſo twenty four elephants; theſe are carried to the palace with rich trappings every new and full moon, which are the times when the magiſtrates go to pay their reſpects to the emperor. An indifferent river runs through the midſt of the court, being let in under the wall, and runs through the Orchards,

Emperor's horſes, elephants.

orchards, gardens, and groves, cauſing a continual ſpring. At ſmall diſtances there are curious bridges over it: the beſt of them, which is almoſt joining to the yellow wall, was our road to the courts, and to *F. Adamus* his church. Beſides all this, *Bell.* there is a bell at *Pe King*, which, as thoſe fathers ſaid, weighs more than the four bigeſt in all *Europe*, which they ſay are in *England*. *F. Adamus* weigh'd it, and it came to one thouſand two hundred quintals (which is ſixty tuns). Within the hollow, which is all full of writing, he counted ten thouſand great letters; *F. Kircher* has the cut of it in his book, *p.* 222. The uſe of *Read our* bells in *China* is of great antiquity: it was Ximenes *his* Lexi- firſt brought into the *Latin* church about con. *v.* the year 600, and into the *Greek* in 865, Campana. according to *Suarez*, *lib.* II. *contra Reg. Ang. cap.* 16. *num.* 13. There is alſo another great and famous bell hanging in a lofty and beautiful tower, which ſerves to ſtrike the ſeveral watches of the night, and has an excellent ſound. In the year 1668, the news came to *Canton*, that it had rung of itſelf; ſome believ'd, others gave no credit to it: if true, *China* has a bell like that of *Belilla* in *Spain*.

Obſerva- 13. There is in *Peking* a very noted tower, toir. call'd of the mathematicks; in it are ſundry very ancient inſtruments, with admirable graving on braſs-plates; with them they obſerve eclipſes, and other obſervations belonging to this ſcience. Some mathematicians always watch a top of it, who obſerve the motions of the ſtars, and remark any thing particular that appears in the ſky, whereof the next day they give the emperor an account. When any thing unuſual occurs, the aſtrologers meet, and make their judgments whether it portends good or evil to the imperial family. I was told in that city, that the number of its inhabitants amounts to four or five millions. Its ſituation is on a plain, as is all the country about. I ever heard it agreed, that the emperor's table was made up of fifteen, each anſwering its particular province, in *Eating.* the diſhes and different meats it bears. In *China* they do not uſe table-cloths, nor other utenſils common among us: The tables are beautiful, many of them varniſh'd as fine as looking-glaſſes. They touch not the meat with their hands, but make uſe of little ſticks about a foot long, with which they carry it neatly to their mouths: ſome are made of ſweet wood, ſome of ivory, others of glaſs, which are in great eſteem, and were invented by the *Dutch*; but now the *Chineſes* make them curiouſly. Great men have them of ſilver, and only the emperor of gold, as are the diſhes and other veſſels ſerv'd up to his table. The *Roytelets* have them of ſilver tipt with gold. This way of eating has always been among the *Chineſes*, the *Japoneſes* learn'd it of them. *F. de Angelis* was miſtaken in applying this to the latter. Table-cloths and napkins, and a great deal of ſoap might be ſav'd in *Europe*, if this faſhion were introduced; we miſſioners like it very well. NAVARETTE.

14. The *Tartars* uſe the ſame ſort of ſticks, but their tables are little and low like thoſe of *Japan*, and they ſit not on chairs, but on cuſhions and carpets; which is alſo the cuſtom of *Japan*, and other neighbouring kingdoms. Many of the ancients did the ſame, and others lay down to eat; ſo ſays *Valerius Maximus*, and S. *Thomas*, *lect.* 1. in 2 *Joan.* That it is an ancienter cuſtom to eat ſitting, may be gather'd out of *Gen.* xliii. ℣. 33. So authors affirm, ſee *Corn. à Lapide* and *Monochius*. In the following chapters we ſhall treat of other matters.

15. Here we might diſcuſs a point common to other nations, which is, whether we muſt call the *Chineſes*, the *Tartars* that govern them, the *Japoneſes* and other nations in thoſe parts, *Barbarians*. The original uſe of the word *Barbarian* is various; *Barbarian.* according to *Eraſmus* all ſtrangers and foreigners were formerly call'd *Barbarians*: cruel, fierce, ill-bred, and unlearn'd people went under the ſame name. The *Greeks* it is certain look'd upon other nations as *Barbarians*, tho' *Strabo* ſays, the *Latins* were under the ſame predicament with the *Greeks*.

16. S. *Thomas* ſtarts the queſtion upon i. *ad Rom. lect.* 5. and upon 1 *Cor.* xiv. *lect.* 2. and upon iii. *ad Coloſ. Cajetan* in 1 *Cor.* xiv. reſolves the queſtion in few words, ſaying, *a* Barbarian *is ſomething relative, and no man is abſolutely a* Barbarian, *becauſe of all kinds of men communicating together in language*, &c. Here he takes the *Barbarian* in the ſenſe St. *Paul* ſpeaks in, which makes him be look'd upon as a *Barbarian*, who ſpeaks a language quite ſtrange and unintelligible, ſo that the *Engliſh* are *Barbarians* to the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* to the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, &c.

17. But S. *Thomas* reſolves the doubt more nicely, and ſays thoſe are properly *Barbarians* who *are ſtrangers to human converſation*, and who *are ſtrong in body, and deficient in reaſon, and are neither govern'd by reaſon, nor laws*. Whence it follows that the blacks who live in the mountains of the *Philippine* iſlands, the *Chuchumecos* of *Mexico*, thoſe of the iſlands *Nicobar*, *Madagaſcar*, *Pulicondor*, and the like, and others near the ſtrait of *Anian*, are *Barbarians* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; and that the *Chineſes*, *Tartars*, *Japoneſes*, and other people of *Aſia* are not ſo, for all theſe live politickly and orderly, are govern'd by laws agreeable to

NAVARRETTE. reaſon, which thoſe iſlanders above nam'd have not: nor ought a nation to be call'd barbarous becauſe it has ſome cuſtoms that are contrary to reaſon, as may be ſeen among the *Japoneſes*, who look upon it as an honour to cut themſelves with their *Catana's*, or ſwords; for if we allow of this, there will be no nation exempt from ſome ſhare of barbarity. The other *European* nations look upon the *Spaniſh* bull-feaſts as barbarous, and think it a barbarity for a gentleman to encounter a mad bull. How can the law of duel, ſo much in requeſt among perſons of quality, be exempted from barbarity? The *Chineſes* look upon thoſe men as barbarous that wear long hair, tho' it be their own, wherein they agree well with S. *Paul, it is a reproach to him*, he terms it a diſgrace, ſhame and ſcandal. The *Germans* were formerly guilty of the barbarity of not looking upon theft as a ſin, according to S. *Thomas* 1. 2. *q.* 94. *art.* 4. which the *Chineſes*, *Tartars*, *Japoneſes*, and others, nay even the *Indians* of the *Philippine* iſlands, could never be charg'd with, but they always abhor'd that vice. Some in *Europe* thought ſimple fornication no crime, and others believ'd the ſame of ſodomy; ſo ſays S. *Thomas* 1. 2. *q.* 103. *art.* 3. *q.* 94. *art.* 6. and *Cajetan* upon *Acts* xv. in which the *Chineſes*, *Japoneſes*, and others are included.

18. What I moſt admire is, that but a little before I came to *Rome* there was ſome body offer'd to mantain and prove that voluntary pollution was no ſin: who could imagine ſuch a thing? Or who would not allow this to be barbarity in the higheſt degree among catholicks, after GOD has communicated ſo much light and learning to his church? In ſhort, the caſe ſtands thus, that all nations and people look upon themſelves as wiſe, politick, and judicious, and yet they call one another as they pleaſe, *without being guilty of any ſin reſerv'd to the pope to abſolve.*

CHAP. VII.

Begins to give ſome Account of the Chineſe *Government.*

Government. 1. THERE is a viceroy in every metropolis; in the province of *Nan King* which is large there are two, and three in that of *Xen Si*, becauſe it is greater; every one of them has the cities, towns and villages belonging to his government aſſign'd him. In ſome cities there are ſupreme governors, whoſe juriſdiction is not ſubordinate to the viceroy's, but they are abſolute in civil and military affairs, and upon all occaſions. There is alſo a king's treaſurer who receives all the tribute of the province, which is paid in the fineſt ſilver. There is beſides a judge of criminal cauſes, and a civil who has three deputies ſubordinate to one another, and all depending on the judge. Each of the two corporations there are in every metropolis has its civil judge, with his three deputies, as above. In the capital cities on the coaſt there is a great *mandarin*, who has charge of the ſea; beſides theſe there are many in particular employments. The name *mandarin* was given them by the *Portugueſes*, who deriv'd it from their own word *mandar*, to command. We the miſſioners, though ſpeaking in the *Chineſe* tongue, give every one the proper name and title belonging to his office and quality, yet in our own tongue call all officers of juſtice *mandarines*, and ſo I ſhall generally uſe the word throughout this work. Where there are navigable rivers, which is in very many parts, there are *mandarines* who look to the boats that belong to the emperor, and to the publick.

Mandarines.

Canton and *Fo Kien* are govern'd by *royte-lets*, who in quality are above all thoſe we have mention'd, but not in authority, tho' they take upon them more than is proper: there is no body to curb them, and they bear heavy on the ſubjects. Roytelets.

2. The multitude of military officers, as colonels, majors, captains, *&c.* is endleſs, they alſo are included under the title of *mandarines*, and in the *Chineſe* language have that of *Kuon*, as well as the reſt. *Military officers.*

3. The ſcholars, who are not ſubject to the common magiſtrate, have *mandarines* of their own over them: in every metropolis there is one great one like a ſchool-maſter, and two under him, and ſo there is in every other city and town; they live within the univerſities: we ſhall ſay more in another place concerning them, and other things that relate to their ſtudies. *Scholars.*

4. The greatneſs of the metropolitan cities and ſome others is wonderful. I have already given ſome account of *Nan King*. The next to it is the capital of *Che Kiang*, call'd *Hang Cheu:* ſome modern authors will have it to be the ſame the ancient *Europeans* call'd *Kin Cai:* having been in and view'd it with particular care, I will here write ſome part of what I ſaw. When I and my two companions were carry'd priſoners to the court, we went thro' the principal ſtreet of this city, which is near four leagues of ours in length from eaſt to weſt; ſome ſay it is longer, and allow two leagues to the ſuburbs on both ſides; ſo that from Hang Cheu.

the coming into one ſuburb till the end of the other they make it a day's journey for a ſedan: the ſtreet is ſtrait, wide, and all pav'd with free-ſtone, which is very beautiful: at every fifty paces diſtant or thereabouts is a ſtone arch, as curiouſly wrought as thoſe I have ſeen at *Rome*. On both ſides were an infinite number of merchants and ſhopkeepers, dealing in all things that can be thought of. The throng of the people was ſo great, that the chairmen were continually crying out to them to make way. About the middle of that ſtreet they told us the news, that the father of the ſociety reſiding there was made a priſoner. The next day we three were convey'd to another goal, but our affairs being tranſacted at court, we had no other trouble but the ſpending of that little we had been ſaving all the year, and the want of liberty; and becauſe all our ſuffering was on a good account, that is, the preaching of the goſpel, it was ſo far from afflicting that it was a great comfort to us.

Priſons. 5. Before we leave this metropolis, it will be convenient to go through with what we have begun concerning our impriſonment. As for the good government, quietneſs, eaſe, and cleanlineſs of the goal, I do not queſtion but it exceeds ours in *Europe*. As ſoon as we were brought into the firſt court we ſpy'd the head goaler, who ſat in great ſtate on his tribunal-ſeat; he preſently aſk'd for the criminal judge that ſent us to him his *mittimus*, but him we had not ſeen, for he was not come to himſelf yet after a great feaſt he had been at the day before, and one of his deputies ſent us to priſon. Then the goaler began to examine us concerning our coming to *China*, upon what intent it was, what we liv'd upon, *&c.* We anſwer'd him with a great deal of freedom and eaſe, the conſequence whereof was that they put us in through another little door which was lock'd, and had a porter at it; we went on through a lane, and they brought us to an idol temple. I don't know that in the priſons in theſe our parts there is any church of GOD ſo great, ſo ſpacious, ſo clean, ſo neat, and ſo much frequented by the priſoners, as that is. In all the goals, dungeons and courts of juſtice throughout the empire, they have temples richly adorn'd, and cleanly, where the priſoners, and ſuch as have law-ſuits make their vows, offer candles, oil, ſilver, perfumes and other things: ſome beg to be deliver'd out of goal, others good ſucceſs in their ſuits; but thoſe wooden and earthen images neither hearing nor ſeeing, they give no relief to their ſuppliants. At night they turn'd us through another leſſer door into a court, and then convey'd us into a great hall, quite dark and diſmal, without any window, and ſo full of people, that there was hardly room for them all to ſtand; this was call'd the little priſon to diſtinguiſh it from the dungeon, which was far enough from thence. Here we continued forty days, having always light at night, and there was an overſeer who took care no noiſe ſhould be made. All men were wonderful ſubmiſſive to him, ſo that there was no roaring, or noiſe, or quarrelling, but all as huſh as if it had been a regular monaſtery, which we did not a little admire. In the day time we went to the idol temple, and to a great court that was before it, there we ſun'd ourſelves, which was no ſmall comfort. Sometimes we diſcours'd upon the ſubject of our holy religion, and anſwer'd the queſtions that were put to us, and then proceeded to convince them of the error of their idolatry and ſuperſtition; but they were ſo grounded in their follies, that tho' they own'd they lik'd our doctrine, yet they would preſently go offer up their prayers to their idols. There were rooms enough in two lanes to be let to people of ſome note, who were in for ſmall faults; there they live quietly and with conveniency till their buſineſs is over. There are alſo ſome houſes in which marry'd people live, who keep the watch in the night; they walk about thoſe lanes and courts continually beating drums and blowing little horns, ſo that it is impoſſible any man ſhould make his eſcape, tho' the place itſelf were not ſo ſecure.

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6. The women's priſon is apart, and has a ſtrong door in which there was a little gate, through which they gave them neceſſaries. We took particular notice and obſerv'd that no man ever went to hold diſcourſe there. The modeſty of the *Chineſes* in this particular is not to be parallel'd in all the world, and no leſs the reſervedneſs and precaution of the women. All things neceſſary for clothing and diet were carried thither to be ſold: the barber goes in to trim, the cobler to mend ſhoes, the taylor to alter clothes, the coalman, the woodmonger, the butcher, the ſeller of rice and herbs, and all other ſorts of trades; ſo that there was every day a formal market kept there. There are alſo cooks, who for a ſmall allowance dreſs the meat very cleanly. There is a good well, which all make uſe of to dreſs their victuals, drink, and waſh their linen. Thus the whole reſembles a well govern'd body politick. Every afternoon the head goaler with his clerk view'd the priſoners, calling them over by their names, and finding them all there, lock'd them up till next day.

Modeſty.

7. To thoſe that were poor they gave every day a portion of rice, half of it they eat, and with the other half bought wood, ſalt,

NAVARETTE. ſalt, herbs, *&c.* This we much approv'd of, becauſe without it many would be expos'd to miſerable want, there being no way to beg by reaſon they are not even with the ground, and quite out of the way for people to come at them. All the while we were there, more came in than went out: ſome had their thighs all gaul'd with laſhes, others their ancles disjointed by the wrack, which is commonly us'd and with great ſeverity in that country. One day we went into the dungeon, which is diſmal enough, without it was a large court, and in the middle a temple like that of the little priſon: all thoſe that were there had fetters on, and their colour was unwholſome, becauſe the place is very damp. In the day time they ſhew'd them ſome favour, ſuffering them to come out into the ſun, where they air'd and lous'd themſelves. They once brought a parcel of them from thence into our priſon, ſo that we had not room left to ſit down: for eight nights I lay under a cane bed, in which were two comrades: I ſlept well, tho' the boards were my quilt, but I dreaded leſt the canes ſhould break, and I be beaten as flat as a pancake. Theſe hardſhips oblig'd us to hire a room, where we ſpent the reſt of our time with more eaſe. What we admir'd was, to ſee how devoutly and inceſſantly thoſe wretches begg'd of their idols to deliver them from their ſufferings. Every day they lighted candles, burnt perfumes, made a thouſand genuflexions, knockt their heads on the ground and wept before them; others gave themſelves to mental prayer, others ſang, and particularly one who had been there four years; this man took upon him to be ſexton, he ſwept the temple, cleans'd the altars, look'd after the lamp, begg'd of the others for oil and candles, and earneſtly exhorted them to aſk the aſſiſtance of thoſe devils, and mov'd them ſo to do by his example, for he was almoſt continually at prayers. He utterly debauch'd one we had juſt gain'd to embrace our holy doctrine, perſuading him, if he perſiſted to implore their gods they would deliver him out of goal; the wretch it ſeems was not of the elect. We alſo obſerv'd with how much courteſy, civility, and reſpect thoſe people treated one another, and the ſame they us'd towards us. This is a thing incredible in our parts. If two *Chineſes*, *Japoneſes*, or *Tunquines* were brought into our priſons, how would the other goal-birds uſe them? What tricks would they play them? How would they force them to pay garniſh? Nothing of this ſort is practiſed there, but they treated us with as much reſpect, as if we had been ſome perſons of note among them. In this and many other particulars, that nation beyond all diſpute ſurpaſſes the reſt of the univerſe. Another thing we made our remark of, which is much practis'd by all that nation, and was, that when any priſoner dy'd, having perform'd their ceremonies there upon the place, they put him into a coffin, but would not carry him out at the door by any means: they have a ſuperſtition in this particular, and therefore on the inward ſide towards the dungeon thy had a gap fit for the purpoſe made thro' the wall into a ſmall orchard, thro' which they thruſt him out.

Civility.

8. At length the day of our departure came. The cauſe of detaining us ſo long was, becauſe they expected all the miſſioners that were in that province, to carry us together to court. The officers carry'd us before the judge of one of the two corporations, before whom our buſineſs lay. The father of the ſociety had been fetch'd out of priſon two days before, they had taken from him his houſe and church, and he was upon bail in a little loft he had over the gate. To make the way ſhorter they carry'd us on the outſide of the walls. As ſoon as we were without them, we diſcover'd the fineſt lake in the world; two ſides of it were hemm'd in by moſt delightful and verdant hills and mountains, on the ſides whereof were many temples, palaces, and country houſes wonderful pleaſant to behold. The veſſels on the lake were many, of ſundry forms, and all graceful. The lake as near as we could gueſs was about ſix leagues in compaſs, and reach'd within ten paces of the wall on the ſouth-ſide: it was in a plain full of vaſt fields of rice. We came tir'd to the judge's court, having walk'd almoſt two leagues, and waited for him two hours: during that time a multitude of men came about us, with whom we diſcours'd concerning our holy faith. The *mandarin* did not come, and a clerk who was employ'd in our buſineſs bid us go to dinner, for he would anſwer for us: we travel'd almoſt two leagues more, all this while without breaking our faſt. At length we came to the good jeſuit, who was much indiſpos'd, yet we all rejoiced and eat together, and without reſting I was carried in a ſedan to hear the confeſſions of no ſmall number of Chriſtians, men and women, who waited for me in a houſe.

9. Some perſons too had confeſs'd in perſon, repairing thither with much fervor to that effect: among them was a taylor whoſe name was *Julian*, a moſt exact Chriſtian, tho' too ſubject to ſcruples, and therefore very often repeated his confeſſions. Some of the priſoners aſk'd this man one day, Whether he was a follower of our holy doctrine? He courageouſly anſwer'd he was. Then ſaid they, How can you being a taylor keep ſo holy a law? He anſwer'd,

Gentlemen, when I cut out clothes, I do not keep the value of a thread; and for the faſhion I demand no more than is reaſonable, and what will keep me. This is it the law of GOD enjoins, ſo that neither this nor any other trade need hinder the fulfilling of it. They were aſtoniſh'd at his courage and reſolution, and we being by were much edified. This poor man ſuffer'd much from ill Chriſtians, and ſome apoſtates: they would go to his houſe and threaten, that if he did not give them ſome ſilver they would impeach him, and for quietneſs ſake he ſatisfied them all. Next day they carried us to the river, and put us into a little boat, yet big enough for us four, three ſervants, and ſix officers. The ſoldiers travel'd a horſeback by land, always in ſight of the boat, and were reliev'd every two or three days journey: they were ſatisfied we would not attempt an eſcape, ſo that they took no great care of us all the time we were upon the water; and tho' we travel'd with them two hundred leagues by land, we had never cauſe to complain of the leaſt incivility or affront offer'd us; and yet we never gave them a farthing, which indeed is very remarkable among infidels. The civil officers would have given us ſome trouble, thinking to get ſilver from us, but were diſappointed.

10. When I write particularly of the perſecution, its original and cauſes, other things to the purpoſe ſhall be added. Now to return to the metropolis *Hang Cheu*, I muſt obſerve that having gone through a great part of it with my two companions, the throng of people was ſo great, that we could ſcarce make way through the ſtreets. We ſaw not one woman, tho' we look'd about very carefully, only to be ſatisfied of the great retirement of thoſe women. Would to GOD the hundredth part of it were obſerv'd among us ſober Chriſtians; and ſcholars of repute told me, there were above ſix millions and a half of people in this city; and the millions of *China* are the ſame of thoſe of *Spain*. The *Bonces*, or idolatrous religious men, according to ſome, are above fifty thouſand, and according to others far exceed thirty thouſand. They all live upon charity, only ſome till a parcel of ground to help to maintain them. A temple was built within theſe few years in this city, which coſt fifty thouſand crowns in ſilver; the *Chineſe* crown is worth ten royals, as well as the *Italian*. The pillars of this temple are very high, ſtraight, and thick; and for the more ſecurity, the founder caſed them with braſs-plates as bright as gold. The houſe and church of the ſociety was great and magnificent, and for that reaſon, as ſome of the fathers at times told me, was a help to forward the perſecution. We ſaw it all that afternoon we came thither, we offer'd up our prayers in the church, and took particular notice of it. It had three iſles, with each three pillars, beſides two that join'd to the wall of the frontiſpiece. Yet *F. Mathias de Amaga* in his *Annua* writ it had three hundred, a pretty difference. This ſhould have been inſerted above, but it makes not much to the matter.

Hang Cheu. *Women.* *Bonces.* *Crown.* *Navarette.* *Church.*

11. The ſhe *bonces*, or nuns, are alſo very numerous, I forgot to aſk the number. This city is ſo well ſtored (and there is none but what is ſo) that ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers coming to it in my time, they all liv'd upon what was then actually in the ſhops, and ſold about the ſtreets, without raiſing the price of any thing, or cauſing the leaſt ſcarcity in the city, no more than if only twenty men had come to it. There is another particular thing (tho' theſe are all common in *China*, only varying according to the greatneſs of the place) which is, that ſix thouſand countrymen come in every day with their cover'd tubs to carry out the human dung. A notable forecaſt! I had forgot to mention that the *Mahometans* have a ſumptuous temple in this city, the gate, frontiſpiece, and tower over it, as beautiful and ſightly as the beſt in *Spain*.

Nuns. *Proviſions.* *Mahometans.*

12. There is another renowned city in *China* call'd *Su Cheu*, we came to it the fifth day after ſetting out from the laſt. Under its walls is a great river, along which we ſail'd; an arm of it runs through the heart of the city from one gate to the other. This place is not inferior to *Hang Cheu*, for its greatneſs, trade, and commerce, but is not ſo populous. We croſs'd thro' the middle of it, and lighted on the church the ſociety had there, where five fathers were confined by the viceroy's order, that they might be ſent to court with the reſt: we made a halt there of five days, being well entertain'd and careſs'd by thoſe pious men, and indeed we ſtood in need of it. The reader may reſt him too before he enters upon the next chapter, obſerving that this city pays two millions a year taxes, by which it is eaſy to gueſs at its riches and trade.

Su Cheu. *Church.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Councils and Courts of Juſtice in the Imperial City.

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1. IT is the common receiv'd opinion of *Ariſtotle*, *S. Thomas*, *Albertus Magnus*, and many more, that the monarchical form of government is the moſt perfect: The *Chineſes* are of the ſame opinion, and therefore do very much value themſelves upon theirs being ſuch. They generally ſay, that as in heaven there is but one ſun which overlooks the world, from whom the other ſtars borrow their light; even ſo in their country there is but one head and emperor, who gives light, governs and directs all its actions and motions. But in regard a man cannot alone attend to all things, it is requiſite he have miniſters and officers to ſerve him. *Jethro* gave this advice to *Moſes*, and it is the method all the monarchs of the world have hitherto follow'd, tho' ſome have excel'd others in the manner and order of governing. That which the *Chineſes* did, and the *Tartars* at preſent obſerve, may vie with the beſt in *Europe*.

Exod. xviii. *See what* Cajetan, Oleaſter, *and* Corn. à Lapide *write upon this place.*

2. The firſt and ſupreme council the emperor has in his imperial city for governing that vaſt monarchy, is anſwerable to that we call the council of ſtate, and is therefore call'd *Kuei Juen*. It is held within the palace, and the *Ko Laò* ſit in it, that is, the antient men of the empire, maſters and ſupreme counſellors who attend the emperor. They ſit at a round table; to them the emperor commits the petitions that are preſented to him. The antienteſt divides them equally among them all; every one conſiders thoſe that fall to his ſhare, and writes his opinion: then they are return'd to the emperor by the antienteſt of the board. If he approves of the anſwer, he ſigns them; if not, they are ſent back, and order'd to be duly conſider'd. Under the *Chineſe* government there were ſeven *Ko Laòs*, the *Tartar* added ſeven more; ſo that at preſent they are fourteen, ſeven *Chineſes* and ſeven *Tartars*. The number of counſellors were doubled after the ſame manner in all other councils. It is well worth conſidering in this place, the emperor's and theſe mens mighty care and trouble. There is no buſineſs of conſequence in all the empire but goes through their hands: and therefore for diſpatching of all affairs, they muſt attend every day in the year without making any holidays, times of reſpit or vacation, which is an unſufferable toil. True it is, this aſſiduity is very advantageous to thoſe that ſolicite them, for their ſuits are decided in a very ſhort time, they conclude their buſineſs and go to their homes, without being put to ſuch exceſſive charges as is uſual in other countries. Read *Oleaſter* in xviii. *Exod.* where you will find how indiſpenſable a duty it is to hear thoſe that have ſuits depending at all times.

Councils.

Ko Laò.

3. The ſecond council is call'd *Han Lin*, and is compos'd of the doctors of the imperial college. Theſe are choſen by the emperor himſelf; when they are examin'd they live at court, but every one in his own houſe: they are aſſiſting to the government, canvaſſing and reſolving ſuch things as by the emperor's order are laid before them. From this board they are choſen to be great *mandarines*, but till then have no command.

Han Lin.

4. The third is call'd *Tu Cha Juen*, and this conſiſts of viſitors; when the emperor ſends to viſit the provinces which is very uſual, he chuſes the fitteſt perſons out of this number; he gives them his ſeal, which they carry faſtned on their right arm; they are as terrible as ſo many thunderbolts, and many of them do their duty to admiration. The *mandarines* quake when a viſitor comes.

Tu Cha Juen.

5. The fourth is call'd *Tai Li Zu*; this is the tribunal that aſſigns ſuitable puniſhments to enormous crimes.

Tai Li Zu.

6. Theſe two laſt and the preſident of the criminal court make up another call'd *Zan Fa Zu*, whoſe buſineſs it is to weigh and conſider, whether the puniſhment aſſign'd by the criminal court be juſt or legal; and when once they have confirm'd it, there is no appeal, or demur.

Zan Fa Zu.

7. The ſixth is call'd *Tung Zing Zu*, to them it belongs to peruſe the petitions that are to be repreſented to the emperor; if they approve of them they are prefer'd, if not they tear them.

Tung Zing Zu.

8. There is another of great authority call'd *Ko Tao*, who have it in charge to correct, and check the *mandarines*, who behave themſelves ill or negligently in their employments. If the emperor does not his duty, or gives ill example, or indulges himſelf too much in plays or ſports, or does not regulate his palace, or permits exceſs in apparel, *&c.* the members of this tribunal reprove him over and over. They are properly monitors, and execute their office to the letter of the law.

Ko Tao.

9. Beſides theſe there are the ſix famous courts, among whom all the buſineſs of the empire is divided. The firſt is *Li Pu*, the court of offices; as ſoon as any employment falls, the members of this court give

Li Pu.

give the emperor a petition, preſenting two or three candidates, and he chuſes one of them for the place. As ſoon as appointed, they prepare his orders, and deliver them to him if preſent, or elſe ſend them if he be abſent, and he goes away to his employment. Thoſe that are prefer'd pay nothing for their offices.

Hù Pu. 10. The ſecond is *Hù Pu*, a court of *Exchequer*, takes care of all the revenues of the empire, of the receipts and expences the emperor is at. The royal treaſures of the metropolitan cities are immediately ſubordinate to this court.

Lì Pu. 11. The third is *Lì Pu*, the court of rites and ceremonies, whoſe care it is to examine the doctrines that are preach'd, the buſineſs of embaſſadors, to regulate court-funerals. The court of the mathematicks is ſubordinate to this; here our cauſe was try'd.

Ping Pu. 12. The fourth is the court-marſhal, *Ping Pu*, which regulates all affairs relating to the army. It has ſome further juriſdiction, for we were turn'd over to it in order to our baniſhment, and we appear'd before it. They aſſign'd officers to attend us, boats to carry, and a guard to go with us.

Hing Pu. 13. The fifth is the criminal court, *Hing*
Kung Pu. *Pu*. The ſixth *Kung Pu*, the court of works, which has the charge and care of raiſing and repairing ports, caſtles, walls, bridges, *&c.* Each of the courts has two preſidents at this time, the one which is the chiefeſt a *Tartar*, the other a *Chineſe*; the aſſeſſors as many *Tartars* as *Chineſes*, as was hinted above. Each of them have four great rooms, in which ſeveral *mandarines* of inferior quality to thoſe in the court ſit, and tranſact affairs of leſs moment.

14. The ground each court takes up is too much. The ſhape and ſtructure of them all is the ſame, all the difference is, that ſome are bigger than others. They all look towards the ſouth, with their backs towards the north where the emperor reſides. Every court has three doors, on which are painted horrible giants, ghaſtly to be look'd at, all to terrify the multitude. That in the middle is very large, and none but *mandarines*, or perſons of great note come in at it. The two little ones are on the ſides of it, at which thoſe that have cauſes depending, and the commonalty come in. Before it is a great court big enough to bait bulls in. In it are three cauſways, each anſwering to one of the doors; but that in the middle is rais'd above a yard higher than the others, with a ſtone arch, and another gate in the middle of it. On the ſides are a vaſt number of rooms, under piazza's, for clerks, ſollicitors, and other officers. A temple is never wanting. Oppoſite to the doors are very orderly great halls, and within them others as good; courts are kept in both of them. NAVARETTE.

15. There are at court two thouſand four hundred *mandarines*, the emperor allows them all rice and pay in ſilver. By what has been already ſaid, it is eaſy to gueſs what a number there is throughout the empire. Every province has its *mandarin* at court, who is in the nature of its protector and ſollicitor-general. And if the holy Ghoſt in the fourteenth chapter of *Proverbs*, ſays *in the multitude of the people is the honour of the king*; then doubtleſs that of the emperor of *China* is wonderfully great: and if we reckon the vaſt multitude of his ſubjects, we ſhall be convinced there is nothing wanting that can make him one of the greateſt potentates in the world, and that he is far from being liable to the diſgrace the ſcripture mentions in the ſame chapter, *in the ſmall number of the people is the diſhonour of the prince.* Mandarines.

16. I will conclude this chapter with the relation of the ſtate with which the emperor goes out of his palace, as it was told me by *F. John Balat* a jeſuit, who himſelf ſaw the late emperor, when he went to *F. Adamus* his church. In the firſt place, the doors of all the houſes in the ſtreets through which he is to paſs are all ſhut, and the people retire, ſo that not a ſoul is to be ſeen; and if any were, they would be ſeverely puniſh'd. Before him come out a horſeback all the petty kings, *ko laòs* and great *mandarines*, who ride cloſe to the walls, that the whole ſtreets may lie open. Next follow twenty four colours of yellow ſilk, which is the colour of the emperor's livery, with golden dragons embroider'd on them for his arms. Then come twenty four umbrelloes of the ſame colour, with treble coverings, which are very ſightly; I have ſeen ſeveral of this ſort and make. After them are twenty four great rich fans, of which I have ſeen ſome, and they would be much valued in *Europe*. Behind theſe marches the imperial guard, which is very numerous. Theſe and the reſt we ſhall ſpeak of wear a yellow livery richly wrought, and ſightly helmets of the ſame colour. Four and twenty men in the ſame garb carry the emperor's chair, or *palanquine*, which is of great value; and at certain diſtances the like number ſtand as relays. Then follow many muſicians, and after them pages and footmen. This in writing ſeems little, but is prodigious to behold, as that father ſaid. *Emperor's ſtate.*

CHAP. IX.

A further Account of the Grandeur of the Emperor and his Court.

NAVARETTE. 1. THE name the *Chineſes* have found ſince the ancient times to honour their emperor, is lofty and great; they call him *The ſon of heaven, Tien Zù.* It is moſt certain that nation has not attain'd to the knowledge of any other god, or nobler object, than the material heavens. What others have writ, tho' ſome perſiſt obſtinately in it to this day, is not ſo much as probable; in the controverſies this point has its peculiar place. This then the *Chineſes* ſuppoſe and ſay, heaven puniſhes the wicked, and rewards the good; gives crowns, and takes them away, not through any intellectual virtue it has, but naturally and of neceſſity: for this reaſon they worſhip it as the ſupreme Deity, and only the emperor ſacrifices to it, as to his father. The ſun they ſay is his brother, and the moon his eldeſt ſiſter. They give the earth the title of mother, and therefore the emperor ſacrifices to her. Next to heaven the *Chineſes* think there is nothing like their emperor, to extol whom they give him the title we have mention'd. They alſo call him great majeſty, great father, common father of the empire. This laſt name is very proper. King *Theodorick*, of whom *Caſſiodorus* makes mention, *lib.* IV. *epiſt.* 42. was wont to ſay, *the prince is the publick and common father.*

Emperor's titles.

Materialiſts.

Theology.

2. In a book of great account and famous in the ſchool of letters, theſe people call their emperor *Lord of heaven, earth, ſpirits and men*, and that with thoſe very letters the ſame thing is attributed to GOD in our holy faith. I charg'd them with inconſiſtence thus, if the emperor be the ſon of heaven, and ſacrifices to it as to his father and ſuperior; why do they make him ſuperior to, and lord of heaven? We might ſay to them as *Theodorick* ſaid of *Darius, their judgment being infirm, they attribute thoſe things to their king, which are only proper to* GOD. More might be ſaid of the title the *Mogols* give their ſovereign, which are ſtrange and ſingular, as are thoſe the king of *Ceilon* has; it is no wonder that people who have no knowledge of any thing beyond this world ſhould ſo do, when other parts have ſhewn ſuch an example. *S. Auguſtin* complains of this, when he ſays, *that either through too much ſubmiſſion, or a deſtructive ſpirit of flattery*, men have been free to give to princes that which was not juſt and proper.

Veneration of the emperor.

3. I have already obſerv'd, that the petty kings, magiſtrates, and great *mandarines*, come every new and full moon to pay their reſpects to the emperor. They kneel three times, and touch the ground with their heads. If the emperor comes not out to them, they perform the ſame ceremony to his imperial throne. They know this is due to that place, which is not to be queſtion'd, as we ſhall make out in another place. They go to perform this ceremony in their feſtival apparel; they wear the diſtinctive mark of their employment and quality on their breaſt and back, which are richly embroider'd with gold. I ſaw ſeveral in the metropolis, as they were going home after the ceremony was ended.

Crown.

4. *The imperial crown the emperor wears upon ſome occaſions, is beautiful and myſterious.* Its ſhape, as I ſaw it ſeveral times in ſome temples, is round and ſomewhat long; there hang at it twelve ſtrings of pearls, four of them over the eyes, which ſignify that the emperor's eyes muſt be ſhut that he may not ſee thoſe who have cauſes before him; and that he will neither favour the rich nor pity the poor; nor be led by affection for his friend, or hatred to his enemy.

5. Four ſtrings of pearls fall over the ears, which they expound thus, that the judges ears are to be ſtop'd to the intreaties of great ones, and to the tears of the ſuitors; and he muſt only give ear to reaſon, law, and juſtice.

6. The laſt four ſtrings hang behind, to expreſs with how much judgment, foreſight, premeditation, and ſtayedneſs princes ought to weigh their reſolutions, and how they are to be vers'd in the affairs of the government. The *Chineſes* are ſingular in both reſpects, they take care that their emperor give himſelf to ſtudy and practiſe learning. It is a plain caſe, that if the prince be ignorant, tho' he have learned miniſters, he will make many falſe ſteps. This is the ſignification of the ſtrings of pearls that hang behind. The government of man cannot but be without fault and miſtakes (it is a plain caſe, *our foreſight is uncertain*;) counſellors and learned men make the miſcarriages the leſs, and the *Chineſes* are well ſtock'd with them, as we have ſeen already. Many men refuſe to take advice, and conſult others even in caſes of difficulty, but muſt of neceſſity come to ruin.

Salutation to the emperor.

7. The ſalutation us'd to the emperor is included in theſe two letters *Vuan Sui*; that is, may your majeſty live thouſands of years.

Years. It is the cuſtom throughout the whole empire, to have a little board ſet up in the temples before the altars, on which thoſe two letters are written, and they make great obeiſance to it. In every metropolis there is ſuch a little board laid upon a table, to which the magiſtrates pay their reſpects at certain times; but they do not light candles, or offer flowers, perfumes, or any thing elſe to it; ſo that this worſhip is altogether political and civil, which muſt be taken notice of, becauſe of what may be ſaid in another place.

8. *F. de Angelis* writ, that in every metropolis there was the image of the emperor; perhaps he means this little board. *Mendoza* is under the ſame miſtake, *lib.* III. *cap.* 1. of his hiſtory. When they ſpeak of him, it is very uſual to ſay, the royal or imperial palace, taking the thing containing for that contained, a cuſtom us'd in *Europe* upon many occaſions. From this way of talking of the *Chineſes*, ſome ſpeculative perſons would infer, that they uſe the ſame figure in naming of heaven, and that by that name they mean our GOD. This point belongs to another place, but I ſhall only offer one thing here, which *Bentancor* hints at in his loquacious apology, and is, that if the *Chineſes* are of a contrary opinion, as indeed they are, what credit will they give to half a ſcore ſtrangers who endeavour to perſuade them it is not ſo? In ſhort, the *Chineſes* grant the premiſes, and not only deny the conſequence, but *ex profeſſo*, and in particular treatiſes to that purpoſe, they endeavour to prove, *Atheiſm.* tho' poorly, that there is no GOD, nor any thing more noble or worthy than the Heaven we behold. So that the ignorance and folly of the *Chineſes* in this particular, exceeds him *David* ſpeaks of, ſaying, *Pſal.* xiv. *The fool has ſaid in his heart, there is no* GOD. For this man was aſham'd to ſpeak it with his mouth, as being ſo palpable a truth; but the *Chineſes* without any ſhame deny it with their lips, in their hearts, and in their books. The difficulty we find in converting them to GOD, ſufficiently proves our aſſertion; read *Cajetan* in xvi. *Act. Apoſt.* NAVARETTE.

9. When they ſpeak to the emperor, they generally make uſe of theſe two letters, *pi aia*; that is, I ſpeak to the ſteps of the imperial throne, words full of ſubmiſſion, expreſſing that they dare not apply to him even by the name of majeſty. When the emperor names himſelf, it is as if he ſaid, a perſon of little worth, who does not deſerve that honour. The *Chineſes* are very full of ceremonies, very humble in words, and very proud in their actions. *Ceremonies.*

10. None muſt ride in ſight of his palace, nor of thoſe of the petty kings, all men alight and bow their knees to the ground. Some temples of antient emperors, and that of the *Chineſe* philoſopher, enjoy the ſame privilege. This was formerly us'd in *Europe* in paſſing by churches, and meeting prieſts in the ſtreet. It ſhall be mention'd in another place, let it ſuffice now to give a hint of it as a laudable cuſtom, tho' difficult, or rather impoſſible to be obſerv'd at preſent by reaſon of the frequency of both, and becauſe devotion is grown cold.

CHAP. X.

A farther Account of the Grandeur of the Emperor, and his Court.

1. THERE is ſo very much to be ſaid upon this ſubject, that ſomething muſt of neceſſity be forgot, and good order inverted. The emperor has nine thouſand nine hundred and ninety nine great *Boats.* boats for his own and the court's uſe: all the miſſioners have obſerv'd, that the number was not complete ten thouſand, and wanted but one, which I doubt not the reader will reflect upon, and therefore I will not delay giving him ſatisfaction as to this particular. We ask'd the meaning of this myſterious number; and the anſwer was, that the emperor who order'd thoſe boats to be made, gave command for ten thouſand, and accordingly it was perform'd. When they were all made, to find out how much iron had been us'd, he caus'd one to be burnt; which done, the iron was gather'd and weigh'd, and thus he found out how much iron went to the making of them all, and ſo the number we have mention'd remain'd. His ſucceſſors would not alter the number, out of reſpect to that emperor, ſo that there are always ten thouſand wanting one. I cannot but commend the emperor's induſtry, doubtleſs imagining his officers would make their profit of that work, as is uſual in all places. Good GOD! what a vaſt quantity of iron, tar, hemp, and other neceſſaries are kings cheated of in the building of ſhips, galleys, and other veſſels. It is incredible, and I would not write it if I were not well inform'd in the matter; it would be very convenient ſometimes to burn a ſmall pink, I am ſatisfied they would ſave more in iron than the coſt of the veſſel that was burnt.

NAVARETTE.

2. The boats we have ſpoke of ſerve to carry rice from the ſouthern provinces to court: they make a voyage once a year all upon rivers; when the waters are low, they are ſometimes detain'd ſeveral months. Every boat carries ſix hundred buſhels of rice, the remaining part of the veſſel is for the uſe of the maſter and ſailors, who ſtow other merchandiſe, the freight whereof pays them, beſides their daily allowance of rice, and other ſmall things they receive upon the emperor's account. Beſides theſe he has eight hundred greater veſſels, all very ſightly, and varniſh'd red, with dragons painted on them that have five claws: theſe ſerve to convey to the court the ſtuffs, ſilks and other rarities that the ſeveral provinces produce for the uſe of the court. There are three hundred more with dragons of three claws on them, which are far beyond all the others, and are for the ſervice of ambaſſadors, the great men of the empire, and ſuch like employment. I know no prince equal to the *Chineſe* in this particular, and yet the beſt and greateſt part of this is, that all theſe things are look'd upon as trifles. Beſides all this he keeps his *Fleets.* fleets at ſea, which are very numerous. When the *Tartar* fought the *Chineſe* of *Cabello*, which was about the year 1660. he *Ships.* put eight hundred ſhips to ſea. True it is, they are neither ſo large, nor ſo ſtrong built as ours, but they are like pinks, and he might have put out many more if he had pleas'd. The enemy ſet out twelve hundred, and gain'd the victory, as being the better ſeamen.

3. Leaving aſide the ſhipping at preſent, becauſe we muſt ſpeak of them again, let us return to court a little. During the time we continued at court, which was three months (tho' ſome ſtaid not ſo long, and others longer) we went abroad but ſeldom, being order'd ſo to do by the judges, yet they did not abſolutely forbid it. Thoſe few times I went abroad (we went all together to the court of rites and ceremonies, and it was above half a league from the church) I obſerv'd ſome things which the others took notice of too. I paſs'd ſometimes by the palaces of petty kings of the royal blood, who for this reaſon had glaz'd yellow tiles; theſe and his other kindred the emperor ſtiles *Kin Chi Pao Je*, that is, golden branches, and precious leaves. The buildings are low, but as they ſaid who have ſeen them, and I my ſelf afterwards ſaw at *Canton*, very beautiful and airy, with fine courts, gardens, and other pleaſant conveniences. The ſtreets of the imperial city are, as I have inſtanced before, wide, numerous and long; ſo that it would be a great trouble to do any buſineſs, had not the forecaſt of that people been ſo ſingular, that at every corner of a ſtreet, or little ſquare, of which there is a great number, they have beaſts of carriage ready ſaddl'd and bridl'd to hire to thoſe that go from place to place; ſo that any man who has buſineſs, or goes a viſiting, or to take his pleaſure, may upon very eaſy terms be furniſhed with an aſs, mule, or a calaſh that will carry three or four. The owner goes along with him and looks to his beaſt, whilſt the other is about his buſineſs, or a viſiting; and thus is he carried back, and for a very ſmall expence does his buſineſs, and ſaves being tired. This convenience is to be had in ſuch abundance, that if a man would have fifty, or a hundred, or more beaſts, they ſhall be brought to his door in leſs than half an hour. That day we went out to baniſhment, being twenty five miſſioners and thirty Chriſtians that attended us, we were all furniſh'd in a moment; and that afternoon we travel'd five leagues with eaſe, and in a ſhort time; the country about the imperial city being all ſmooth as one's hand; the aſſes are excellent cattel to travel upon. I can find nothing in *Europe* to compare the multitude of people to what is afoot and on horſeback about the ſtreets. The *Tartar* women wear boots, and ride aſtride like men, and make a notable figure either afoot or a horſeback, but are very modeſt in their garb; their ſleeves are ſomewhat wide and cover their hands, their garment black and hanging on the ground, their hair breaded without any other head-dreſs, tho' many of them wear on their heads thoſe caps we all uſe there.

Carriage in Pe-King.

Tartar Women.

4. We met with one very pleaſant thing in the imperial city, which is abundance of ice; an infinite quantity is conſum'd, and yet it is not worth above half a farthing a pound. The manner of uſing it is not the ſame as among us, but they take a piece as clean and tranſparent as the very cryſtal, which is put into a baſon, and over it they pour ſome fair water, ſo by degrees it diſſolves, and the water is ſo very cold there is no drinking of it: This drink is wholeſome in that country, and very convenient becauſe of the vaſt heat. Thus other nations us'd to drink with ice. Dr. *Monardes* writ a treatiſe upon this ſubject. They have not got the way in *China* of making the ice ciſterns as we do in *Europe*, but it is very pleaſant to ſee cart-loads of ice at every corner of a ſtreet, and men going about to offer it as you go by. Tho' this be a truth well known to all miſſioners, yet *F. Martin Martinez* in his *Chineſe Atlas* had the face to write, that the *Chineſes* of the imperial city do not drink their liquors cool: his own brethren laught at this and many other things he writ;

Ice.

Martinius.

writ; it will be fit the reader take notice of it, that he may read this author cautiously, and that he be inform'd, that one night after supper this question was put before the whole company: *F. Magallaens* a *Portugueſe*, and *F. Bullo* a *Sicilian*, were the perſons that propos'd it, ſaying, the queſtion is, who was moſt miſinform'd concerning the affairs of *China*, *Marcus Venetus*, or *F. Martinez*, allowing they were both much in the wrong? Several opinions were given upon this ſubject, but *F. Bullo* clear'd the doubt, and ſaid, both of them writ many mere chimera's; *F. George* found three in only what relates to the court, and many more daily come to light; and if he that is taken in one ſtory is ſuſpected ever after, what muſt he be who is catch'd in ſo many? *F. Adams* his ſaying, which I quoted in the preface, is pat to this purpoſe; to back which I will here inſert a paſſage, which all the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Macao* can teſtify, and there are thoſe that remember it at *Liſbon*, as was affirm'd to me in that city in the year 1672.

Marcus Venetus.

Impoſtures 5. A miſſioner returning out of *China* into *Europe*, brought with him a Chriſtian *Chineſe* ſervant, whoſe name was *Andrew*, in the *Chineſe* language it is pronounc'd *Gan Te Le*, for they have no letters that will anſwer the name nearer: This man was all the ſport and merriment of the ſhip: the father came with him to *Liſbon*, pretended he was the king of *China*'s ſon, and as ſuch carried him to King *John* the fourth, who aſk'd him, What is your name? (he might have ſaid your highneſs's name) the *Chineſe* anſwer'd, *Gan Te Le:* Riſe up *Don Andrew*, ſaid the king, (now the emperor of *China*'s ſon bows his knee to none but his father) I make you a nobleman of my houſhold, and knight of the order of CHRIST, and taking off his royal cloak, threw it over ſir *Andrew*'s ſhoulders. A very little honour he did him, if he took him for the king of *China*'s ſon; for what addition was it to him to be one of the king of *Portugal*'s noblemen? After this the father carried him to *Venice*, and made him known to the ſenate, who treated him honourably, and gave him a ſenator's gown. He return'd to *Macao* now a great lord, who when he came abroad was a ſervant and cook. Such is the courſe of fortune. When I came from *China* ſir *Andrew* was in *Cochinchina*, he ſold the cloak and gown, and to get his bread ply'd as a porter. Thus he return'd to his natural being, for nothing that is violent can be laſting. Others made great princes of ſome merchants that came from *Japan* a few years ſince, which made a mighty noiſe throughout *Europe*, I read it in a paper of good repute.

And but of late years a great miſſioner brought a ſervant whoſe name was *Dominick*, and had been baptiz'd by the religious of my order, whom he ſerv'd, and after them the *Franciſcans:* the miſſioner made him paſs for a man of quality in *Italy* and *Germany*; he gave out he was an able phyſician, whereupon he was much reſpected, and the emperor himſelf did him ſuch extraordinary honour, that one who was then preſent at *Vienna*, and very well knew the *Chineſe* and the miſſioner, aſſur'd me that the emperor ſpoke to him with his hat in his hand: doubtleſs they pretended he was a king, or ſon to the emperor of *China*. *F. Mathias de Amaya* wrote an annual letter full of ſuch romances, that thoſe of his order would not ſuffer it to be read before us. He ſpeaks of the three hundred pillars I mention'd above, and ſays the towns upon the coaſt deſtroy'd in the province of *Fo Kien* when the *Tartars* drove the *Chineſes* up the country, amounted to the number of a hundred thouſand. All this is doubtleſs look'd upon in *Europe* as goſpel. This is impoſing upon *Europe* according to *F. Adamus*; let us leave it thus till another opportunity, and return to the imperial city.

NAVARETTE.

6. *Pe King* is furniſh'd with very good fruit, as plums, apples, peaches, pears, grapes, and abundance of fiſh and fleſh at reaſonable rates. Another thing we admir'd at, which was, the multitude of barbers very expert at their trade, and extraordinary cheap; they go about the ſtreets taboring on a little ſort of flat inſtrument in the nature of a drum, by which they are known, and thoſe call that have occaſion for them: this is practiſed throughout all *China*. What is particular in the imperial city is, that every one of them carries on his back a ſtool, baſon, water, fire, and the reſt of his utenſils; ſo that when any body comes to him, whether it be in the ſtreet, or market, in the open air, or under ſhelter, in a moment he ſets up his ſhop, claps down his ſtool, takes out water, ſhaves the head all to a lock that hangs behind, orders the eye-brows, cleanſes the ears with curious inſtruments for that purpoſe, ſtretches the arms, ſtrokes the back, and plays other monkey tricks; after all they give him about a penny, or commonly leſs; then making many obeyſances, he gathers his tackle, and falls again to beating his tabor. Before the coming of the *Tartars* there was little uſe for barbers, becauſe the *Chineſes* never ſhav'd their heads, yet not for that chimerical reaſon *F. de Angelis* aſſigns: he ſays the *Chineſes* believe they ſhall be taken up to heaven by the hair, and therefore they preſerve it; but that the *bonzes* hold the contrary opinion, being

Pe King.

Barbers.

If they are atheiſts, how can they hold this opinion?

NAVARETTE. being perſuaded that they ſhall mount without hair. Such a folly has not been heard of in *China*. There are beſides in the imperial city, and throughout all *China*, very many who exerciſe no other trade but cutting the nails of the fingers and toes. The people of *Charamandel* have the ſame cuſtom, but it is a part of the barbers trade: theſe men carry tabors, but bigger than thoſe the barbers uſe, and a little ſtool, but are very dext'rous at their buſineſs: they uſe no ſiſſers, but little chizels, and they leave neither nail, looſe ſkin, nor corn, without the leaſt trouble. At one ſtroke they take off all the ſuperfluous part of the nail: the purchaſe *is* ſmall, and ſuitable to the trade. There are many other particulars which would take up much time. By what has been ſaid, and ſhall be added hereafter, we may give a gueſs at the ingenuity and curioſity of that people.

Nail cutters.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Emperor's Revenue, Expences, and other particulars.

1. THE empire of *China* being ſo large, and ſo prodigiouſly populous, as we ſhall declare in its place, the emperor's revenue muſt of courſe be very great, tho' the taxes are eaſy, and there is no duty upon any thing that is for eating or drinking, which makes them ſo cheap. Notwithſtanding all this, a perſon of undoubted credit reports, that after all charges borne, and the ſalaries and penſions to petty kings, counſellors, magiſtrates, officers (whereof there are above eleven thouſand of note) and the army paid, their comes yearly ſixty millions clear into the treaſury. This ſeems to me an exceſſive revenue, eſpecially knowing, as I do, that the emperor always kept a million of foot in garriſon only upon the great wall, and there is no doubt but there was another million diſpers'd about in the cities, towns and caſtles before mention'd. *F. Martin* ſaid the whole revenue amounted to a hundred and fifty millions: he exceeds many of his brethren in the ſum. *F. de Angelis* ſays it riſes to ſixty millions. I mention'd above, that the city *Zu Cheu* yielded two millions a year: another in the ſame province call'd *Sung Kian* pays one million: the town *Lan Ki*, where I reſided ſome time, raiſes ſixty thouſand ducats; another whoſe name is *Xang Hai*, half a million. If all the reſt were anſwerable to theſe, there's no doubt but the revenue muſt ſwell to a vaſt pitch, but they have not all ſo good a trade. I made out by their books, and have the paper ſtill by me in *Chineſe* characters, that the tax upon plough'd land alone amounts to twenty ſix millions: the duty on ſalt, ſilk, cloth, and other things is worth ſixteen millions: The income by cuſtoms, toll and boats is very great, as I was inform'd by an underſtanding *Chineſe*, but not certain, and riſes or falls every year. The poll tax paid by all from twenty to ſixty years of age, tho' inconſiderable in reſpect of every perſon, yet riſes to a great ſum. The ground-rent of houſes is very conſiderable: ſo that we need make no difficulty of aſſigning him yearly above a hundred millions of fine ſilver. Then reckoning what the *mandarines* ſteal, not from the emperor, but from the ſubjects, the ſum will be conſiderably advanced. The *Chineſes* of *Manila* were the authors of what *Mendoza* writes, *lib.* III. *cap.* 4. *Trigaucius* reckons in his time above fifty eight millions and a half of perſons that paid Taxes, which is a vaſt number.

Taxes. *Revenue.* *Officers.* *Forces.*

2. Of late the revenue ſunk above five millions a year, the reaſon of it was, becauſe the *Chineſes* of *Cabello*, vulgarly call'd *Kue Sing*, and at *Manila* known by the name of *Marotos* (who never would ſubmit to the *Tartars*, and afterwards took the fort in the iſland *Hermoſa* from the *Dutch*) had the command of the ſea and towns on the coaſt, where they rais'd as much money by taxes as paid the expence of their war, and the fleets they kept againſt the *Tartars*. Beſides they ſecur'd the trade of ſilk and other merchandiſe in *China*, which enrich'd them, and was a great loſs to the emperor. He reflecting on his own damage ſuſtain'd, and meditating how to weaken the enemy, ſent abſolute command to deſtroy all the open towns and houſes that were near the ſea, and for the people to retire three leagues up the country or more, according to the ſituation of each of thoſe towns. This was executed with the utmoſt rigour, for when the time aſſign'd was elaps'd, they barbarouſly butcher'd all that had not obey'd. Very many were kill'd, but many more utterly ruin'd, having neither town, houſe, or goods; and the emperor loſt his yearly revenue.

Sue King. *Marotos.*

3. The *Tartars* contrivance, tho' coſtly, was ſoon ſucceſsful, for the *marotos* hearts fail'd them immediately, and they were ſo caſt down, that they have never been able to lift up their heads ſince; ſo that the *Tartars* made no more account of them, and therefore in the year 1669, ordered all

perſons to return to their towns, commanding the *mandarines* to be aſſiſting to them, and to furniſh them with oxen to till the ground. This year 1675, there came news to *Madrid* that the *Chineſes* of *Cabello*, who live in the iſland *Hermoſa*, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſome provinces of *China*, but it wants a confirmation. It is a juſtifiable and politick practice to loſe a finger, or cut off an arm to ſave the head and whole body. To venture all to ſave a part is certainly pernicious; therefore it was a prudent and wiſe action of the *Tartar* to ſecure his empire, and overthrow the power of the enemy, with the loſs of ſome few perſons, and a ſmall part of his revenue.

It is not confirm'd by the laſt Letters from Manila.

4. For this reaſon I ſhall ever commend the great wiſdom and underſtanding of *Don Sabiniano*, *Manrique de Lara*, when he found himſelf threatned by the inſolent *Maroto*, or *Kue Sing*. That proud haughty people aſpir'd to have thoſe iſlands pay them an acknowledgment and tribute, which was of dangerous conſequence, conſidering how ſmall a force there was in them at that time; but the governor's courage and conduct made amends for all. He to ſecure the head and main body of what was committed to his charge, with the general conſent, advice, and approbation of all people concern'd, diſmantled the forts of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, and convey'd the artillery, garriſons, and chriſtian inhabitants to *Manila*, ſo ſtrengthning the head to be in a condition to oppoſe thoſe that ſhould preſume to invade it; and the conſequences had been more advantageous had this been done ſome years ſooner. But the policy of maintaining thoſe places, at the expence of much *Spaniſh* blood, with great charge to the king, and loſs of many ſhips, prevail'd then. And why, others better know, I can give no reaſon for it; but certain it is the profit did not pay the coſt.

5. Let us return to our *Chineſe*, or *Tartar-Chineſe*. The alms the emperor gives every year, is one of the moſt magnificent things can be ſaid of him; it exceeds four millions, an action worthy the greateſt monarch in the univerſe. What I moſt admir'd in it, is, that the preſent emperor's father having been petition'd to apply that ſum to his own uſe, on pretence that the exchequer was low, being exhauſted by the wars, he anſwer'd, that ſince his predeceſſors had given a teſtimony of their piety, by diſtributing ſuch large alms, he would neither cut off, nor retrench it. What could any catholick prince have done more glorious? In all towns and cities there is a number of poor maintain'd at the king's coſt, a hundred in ſome, ſixty in others, according to the greatneſs of the place. I paſs over all that *Mendoza* writes in the tenth chapter of his ſecond book: and tho' at the latter end he ſays, that thoſe of his order, and the bare-foot fryars, are eye-witneſſes that there are no beggars about the ſtreets; yet I avouch, that the reſt of us who have liv'd longer in that country, have ſeen the contrary, and given alms to many that have come to beg it at our doors. As to what he ſays concerning blind men, that they work in the mills, where they get their bread, I own it, and have ſeen many of them.

Alms.

Navarette.

Blind.

6. The judges receive the taxes, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, and give every poor body his allowance; ſometimes the manner of it is ſingular and pleaſant. There are always ſome of thoſe who pay the taxes ſo very faulty, that they can very hardly be brought to it with good laſhing; others it is likely there are, who do not pay becauſe they have it not. Now to oblige them to pay, it is an excellent method and courſe to give part of theſe taxes to the poor, and deliver them the *mandarines* note to recover it. As ſoon as they have their order away they go to the houſe of the party, produce their commiſſion, and take poſſeſſion of the houſe as if it were their own; there, like abſolute lords and maſters, they command meat, drink, beds, and whatſoever they pleaſe till they are paid. It is utter ruin and deſtruction to abuſe them, or touch a hair of their heads; ſo that to ſave much trouble and charge, thoſe people ſell or pawn what they have to pay: and thus the judge, by the inſolency of the beggars, raiſes the duty he could not get with all his power and authority.

7. There are many poor beſides thoſe the emperor maintains; they are proud, troubleſome, and ſaucy, and not ſatisfy'd with any thing. They have their judge that is their protector in every city and town, and they all pay him contribution out of their gettings. Whenſoever any of them is brought before a court, this man appears, protects, defends, and pleads for them; and it is ſtrange to ſee that judgment is always given for the poor, which makes people ſtand in awe of them; no body dares ſo much as give them an ill word, but rather will let them have any thing they aſk for. Sometimes if they get not what they demand, they threaten they will ſtarve themſelves at the door, that their death may be laid to him who denies them what they aſk. Both miſſioners and *Chineſes* tell of ſtrange encounters they have had with them. For my own part I muſt confeſs, that giving them good words and a little rice, I always got rid of them without being put to any trouble. Some there are that go about the ſtreets praying, without begging of any body; but when the people hear them pray,

Poor.

Navarette. they bring out their alms and give them. Others go about with dogs that dance and play tricks, particularly the blind men uſe this as they do in *Spain*. Others carry about monkeys which exerciſe their faculties. Others have frightful ſnakes which they ſhow, and get alms. All this agrees well with what *Mendoza* writes.

8. Thoſe who have read the books, or heard an account of chriſtian doctrine, aſk us, whether there are any beggars in *Europe?* We anſwer cautiouſly, ſaying, there are ſome whom God has left, that the rich may have wherewith to beſtow their charity. Notwithſtanding this evaſion, they look aſkew and ſay, if all men in your countries follow this doctrine, there is no doubt but they are all as ſtrictly united in love, as if they were one man's children; and conſequently the rich man will ſhare his wealth with him that wants, and ſo all men muſt have enough. Whatſoever we can ſay to them, they hold faſt to this argument; and in truth it was ſo in the primitive church, when all things were in common, and none wanted neceſſaries. The allowance of the *mandarines* is very ſcant. *Mendoza* and *de Angelis* write the contrary, without any ground for it. This makes many of them ſuffer their palms to be greas'd, yet a great number preſerve themſelves untainted who live with great moderation, at which the *Chineſes* are much edify'd. In other parts there are large ſalaries, and yet they graſp all they can; but this is the difference betwixt them and other nations, that if in *China* they once find any thing of bribery, the head infallibly falls for it; in other countries, tho' they be manifeſtly known to be guilty of taking bribes, they are conniv'd and wink'd at, and they dare confeſs and receive the holy ſacrament. The ſoldiers pay is rather too great for that country, every private centinel has three crowns of ſilver a month; if he be a ſingle man, he may maintain himſelf and ſave *half. The army is not ſo great now as it was* ſome years ſince, ſo that the expence is leſs. I was told the emperor ſpent ſixty millions a year; it is a prodigious expence, but I inſert it here, that every one may judge of it as he pleaſes.

Bribery capital.

Soldiers pay.

CHAP. XII.

Other Particulars concerning the Emperor and his Court.

1. THE emperor of *China* was ever provident in laying up a treaſure, a neceſſary precaution to be able to relieve the publick, and the ſubjects in their neceſſities; ſo ſays *S. Thomas Opuſ.* 20. quoted above. But this muſt not be done, as the *Chineſe* emperor who preceded the *Tartar* did; he gather'd much, and was very covetous, ſo that it only profited the robber, who ſeiz'd the royal city, and ſet fire to the palace. I mention'd before what vaſt riches he carry'd away, yet when the *Tartar* came he found a great quantity. After the palace was burnt, *F. Adamus* went into it to behold where *Troy* town ſtood, and walking through the rooms, found a manuſcript book in our ancient character on vellum; and as *F. Francato* to whom it was ſent told me, it contain'd text and comment; the character of the text was ſmall and unintelligible, that of the comment was larger, and ſome of it might be read; The ſubject was divinity; it often quoted *S. Auguſtine* and *S. Thomas*, and no other author; but it is not known when or how that book was carry'd to *China*, and preſented to the emperor.

2. When the robber firſt and after him the *Tartar* enter'd the imperial city, there were ſeven thouſand pieces of cannon mounted on the walls, ſo we were inform'd in that metropolis, and I mention'd it above; but there being nobody to play them, it was the ſame thing as if there had been none: I ſhall come to this ſubject in another place. The emperor wanted the love of his ſubjects, and eunuchs, who betray'd him; what then ſignify'd the cannon? what ſignifies a mighty army of reſolute ſoldiers, and well provided, if they want faith and loyalty? I ſaid before how broad the walls of the imperial city were; they are all of brick, and much higher than the antient ones we ſee in *Europe*. The gates are very large, and all plated with iron, as are thoſe of the other cities I have ſeen; but nothing avails where there is no loyalty.

3. It is a great honour to the *Chineſe* emperor, that he can bring into the field a million or two, or more men, and maintain them for years, without any breach of the known liberties of the empire, or raiſing the prices of commodities, or laying new taxes; and if they had apply'd themſelves to war, as they have done to learning, who is there in the world that could oppoſe them? God Almighty took off their edge from military exploits, and gave them no inclination to enlarge their dominions, perhaps that they might not give laws to the univerſe.

Forces.

They keep their ſoldiers under as much diſcipline as Moſes *did.*

4. I ever liked the *Tartar* and *Chineſe* ſoldiers, though heathens, many degrees beyond

beyond thoſe of our countries. Thoſe that guarded us to the imperial city, were not like them that had the great martyr S. *Ignatius* in cuſtody. I met ten thouſand of them juſt as I came in upon that miſſion, I paſs'd through the middle of them; and to ſay the truth, by their courteſy and carriage they look'd to me more like Chriſtians, and very religious gentlemen, than infidels. Being upon my journey, I came to lie one night at a little fort, in which were about fifty ſoldiers. It is incredible how courteouſly they treated me; their commander quitted his chamber, which was a very good one and warm, conſidering the cold ſeaſon, for me to lie in; and though I us'd all my endeavours, I could never prevail with him to ſuffer me to ſtay among the other paſſengers in whoſe company I travel'd. Would any have done ſo among us? Such a thing might be, but is hard to be believ'd.

Non tranſibimus per agros. Num. xx. *read* Oleaſter.

Canal. 5. The river that is cut for the emperor's boats, and an infinite multitude of others in that country, reaches within a ſmall diſtance of the imperial city. This is another, and no ſmall wonder, it is above two hundred leagues in length; for one hundred the water runs away to the north, the other hundred it flows to the ſouth. We ſail'd the whole length of it when we came away baniſh'd from court. Being come to the middle of it, we found a great idol temple ſtanding on the bank, and near it a good ſpring, which there divides itſelf into two ſmall brooks, one turning to the north, and the other to the ſouth. This water is not enough for large veſſels, ſo that at times they are forced to ſtay for the rains; and there are ſometimes five hundred, ſometimes eight hundred boats ſtopt there till the rain falls. This happened in the year 1665, when we were going up to the imperial city. To ſupply this defect, and endeavour to make it navigable at all times, they have found a uſeful but coſtly expedient, which is, that on the ſouth ſide, where is the greateſt want of water, they have eighty ſtrong ſluices. Two ſtrong ſtone walls come down from the land at equal diſtances, which drawing on ſtill cloſer and cloſer, reach to the middle of the river, where they form a narrow paſſage only capable of one large boat at a time; this paſſage is clos'd with mighty ſluices. At every one of theſe there is a *mandarin*, with a great many men to help the veſſels thro'. When the ſluices are ſhut, that little water which runs in betwixt them in half a day, riſes above a fathom and a half; then they ſuddenly throw open the flood-gates, and the veſſels ruſh out as ſwift as an arrow out of a bow, and make all the way they can, till the water again failing them, they are forced to repeat the ſame thing again. As ſome boats fall down, others are going up; and this being more difficult becauſe againſt the force of the ſtream, ſuch a number of men join to hale them with ropes, that it is wonderful to ſee how ſwift they drag a veſſel of above eighty tun againſt the current of that impetuous torrent. NAVARETTE.

6. They obſerve great order, and have their precedency in paſſing. The king's veſſels no doubt have the firſt place, and among them the worthieſt, and thoſe that carry embaſſadors or perſons of note. Many too that ought to come laſt, buy a good place. It is ridiculous and worth obſerving, to hear what ſhouts, and noiſe of little drums and horns there is when any great veſſel goes through, eſpecially if it be at midnight, as we did ſometimes. Theſe delays make the voyage tedious. We ſpent ſix months and twelve days between the court and *Canton*, which was time enough to ſail from *Goa* to *Liſbon*. When there are great rains, the water guſhes out in ſeveral places, and breaks down the banks that ſhould keep it in. To prevent this miſchief, there are always abundance of people employ'd in ſeveral parts to repair them with turf, faſcine, and piles.

7. There is no doubt but the cutting of that river was a prodigious expence, and they are at no ſmall charge in keeping it in repair; but it is as certain, that the land-carriage would be more intolerably dear than it is by this conveniency. Great art was us'd in cutting of it, for it is all full of turnings and windings to ſtay the current of the water. It is an incredible number of boats of all ſizes that is continually going upon it; and the ſame may be ſeen in other places upon other rivers. The multitude we ſaw in this voyage was ſo great, that the miſſioners who valued themſelves upon their knowledge in the mathematicks, computed it, and maintain'd, there were enough to build a bridge from *Macao* to *Goa*, which are diſtant nine hundred leagues from one another, or more, as ſome will have it. There are thoſe who affirm, there are more veſſels in *China* than in all the reſt of the known world. This will ſeem incredible to many *Europeans*; but I who have not ſeen the eighth part of the veſſels in *China*, and have travel'd a great part of the world, do look upon it as moſt certain. There is another thing very wonderful all along the way we have ſpoke of, which is, that there is great plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, not only at reaſonable, but at very inconſiderable rates; and the paſſengers being without number, the prodigy is the greater. A good pigeon is ſold for a half-penny, a large fat pullet with eggs for three half-pence, and where there is more ſcarcity, for two-pence; a pound

Boats.

Proviſions.

NAVARRETTE. pound of excellent large fiſh for three farthings, and ſometimes leſs; beef, hares, pork, and other ſorts of fleſh at the ſame rate; and very often they came to the boats to offer theſe and the like things to ſale.

8. Before we got off this river it began to freeze, and ſome days they were forced to break the ice to be able to make way; and if we had been ſtopp'd a fortnight longer, there had been no avoiding travelling by land, which would have been mighty troubleſome to us. When the cold weather and froſt came on, we all took notice of a notable contrivance, and peculiar to the ingenuity of the *Chineſes*, for earning their bread; which is, that to ſecure their fiſhing in the rivers and lakes, and to be able to caſt their nets ſafe from the terrible froſts that are frequent in thoſe parts, they make a caſe of *buffalo*, or horſe hides well ſew'd, with the hair on the inſide, boots at bottom, and gloves and ſleeves of the ſame, all in one piece. Into this they go with their clothes, ſhoes, and ſtockings on, then girding it cloſe about their waſte, they faſten it upon one ſhoulder. In this manner they run into the river up to their arm-pits, then caſt their nets; and having drawn them, they ſlip off the caſe, having all their clothes on, and not a drop of water comes through. We were all eye-witneſſes of this, and did not a little admire it. We ſaw others in boats with the ſame caſes over them, and holding the oars with thoſe gantlets, they row'd as ſwift as thought. *Fiſhing habits.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of other remarkable things in China.

1. THE wall of *China* ſo famous among all authors, may deſervedly be called the only wonder of the world. It is little above twenty leagues from the imperial city of *Pe King*. We being priſoners in that city, it was then no time to take our pleaſure, or go to ſee it. I will write what I have been told ſeveral times, eſpecially whilſt I was in the ſaid city, and will ſet down what others have writ concerning it. It runs along four provinces from eaſt to weſt. *Kircher* aſſigns it nine hundred *Italian* miles in length, which make three hundred leagues of ours. *F. de Angelis* allows it five hundred *Spaniſh* leagues. Another *Italian* gives it one thouſand two hundred *Italian* miles, which make four hundred leagues of ours. *Mendoza, lib.* I. *cap.* 9. allots it five hundred leagues: but he is in the wrong when he ſays four hundred of them are made by nature; and in telling the world, as *F. de Angelis* does, that it begins in the province of *Canton*. This miſtake was occaſion'd by their ignorance in the *Chineſe* language. The province we call *Canton* is ſpelt thus *Kuang Tung*, which ſignifies large, and ſtretched out eaſt. The country where the wall begins is in writing call'd *Kuang Tung*, that is, bright eaſt, and is not the name of a province. The ſounds are different, the accent of the one is ſingle, the other is not (*I ſuppoſe he means one is a monoſyllable, the other a diſſyllable.*)

Leagues of Spain.

Canton.

Wall.

2. What I could make out is, that it is three hundred and ſixty *Spaniſh* leagues in length, thirty cubits high; and the cubits of *China* are larger than ours, and its breadth is above twelve cubits. It riſes and falls according to the ground it runs over. In the province of *Pe King* it breaks off for ſome ſpace becauſe of the mountains. There are many towers upon it for the centinels, and ſome gates to paſs through, but ſecur'd with ſtrong caſtles. All this monſtrous pile was rais'd in five years, and two hundred and five before the incarnation of our Redeemer. The whole empire ſent three men out of every ten, who working in ſundry places at a diſtance, finiſh'd the work in ſo ſhort a time. The whole wall is of hard ſtone, without any lime or ſand, but ſo cloſely knit and neatly join'd, that the ſmalleſt nail cannot be drove in betwixt the joints. The emperor *Cing Xi Hoang* order'd it to be built after that manner. The new *Rome*, built by *Conſtantine*, was finiſh'd in five or ſix years. *Byzantium* extended almoſt a league in circumference without the walls, which was a ſtately and magnificent work, but not to compare with the ſtructure of this wall. On that ſide of *Leao Tung* where it begins, it runs a quarter of a league into the ſea; the foundation was laid on a great number of ſhips full of iron bars ſunk there.

Cubit of China.

The temple of Solomon *was built in ſeven years and five months.* Vid. Sil. Tom. II. *p.* 5. *col.* 2. *num.* 103.

3. Who can chuſe but admire this ſtructure, eſpecially if they conſider all theſe circumſtances we have mention'd? The wall the emperor *Severus* built for the *Britains* ſurpriz'd the world, and yet it was but one hundred and thirty two *Italian* miles in length, as *Spondanus* writes *Anno* 212. But what is this to that in *China*? The army the emperor of *China* kept to guard his wall, conſiſted of a million of men, others ſay a million and a half. As in *Spain* we ſend *criminals* to *Oran* and the galleys; ſo here they are ſentenced to ſerve at the wall. This puniſhment was alſo allotted for ſodomy; but if all that are guilty of it were to ſuffer *Sodomy.*

by that law. I doubt *China* would be unpeopled, and the wall overgariſon'd.

4. The building of this great vaſt and monſtrous wall, the vaſt expence they were at in erecting it, and the great charge in keeping it up, are plain demonſtrations of the *Chineſes* want of courage: for if they were men but of indifferent reſolution, they might with leſs than a million of men ſent beyond the wall, though only arm'd with ſticks and ſtones, in a ſmall time deſtroy all the neighbouring kingdoms, and make them tremble that *Temper.* are at a great diſtance from it. The *Chineſes* are only fit to ſtudy, to trade, to make curioſities, and to cheat, but not to fight. Now they ſay the *Tartar* has broken down half a league of the wall; perhaps he deſigns to have a clear paſſage, for fear any thing ſhould happen amiſs to him. Falſe men and tyrants never think themſelves ſafe.

5. The yellow or red river is another remarkable thing, and is therefore call'd *Hoang Hò*. It ſprings in the weſt, runs many leagues without the wall, fetches a great compaſs about it, and returning again croſſes through *China* till it comes into the province of *Nan King*, where it falls into the ſea. Its courſe is above eight hundred leagues, it is very rapid, and from its ſource keeps a bloody hew, without changing, or altering its colour in any place. When we went to court, we ſailed on it two days and a half, and were ſurpriz'd and aſtoniſh'd to ſee its whirl-pools, waves and colour: its water is not to be drunk, and therefore we laid in our proviſion before-hand. Afterwards we obſerv'd a ſecret in nature, till then unknown to us, which was, that the watermen and ſervants fill'd a jar of this water, and putting into it a little allum, they ſhak'd about the jar; then letting it ſettle two hours, it became as clear and fair as could be wiſh'd, and was ſo delicate, that it far exceeded the other we had provided, though it was extraordinary good. In *Canton* I learn'd another eaſier and wholeſomer cure for it, and it is only putting ſome ſmall grains which make fiſh drunk (and in *Spaniſh* are call'd *coca*) into a jar, and the water will clear in a very ſhort time. The city *Jang Cheu*, to ſecure itſelf againſt the inundations of this river, which are very great, built a wall above two fathom in thickneſs, very high, and twenty four *Spaniſh* leagues in length. Sometimes the river ſwells ſo high that it reaches the top of this wall. The people take care of themſelves before-hand; for if once it gets over, it certainly drowns all the country in an hour.

River HoangHò.

Water turbid how clear'd.

6. It is a diſpute among the *Chineſe* philoſophers, why the water of this river ſhould always keep its colour from its ſource, without ever altering. The reaſons they give for it are ridiculous. All the miſſioners of us there were dubious about it, and had many arguments upon the ſubject, ſome whereof were concerning the whirl-pools. As to the firſt difficulty, I think there is no reaſon to be given for it, but that the earth it runs over is ſoft, and of that colour, and the current being rapid, it mixes with it. The cauſe of the ſecond effect is, that ſome places are very deep, into which the currents fall with much violence. But it is very ſtrange that in ſo great a diſtance there appears not the leaſt alteration, either in the colour or the whirl-pools, tho' there are other clear and cryſtalline rivers very near to it. In the year 1668, it overflow'd the banks, the miſchief it did was no more than uſual upon ſuch occaſions; towns, villages, and country-houſes were bury'd under its ſand and mud. NAVARETTE.

7. There is one thing very remarkable in the province of *Kuei Chu*, that is a bridge of one only ſtone, and is twenty fathom in length, and three in breadth. *F. Michael Trigaucius* a jeſuit, and my companion in perſecution, had noted this down as a rarity; he told me of it, and I thought it worth writing. The manner of carrying that ſtone, and placing it on to pieces of wall, very high and broad, built on both ſides of the river, was no ſmall ſubject of diſcourſe. Of all the men in the world, the *Chineſes* only are the fitteſt to conquer ſuch difficulties. They have excellent contrivances, and a ready wit for all worldly affairs. *Bridge of one ſtone.*

8. For fear I ſhould forget it, I will here inſert another thing which is prodigious and great. When I was at *Macaſar*, talking with prince *Carrin Carroro*, ſon to that great lover of the *Spaniards*, and unfortunate prince *Carrin Patin Galoa*, he told me they had not long ſince kill'd an alligator ſeven fathom long, and three fathom thick, in whoſe belly they found three mens heads, ſome daggers, bracelets, and other things the mooriſh men and women uſe to wear in that country. This prince kept ſome of the teeth, which were monſtrous. I who have ſeen many, believe this was a terrible one to behold. He added, that he and ſeveral others knew an herb, which if a man carried about him, he might with ſafety come cloſe to one of thoſe creatures, play with, and get a top of it without any danger. He invited a *Portugueſe* gentleman who was by, and me, to ſee the performance; we thank'd him for the favour, but thoſe people being *Moors*, we preſently conſider'd there might be ſome ſuperſtitious practice in it. Since I have read much in *F. Raphal de la Torre*, I am inclin'd to believe there may be an herb may have ſuch a rare *Alligator.*

NAVARETTE. a rare virtue, as there are others that have wonderful effects. Therefore the ſaid learned father in his ſecond book, adviſes not to be raſh in judging things to be done by witchcraft, or ſpells, which ſeem ſtrange to us.

Bridges. 9. But to return to the bridges of *China*, on account of that I have mention'd of one ſtone. When I came into that kingdom, I went through and ſaw others, which for the greatneſs and ſtructure may vie with the beſt in *Europe*. The firſt I ſaw had no arches, and I fancy'd the *Chineſes* knew not how to build them; but afterwards I met with ſo many, and thoſe artificial, that none in *Europe* exceed them. Many of them are ſo high, that their ſhips paſs under with all their ſails aboard. They have alſo many ſtately bridges of boats, I took notice of ſome of them; but when I beheld the renowned bridge call'd *Lo Jang*, becauſe of the port of that name that is near it, I ſtood amaz'd, and quite forgot the others I had before obſerv'd with much care and curioſity. This bridge is two leagues from the famous city of *Ciuen Cheu*, in the province of *Fò Kien*, whoſe walls may compare with the beſt in the world for ſtrength, beauty, and greatneſs. The bridge is laid over a navigable arm of the ſea, where abundance of people were wont to be loſt. This moving *Cai Jang*, governor of that part of the country, to compaſſion, he caus'd it to be built. It is in length thirteen hundred and forty five of my paces, and thoſe large ones. The cubes or peers it ſtands upon are above three hundred. The intervals betwixt them for the water, are not arch'd, but flat, each cover'd with five ſtones lock'd into one another, above eleven paces in length. The ſides of it are adorn'd with graceful baniſters, with globes, lions, and pyramids on them at equal diſtances, which make it very graceful to behold. The whole work and ornament is of a blue ſtone, ſo ſteep colour'd, that at firſt ſight it looks black; and tho' founded in the deep ſea, there is neither lime nor iron about it, only the ſtones are mortis'd one into another; and yet in many ages it has not been in any danger of falling. There are on it five ſtately towers at equal diſtances, with ſtrong gates and guards of ſoldiers. As I was going over it they told me this ſtory; that formerly when they croſs'd this arm of the ſea in boats, a woman with child went aboard, and the maſter of the veſſel foretold her, that ſhe ſhould be deliver'd of a ſon, who would come to be a great *mandarin*, and ſo powerful, that he would build a bridge there at his own charge. They ſay it fell out ſo, and he prov'd to be the ſame *Cai Jang* we have ſpoke of. Let it paſs for a tale, tho' it is well known there have been heathen prophets.

10. When firſt I came into *China*, I met with a very diverting river. I ſail'd down it five days together; the channel is deep, and on both ſides of it are vaſt fields of rice, which requires to be always ſwimming in water; and therefore when they want rain, they draw it up from the river with an infinite number of mills they have for that purpoſe, which are all kept a going by the ſtream, ſo that they move continually, and throw up the water, which is convey'd as the countryman thinks fit, without any toil of his. By reaſon of this multitude of water-works, *the river is call'd the river of water-works, Che Ki.*

11. In our way to the imperial city, and province of *Nan King*, we ſaw another odd invention for drawing of water, which we could not but admire and laugh at. Theſe ſort of mills ſtood in a plain upon the flat ground, and were full of ſails made of mat, as is uſual in that country; and the wind twirling them about, they flew like lightning, and drew abundance of water without being attended by any body. Here we concluded, that thoſe who ſay there are carts in *China* carry'd by the wind, as does *F. de Angelis*, doubtleſs meant theſe mills, eſpecially conſidering they call a cart and one of theſe mills by the ſame name in *China*; and it is only diſtinguiſhable by the genitive caſe join'd to it, ſaying a cart of water, *of mills, of oxen, &c.* And unleſs it be made out thus, there is nothing to be ſaid for it, though *Mendoza* vouches it, *lib.* I. *cap.* 10. In the iſland of *Kai Nan*, which is the moſt ſouthern part of *China*, there is another great rarity, which is, that the fiſhermen who go with their nets a dragging of ſhell-fiſh, draw out of the mud a ſort of crabs, which as ſoon as they come out of the water into the air, immediately turn into ſtones, together with the mud that clings to them. They are ſold all over *China*, and are medicinal; but particularly they are good to clear the ſight, and take away inflammations in the eyes; to this purpoſe I gave a piece of one I brought over to the moſt reverend father *F. Peter Alvarez de Montenegro*, confeſſor to his majeſty.

Crabs that turn to ſtones.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of other particulars of CHINA.

1. THE empire of *China* has ſuch plenty and even ſuperfluity of all things, that it would take up many volumes to treat of them in particular. My deſign is only to give ſome hints of what is moſt remarkable, which will ſuffice to make known how bountifully GOD has dealt with thoſe people who know him not, giving them all they can deſire, without being neceſſitated to ſeek for any thing abroad; we that have been there, can teſtify this truth.

2. I am very well ſatisfied there is more ſilk made there every year, than in ſeveral other parts of the world that deal in the ſame commodity; and I believe half *Europe* might be ſupply'd from thence, and yet enough remain for their own uſe, tho' the conſumption there is great, as well in clothes as other things. One thing among the reſt I obſerve in *China*, which I could wiſh were followed among us, which is very little or no change in their apparel, men and women always go in the ſame faſhion. The women's for ſome thouſands of years never was alter'd in the leaſt; that of the men had alſo continued thouſands of years, the ſame throughout all the fifteen provinces. The *Tartars* chang'd, and doubtleſs mended it, and that will hold as long as they do. The dreſs of the *Chineſe* and *Tartar* women, tho' different, is very modeſt, and they may both be patterns to the beſt of Chriſtians. They abhor our faſhion even in the pictures that go from hence, ſo that both men and women when they ſee their necks and breaſts bare, hide their eyes, and ſometimes we are aſham'd to ſhew them. GOD expreſſes his diſpleaſure againſt the change of apparel, in the firſt chapter of *Zephaniah*, *I will puniſh the princes, and the king's children, and all ſuch as are clothed with ſtrange apparel.* It looks like a farce, or rather like childrens play, to ſee every day a new faſhion, and the laſt ſtill the worſt. The *Japoneſes*, *Chineſes*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchincans*, *Siamites*, *Bengalans*, *Golocondars*, *Moguls*, *Perſians*, *Turks*, *Muſcovites*, and others, always have the ſame garb and apparel, and only we change every day. Who can decide which are in the right, and which in the wrong?

Faſhion unalterable.

Modeſty.

3. It is prodigious what a quantity of coarſe, finer, and moſt delicate cotton-webs there are in *China*, and all very laſting: There is alſo abundance of ordinary, indifferent, and curious hempen-cloth as fine as the hair of the head. This their ſummer apparel is made of, and is very light and graceful. There is ſome flax in the province of *Xen Si*, but they do not ſpin it, and only uſe the ſeed to make oil of. *F. Martin* was deceived in what he writ concerning their linen. *F. Trigaucius* in like manner writes, that *China abounds in wine and flax.* If he means the wine made of rice, he is in the right; but as for our ſort there is no ſuch thing. There is enough of a very good and fine ſort of flax, which they make of a ſort of trees like our plane trees. They us'd to carry much of it to *Manila*; but that which we properly call flax, I am poſitive the *Chineſes* do not work it. *Mendoza* is in the wrong. *Trigaucius* owns the truth, *lib.* I. *cap.* 3.

Clothing. Cotton and hempen-cloth.

NAVARETTE.

Linen.

Wine.

4. In the province of *Xan Tung* there are wild ſilk-worms, which work their webs in the trees where they breed, and good ſtrong ſtuffs are made of them. In the northern parts, all that can afford it, make uſe of lamb-ſkins to line their clothes, to defend them againſt the cold. They alſo make breeches, ſtockings, and blankets of the ſame. Breeches are very antient in *China*; according to *Lyra*, in ix. *Geneſ. Semiramis* invented them. Who was the firſt inventer in *China* I know not. The women wear black breeches, but over them petticoats. In the ſouthern parts where the cold is not ſo intenſe, ſkins are not ſo generally us'd, but they quilt the clothes curiouſly with cotton and coarſe ſilk, which is lighter and warmer. They have boots of all ſorts, of cotton, of ſilk, of neats-leather, buck-ſkins, and horſes-hides, which are the beſt and moſt valued. There are ſome as thin and ſoft as a ſheet of thick paper: they fold into any ſhape, and then being pull'd out, are beyond the fineſt cordovan. Others are made with the rough ſide outwards, and very beautiful. They are excellent tanners, their ſoles laſt twice as long as ours. Their ſtockings are generally white, but all of an equal wideneſs; in winter they have them thick, or quilted, or as every one likes. Their clothes being all ſlop'd, they muſt have ſomething to keep their necks warm in winter, for which they make uſe of collars made of the ſkins of foxes, hares, rabbets, cats, and other beaſts. *China* has many mines of gold and ſilver, tho' of late years they do not work in them, for very good reaſons which I have read in their books. Abundance of ſilver has gone over from *Manila* into *China*, but much more from *Japan*; at preſent they carry a great deal out of *Coria*. It would be a great ſaving to *Manila* if they

Silkworms wild.

Navarette. would plant mulberry-trees in thoſe iſlands, and make ſilk, there is land very proper for it. Colonel *Don Laurence Laſo* deſign'd it, and there are ſome of the plants to this day at *Binnan*. Very much is made in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*, and in *Manila*; becauſe the publick is neglected, they neither mind this, nor other advantages.

Metals. 5. Much gold is gotten in the northern river of *China*, which they make uſe of in ſome ſorts of works, and ſell it to ſtrangers. It produces iron, braſs, copper, and all other metals in great plenty. There *Grain.* is great abundance of wheat, rice, barley, beans, and ſeveral other ſorts of pulſe very cheap. In the year 1664, I bought wheat *Plenty.* for three ryals (eighteen pence) which was brought to me to the door to chuſe, very clean and good; and rice, every grain as big as a kernel of a pine-apple, at five ryals (half a crown) the buſhel. In *Xan Tung* the ſame year they ſold wheat for one ryal (ſix pence) the buſhel. Tho' there *Oil.* are no olive trees, they have oil of ſeveral ſorts for three half pence a pound. That made of a ſmall ſeed call'd *Aſonjoli*, is much us'd by the *Chineſes* for making of puff-paſt fritters, and ſome other ſuch diſhes they dreſs. Very good oil for lamps is in great plenty. That country abounds in all ſorts *Garden-ware.* of garden-ware. Parſley and burrage there is none. The *Europeans* have carry'd endive and hard cabbages. The cucumbers and melons are not like ours. Several ſorts of pompions and calabaſſes, an infinite number of water-melons, and others not known among us, are in vaſt quantities there. In the ſouthern provinces there is *Sugar.* as much ſugar-cane as they can wiſh. Throughout the whole empire they ſmoke *Tobacco.* much tobacco, and ſo there is abundance ſowed: I have bought it for a penny a pound dry to make ſnuff. The *Japan* tobacco *Wine.* is moſt valued in thoſe parts. Wine of grapes they uſe none, nor do they know how to make it, tho' they might have it very good, becauſe their grapes are excellent. What they generally uſe is made of rice, it is very pleaſant and palatable, red, white, and pale. The quince wine is very delicate. The *Chineſes* drink all their wine very hot; they like the taſte, and will take *Drunkenneſs no ſhame.* a cup too much. They do not look upon drunkenneſs as any ſhame, but make a jeſt of it. They are not without ancient and modern examples for what they do. *Alexander* the great, and *Cambyſes* are a couple that may ſtand for a great many; for modern precedents, let them but go towards the north, and they cannot miſs; and if they draw nearer to the ſouth, they will find ſome, the more is our ſhame. The emperor baniſh'd him that firſt invented wine in *China*; and their hiſtories tell us, he ſhed many tears condoling the miſchiefs that invention would cauſe in his empire. When I was at *Rome* in the year 1673, there came thither two *Armenian* fathers of my order, with the emperor of *Perſia*'s ſecretary, and letters from him for his holineſs, in anſwer to thoſe the archbiſhop of *Armenia*, who was alſo a *Dominican*, had carry'd four years before. Theſe fathers ſaid, that the emperor was a great drinker, and that he aſking whether there were good wines in *Rome?* and being told there was, he ſaid, if ſo, then your pope it is likely is always drunk and beſides himſelf. The *Armenian* reply'd, ſir, in *Rome* and thoſe countries men drink wine, but they do not allow the wine to get the upper hand of the men. The *Perſian* was ſatisfy'd. But obſerve what an unreaſonable reflection he made, tho' ſo natural to his vice; becauſe he would be drunk with wine, he concluded the monarchs in our parts muſt do the ſame. This makes good the ſaying, that he who is drunk thinks all others are ſo. His father was more zealous for his law, for he commanded abundance of vineyards to be deſtroy'd. It is a difficult matter to eſtabliſh the precept of *Plato in China*, and other places, *viz.* that ſoldiers ſhould drink no wine. The *Turks* obſerve it, and follow the example of the *Chineſes* in carrying no women to the war. We had the news in *China* of the numbers there were in the armies that went into *Portugal*. Nor would *Plato* allow princes, judges, or thoſe that have publick employments, to drink wine, nor even married men, when they are to have to do with their wives, leſt they ſhould get children like themſelves. Much has been writ againſt this beaſtly vice, and to no purpoſe; I ſhall ſpeak ſomething to it in another place.

CHAP. XV.

Of ſome Trees peculiar to CHINA.

1. GOD is wonderful in his creatures, and ſtupendous in the multitude, diverſity and beauty of them; the variety of only plants he has created, were ſufficient for ever to expreſs his great power and infinite wiſdom. The trees, flowers, fruits, and plants I my ſelf have ſeen in my life time, are ſo very numerous, they would more

more than fill a large volume. There is a
Trees. tree, or rather a ſhrub, in the *Philippine iſlands*, which is very ſtrange, but withal miſchievous; it commonly grows near other trees, and twines about them: they that cut wood fly as far as they can from it, and if they neglect ſo to do, they pay for't with terrible pains. There comes from it a ſort of thick milk, which at the firſt ſtroke of the ax flies up to the eyes, and they drop out on the ground, and the man remains not only blind, but full of moſt vehement pains for the ſpace of eight days. I ſaw this misfortune befal a man, to my great trouble and affliction.

2. At *Guiſtin*, a town in the iſland *Mindoro*, I ſaw a tree, of which the curate of *Luban* had told us, that every leaf of it which fell to the ground, immediately turn'd into a mouſe. Being come to the ſaid town with other companions that were upon the miſſion with me, I enquir'd among the *Indians* concerning the truth of that report. They avouch'd it to be ſo, and added, that if any of the wild mice came within the ſhade of that tree, they died upon the ſpot. The tree is beautiful to look to, and of a very fine green. I happening to relate this in *China*, *F. Balat* the jeſuit ſaid, that in ſome parts of the lower *Germany* there were certain trees on the ſea-ſhore, the leaves whereof falling into the water, were converted into ducks. I afterwards read the ſame in *F. de Angelis*, and at *Rome* credible perſons of that country aſſured me it was true.

3. Let us go over to *China*, which is our principal ſubject. There is a tree there cal-
Kuei Xu. led *Kuei Xu*, pretty large ſpreading, and handſome to look to; it always grows on the banks of brooks, as do the willows in *Caſtile*. It bears a fruit about the bigneſs of a hazle-nut, of a dark green colour; it bloſſoms about the middle of *December*, and looks as white as ſnow; in the middle of it appears ſomething of the blackneſs of the kernel, which is very beautiful: the green that is over it withers away by degrees, and then all that was within it appears. The white looks like tried tallow. They gather it about the latter end of *December*, or beginning of *January*, melt, and make excellent candles of it, reſembling white wax, without any ill ſcent. They laſt very long in winter, but not in ſummer; tho' they keep all the year, and ſerve us very well. It is impoſſible to diſcover how great a quantity of theſe candles is conſum'd; but it is wonderful great the firſt fifteen days of their new year, and all the reſt of the year in the temples of their idols the expence is incredible. The natural colour of them, as has been ſaid, is white; but they adorn them with ſeveral colours, flowers, ſilver and gold, as with us we ſet off the paſchal candles. The common price of them is three half-pence a pound, but they that buy it off the tree ſave the one half. After the making the candles, from the grounds that remain they extract oil for the lamps. It is a very profitable tree, and no way coſtly to the owner. If we had it among us, oil, tallow, and wax would be very cheap. It has been diſputed among the miſſioners whether maſs may be ſaid with thoſe candles: I gueſs there is no precept for their being made in wax, in which caſuiſts agree; and bating the myſtical ſignification of it, I find no reaſon why we may not make uſe of them.

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We all of us ever us'd to have a wax candle among the others.

4. There is no want of wax in *China*, but they uſe it in medicines, not to burn; the price of it is not the ſame in all places, yet it is no where above two ryals (a ſhilling) a pound. The emperor, and petty kings burn wax, but not of the common ſort; it is made by great wild bees, and is naturally white without uſing any art to it; the candles made of it are much better than ours. They laſt long, and when lighted, are ſo tranſparent that the wick is ſeen through them. *F. Adamus* us'd theſe in his church very freely, for the empreſs dowager ſupply'd him. In the northern provinces they alſo make uſe of tallow candles; an infinite quantity of them is conſum'd, and they are very cheap. In the *Philippine iſlands* there is abundance of wax; the mountains are full of ſwarms of bees, who make it in the trees, where the natives take it. The trade of it to *New Spain* is very conſiderable, the profit very great, for it coſts leſs than two ryals (twelve pence) the pound, and is ſold at *Acapulco* for a piece of eight. This was ſo in my time.

Wax.

5. There is another tree in *China* very much wanted in the gardens of *Spain* and *Italy*. It is call'd *La Moli Xui*, is not very large, but ſightly, and greatly valued by all people. It bears no other fruit but only a little yellow flower, ſo ſweet and fragrant, that I know nothing in *Europe* to compare it to; though very ſmall, it may be perceiv'd a quarter of a league off. The learned men and ſcholars take great care of this tree, which bloſſoms in *January*, and the flower continues ſome months upon the tree. They uſually wear it on the lock of hair that hangs behind.

Flowers.

6. The women are alſo much addicted to wear flowers on their heads, ſome of gold, ſome of ſilver, and ſome natural, which are very plentiful; and rather than loſe the cuſtom, they uſe the flowers of mallows, which they ſow in their gardens for this purpoſe, and to eat. I have eaten them ſometimes, and find they are good;

NAVARRETTE. we have none but what grow wild. It is very comical to ſee ſome old women of threeſcore and ten almoſt bald, and full of flowers. We ſaw one at the beginning of the year 1668, as ſhe paſs'd by in haſte from her own houſe to a neighbour's, that made us laugh heartily. And it is to be *Civility.* obſerv'd, that it was never known in *China* that they hooted men or women, however they are clad. The ſame is obſerv'd in the country whether you travel by land or water, and they never fail of their uſual civilities. Theſe things very often made us ſtand amaz'd, and we could not but remember the rude ſcoffing, and inſolent expreſſions commonly us'd in our countries, in cities, upon the road, and in other places, to gentlemen, elderly perſons, modeſt maids, and churchmen; and notwithſtanding all this thoſe muſt paſs for *Barbarians*, and we be look'd upon as very much civiliz'd. In winter ſome people go abroad in ſuch ſtrange odd figures, that a man muſt be very much mortified to forbear laughing. Nevertheleſs the good carriage, modeſty and civility of thoſe people makes them paſs by all, without any exterior demonſtration.

7. There is alſo ſomething ſingular in the Moei Xu. tree they call *Moei Xu*, it bears a little ſour fruit, which women and children eat; being dry'd and put into a brine, they ſell it for a medicine, and give to ſick people, becauſe it ſharpens the appetite. The tree is very large, and what I particularly obſerv'd in it, is, that it bloſſoms about *Chriſtmas*, when it freezes hard, and the ſnow falls and lies upon the ground: I admir'd at it very much the firſt time I ſaw it, which was in the year *1663*, *on the 23d of December*. All the field was cover'd with ſnow, the tree hanging with jewels, and that flower ſhew'd its beauty in the midſt of it all, vying in whiteneſs to outdo the ſnow.

8. The camphire tree the *Chineſes* call *Chang Xu*, is vaſtly big and beautiful to *Camphire.* behold. The camphire the *Chineſes* gather from it is ſomewhat coarſe, the fineſt and beſt of it GOD allotted to the iſland of *Borneo*. The wood of it ſmells very ſtrong, of which they make tables, chairs, and other houſhold-goods. The ſawduſt of it ſtrew'd about the beds, drives a- *Punaices.* way the punaices or bugs, which ſwarm in ſome parts; and five leagues round where theſe trees grow, there is not one to be ſeen, which is very ſtrange. All the *Chineſes* take a particular delight in killing theſe naſty inſects with their fingers, and then clapping them to their noſe, an unaccountable and loathſome pleaſure. A prieſt who had been ſome conſiderable time in *Borneo* and ſeen it, told me the manner how they gather the camphire. In the dawn of the morning thoſe iſlanders go out with clothes and ſheets, which they ſpread under the trees: before the ſun riſes, a liquor ſweats out through the pores of the ſtock of the tree, and the branches; it moves and ſhakes about juſt like quickſilver, and then they ſhake the boughs as much as they can, whence there falls down more or leſs of it according as it came out, and to the motion of the tree, there it conſolidates; and having gather'd it, they put it into canes, where they keep it. As ſoon as the ſun appears, all that is left ſinks into the tree again. That people have an extraordinary affection for their dead, and therefore keep them ſeveral days in the houſe before they bury them, taking comfort in having them. To prevent their putrifying with the great heat of the country, they make uſe of camphire after this manner. They ſeat the dead perſon on a low chair open below, and from time to time they blow into his mouth a cane of camphire, which goes down into the body, and in a ſhort time works out at the other end. Thus they preſerve the carcaſſes many days without the leaſt corruption. In the province of *Canton* there are many cinnamon trees; the cinnamon *Cinnamon.* is good, ſo that they do not ſtand in need of that of *Ceilon*. But *China* produces no cloves, nor nutmegs, as *Mendoza* writ. In the northern parts there is *ebony*; but they *Ebony.* that would have abundance of it, very good and cheap, muſt go to the *Philippine iſlands*, where they will find mountains cover'd with it. The *Chineſes* highly value the ſandal of *Solor* and *Timor*, and it coſts *Sandal.* them a great deal of plate. Of the red, which is leſs valued, there is ſome in the *Philippine iſlands*. There are more than enough of all ſorts of oaks, and pinetrees. *Oaks.* The conſumption of pine in ſhips, boats, *Pines.* and buildings, is immenſe, it ſeems wonderful that all the woods are not deſtroy'd; no ſmall quantity is ſpent in firing, and it looks like a miracle that it ſhould hold out for all uſes.

9. In the north where wood is ſomething ſcarce, GOD has provided coal-pits, which *Coal.* are of great uſe. There are infinite quantities of canes as thick as thoſe of *Manila* *Canes.* and *Peru* in all parts of *China*, but more in the ſouthern provinces. Theſe canes are a great help to the *Chineſes* and *Indians*. The latter build their houſes, and make other uſes of canes. The *Chineſes* make ta- *Houſhold-* bles, chairs, beds, preſſes, boxes, cheſts, *ſtuff.* and whatſoever they pleaſe. When we came baniſh'd to *Canton*, in two days time we furniſh'd our ſelves with all neceſſaries, finding all thoſe things I have mention'd ready made in the ſhops. The cane-chairs, table,

table, bed, *&c.* laſted me four years, and I left them never the worſe for wearing. The bed coſt a ryal and a half (nine pence) the table a ryal (ſix pence;) three quarters of a ryal (four pence half penny) every chair the reſt bought at the ſame rates. It is a great pity we have not in theſe parts that plant for all thoſe uſes I have mention'd, and to make ſcaffolds, arbours in gardens, poles for orchards, and many other things. Some are ſo big, there muſt be two men to carry one. The hearts or pith of them in vinegar, is an excellent thing for ſick, or healthy perſons to eat. In *Manila* they call it *achor*. The young ones that ſprout up when very ſmall make an excellent boil'd ſallad, which is very pleaſant, wholſome, and gently laxative. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XVI.

Of ſome Fruits and Flowers of China, *and other Parts.*

Flowers. 1. I Have ſeen abundance of flowers, and more ſorts of fruits; if I could remember all, this chapter would be longer than thoſe before. They have great ſtore *Jaſmin.* of jaſmins in *China*, which they plant in the nature of vines; they look after them carefully, and ſell them in noſegays, which Sampagu. affords them good profit. The *ſampagu*, *It is obſerv'd hereafter that flowers are a great motive for us to praiſe* GOD. ſo deſervedly famous at *Manila*, and other parts, is ſo in *China*. It certainly excels the jaſmin, they have it in pots, and it is a great commodity, being carry'd about to ſeveral provinces. There are wonderful properties in the root of this flower, and thoſe very oppoſite to one another. They ſay that part which grows to the eaſt is a mortal poiſon, and that which grows to the weſt the antidote againſt it; this I was told in *Manila*, where there is great plenty of it.

Roſe. 2. There is in *China* a ſort of roſe-tree, not to be diſtinguiſh'd from ours by the eye, which every month in the year puts out new roſes, nothing differing from thoſe we call a province roſe. That which the *Chineſes* call *queen* of *flowers*, in their lan- Meu Tan. guague *meu tan*, is certainly the beautifulleſt in the world, and ought only to be handled by kings and princes. Its ſmell is very delightful, and it is thick of reddiſh leaves, which will divert even melancholy it ſelf. That country abounds in ſun-flowers, very fragrant lilies, much celebrated by their philoſopher, pinks but of little ſcent, and other flowers uſual among us. There are vaſt quantities of that they call *cocks-comb*, which is very beautiful, and a great ornament to gardens. Roſemary, laurel, olive, almond-trees, and others common in *Europe* are not known there. *Honey-ſuckles.* The honey-ſuckles of *China*, which grow wild in the northern provinces, may vie with thoſe that are nicely rear'd in gardens in *Spain*, and are taller than they. In the province of *Fo Kien* there is a great deal of good origany, or wild marjoram, and much majericon grows about the fields.

3. In the *Philippine iſlands* I ſeveral times ſaw a particular ſort of roſe, tho' at *Rome* I was told ſome parts of *Italy* afforded it; to make it altogether wonderful, it wants the ſmell. They place a noſegay of them on an altar in the morning, till noon it preſerves its whiteneſs, which is not inferior to ſnow; from ten till two it changes by degrees to a glorious red, and at five turns to a moſt perfect colour. I and others affirm'd it was an emblem of the myſteries of the roſary, and with good reaſon becauſe of its three colours. *Roſe.*

4. To come to the fruits, I dare avouch *Fruits.* there is not a man in *Spain* that has ſeen and eaten ſo many ſorts as I have done. In *New Spain*, which affords all that our country has, I eat of the plantan, pine-apples, *manieis*, *anona*, *chicozapote*, *aguazates*, *Plantans.* and others. At *Manila*, *Maſaca*, *Caile*, and other places, the *plantans* are much better. Others call them *planes*, but they are miſtaken. There is none of the plane-tree, or its fruit in *Mexico*, or the *Philippine iſlands*; but in *China* there is; it differs much from thoſe vulgarly call'd plantans. The pine-apples are alſo incomparably better. Among the great variety there is of plantans, thoſe they call the biſhops are beſt, the next to them are the dominicans. Thoſe the *Indians* call *cambing ſaguin*, that is, goats-horn, becauſe of their ſhape and make, exceed all others in ſweetneſs and ſcent, but that they are too cold. The great ones they call *tumduque*, roaſted, boil'd, or otherwiſe dreſs'd, are an excellent diſh. Some other ſorts there are dangerous to eat much of them, but being dreſs'd they loſe ſome of their hurtful qualities. The flavour, taſte and ſweetneſs of all we have mention'd, does without diſpute exceed that of all the fruits in *Europe*.

5. The *ate* which is very common at *Ate.* *Manila*, and throughout all that *Archipelago*, even as far as *India*, is doubtleſs one of the prime fruits of GOD's creation in the univerſe. It is like a little pine-apple, when it grows ripe on the tree, and there diſtils from it the moſt excellent kind of roſe-

NAVARETTE. roſe-water. No fruit that ever I ſaw has ſuch a reliſh, ſweetneſs, and odour, it is highly valued in all parts.

Dorion. 6. There is none of the *dorion* at *Manila*, it is poſſible there may be in the neighbouring iſlands, and on the mountains. It grows in *Macaſſar*, *Borneo*, and other places; all men value, and many ſay it excels all other fruit; this I can ſay, that it is admirably good. Many obſerve that at the firſt bite it exhales a little ſmell of onion, and therefore they do not like it ſo well as others; I own I perceiv'd it, but it is gone in a moment, and there remains a ſweet delicious taſte. They look upon it to be of a hot nature. Its ſhape is like a little mellon ſtreak'd; as they are cutting it upon thoſe ſtreaks, there lies betwixt every two a ſeveral maſs of a white meat, and within it a pretty large ſtone. Every one has ſix of theſe ſeveral parcels, and each of them makes three or four good mouthfuls. At *Macaſſar* they keep them dry'd in the ſmoke; we bought them ſometimes in that iſland, and always lik'd them very well, they are fit for a king's table.

Macupas. 7. The *macupas* of *Manila* may vie in colour and taſte with our pippins; they are excellent for ſick people, becauſe they are watry and cool, and they are extraordinary, either conſerv'd or preſerv'd. The *milinbines*, or *carambolas*, in my opinion are beyond the *macupas*; there are of them ſweet and ſour, when ripe they ſmell exactly like quinces; an excellent conſerve is made of both ſorts of them. The moſt famous are thoſe of *Terranates*, whence plants were carry'd to *Manila*; there is nothing finer for a ſick body that is very thirſty; its colour is very green, and when thorough ripe a quince colour. Theſe are to be found in the ſouthern parts of *China*.

Milinbines *Carambolas.*

Pahos. The *pahos* of *Manila* are made great account of in that country, the tree is very ſightly, the conſerve of *paho* very dainty; being kept in brine it ſerves inſtead of olives, and is very good with rice, which is the bread of thoſe parts. They are much us'd, and with good ſucceſs to get ſick people a ſtomach; when ripe they are pleaſant, tho' extreme ſour, they are like the *mangos* I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter, and I take them to be a ſpecies of it. The *ſantoles* is the fruit ſo much admir'd by the *Indians*; they are in the right, but it is eaten boil'd, and otherwiſe dreſs'd, never raw. They are alſo preſerv'd dry or wet, or made like marmalade, and is good always. The tree is very large, and the fruit bigger than an apple, its colour purple.

Santoles.

Capotes. *Anonas.* 8. The black *capotes* and *anonas* have throve very well in *Manila*, where there are a great many ſorts of oranges in abundance, and ſo of limons. The *papagas* is a wholſom and pleaſant fruit, they call it the jeſuits fruit. I ever lik'd it boil'd or raw, they are good cut into a ſallad before they are ripe, or preſerv'd. The tree is all ſoft and ſappy, and taſts a root with great eaſe tho' it be upon a rock. It bears a great deal of fruit, not on the boughs but the body, and in a very ſhort time.

Papagas.

9. That which the *Portugueſes* call *xaca* and we *nangcas*, is the largeſt fruit I think there is in the world. Some of them weigh half a hundred weight. *F. Kircher* aſſigns this fruit to *China*, but he was miſinform'd. There is of it in *India*, the iſlands and *Manila*. They cut it with an ax; within it are many nuts as yellow as gold, and in each of them a kernel. This roaſted is very ſavory, and the kernel delicious. The *Indians* dreſs it very well with the milk of the cocoa-nuts. This fruit grows on the body of the tree, and not on the boughs, for they could never bear it. The *xambos* of *Malaca* are in great vogue, they grow at *Manila*, but not ſo large. They are round, ſomething bigger than a common plum. The ſtone is looſe and ſtands off from the fruit, its taſte and ſmell is like a fragrant roſe.

Nangcas. *Xambos.*

10. The *Portugueſe* highly commend the *Indian mangos*; they grow at *Macaſſar*, *Camboxa* and *Siam*, where they ſay the beſt are to be had. I know not how to deſcribe them. The tree is very large and tall. They when ripe are yellow; the inſide of ſome of them is all eaten, but of others only chew'd and ſuck'd, the reſt remaining in the mouth like a rag. Both ſorts are good, but rare in pickle. They are hot, and bite, and therefore they drink water after them; and the boys when they have fill'd their bellies with them, pour a pitcher of water over their heads, which running down about the body, prevents any harm they may take by eating ſo many. Let us leave other ſorts not in ſuch eſteem, tho' good, and go over to *China*, where there are ſome very rare, beſides thoſe known in *Europe*. I will only ſay ſomething briefly of the *lechias longanes*, and *chiqueyes*, which are the moſt remarkable.

Mangos.

11. The *lechia*, which the *Chineſes* call *lichi*, is in that country accounted the queen of fruits, and they are in the right, for I know none better, unleſs the *ate* exceeds it. And for the moſt part thoſe things that are excellent are rare; there is ſuch abundance of *lechias*, only in two provinces along the coaſt, that it is wonderful, and yet they are not valued the leſs. They are ſmall, being a little bigger than a large walnut, the ſhell green and thin, within it is as white as ſnow, with a ſtone as black as jet. The taſte, flavour, and delicacy

Lechia.

of it is to admiration; they uſually put them into cold water before they eat them; they ſay they are of a hot nature: When they have eaten as many as they can, they drink a little water, and have a ſtomach to eat more. The tree is large and handſome to look at. I found them out in the mountains of *Batan*, near *Manila*, that year *Don Sabinian Manrique de Lara* came governor thither, but being wild they were not ſo large as thoſe in *China*. *Mendoza* calls them plums; they deſerve a better name.

Longanes. 12. The *longanes*, which the *Chineſes* call *lung jen*, that is, *dragons eyes*, becauſe the ſtones within them are juſt like the eyes of a dragon, as the *Chineſes* paint them, were doubtleſs better than the *lechia*, if it had but ſo much meat, being ſweeter and more fragrant. But tho' the meat is little, it is of much ſubſtance, abundance of it is eaten, and it is ſold dry throughout all the empire. It is valued as a good medicine, and being boil'd, makes a pleaſant and nouriſhing broth.

Xi Cu, or Chiqueyes. 13. The *chiqueyes* known in *Manila*, becauſe the *Chineſes* carry ſome thither, and call them *xi cu*, tho' the *Portugueſes* give them the name of *figocaque*, are of ſeveral ſorts, or imperfect ſpecies, but all delicate. Some there are ſmall in the ſhape of an acorn, but much bigger; they have no kernel, the ſhell alike in all of them, is like the rine of an onion; the fleſh yellow and very ſoft when they are ripe, ſo that making a little hole at the top, they ſuck out all that moſt ſweet and pleaſing taſte to the palate. There are other large ones bigger than burgamy pears, of the colour of a fine red poppy, ſo delightful to the eye, that it deſerves to be bought for its beauty; before they grow ſoft they ſhrink conſiderably; but when they have lain a day in water they come out as fair as a pippin. Theſe two ſorts are ripe about *September*, there is ſuch plenty that the ſtreets are full of them, ſo that they are very cheap. There are others very precious and larger, greeniſh and flat, ripe in *December*, it is charming to ſee and eat them. Theſe two laſt kinds have kernels enough, but they are ſmall, they dry them in the ſun to keep. Every one is as broad as the palm of a man's hand, they laſt a great while, and are delicious; and being ſteep'd one night in wine eat delicately. Theſe breed a powder over them like ſugar, which is ſold by it ſelf, and being put into water in ſummer makes a pleaſant drink. Abundance of *chiqueyes* were carry'd to *Manila* in my time, but none of this laſt ſort. NAVARETTE.

Oranges. 14. There are many kinds of *oranges* in *China*, ſome better than others, two ſorts of them are common in *Portugal*. One ſpecies of them the *Chineſes* make into dry flat cakes like the *chiqueyes*, which are excellent good, cordial, nouriſhing, and well taſted. They are valued at *Manila*, and carry'd to *Mexico* as a great dainty. There are vaſt quantities of cheſnuts, hazlenuts, walnuts, and *azufaifas* (a fruit uncommon, in *Spain* not known to us) they have a vaſt trade for theſe dry fruits. The *guabagas* the *Chineſes* carry'd from *Manila* have throve there to ſatisfaction. I do not queſtion but olive and almond trees would take well, for I know no better land in the univerſe. Their apricots are not inferior to the beſt in *Spain*. Peaches, pears, and quinces are as plentiful as may be. There are but few cherries, yet ſome I have eaten, but the *Chineſes* value them not. I never ſaw any heart-cherries, but there are many other ſorts of fruit, of which we have no knowledge in theſe parts. Let this ſuffice for fruits and flowers.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the living Creatures China *affords.*

Elephants. 1. IN the province of *Jun-nan* there are very good *elephants* bred. The emperor keeps twenty four at *Peking*, as was ſaid before. There are alſo many at *Tunquin*. It is reported of the king of that country that he keeps four thouſand tame ones, he makes uſe of them in his continual wars with the king of *Cochinchina*. The king of *Camboxa* has many, and he of *Siam* more and larger. I ſhall ſpeak of them among the controverſies of the white elephant that died at *Siam*, and of his royal funeral pomp, being accompany'd by above thirty thouſand prieſts of the idols, for this account belongs to that place. A *Portugueſe* inhabitant of *Macao*, who was an honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian, told me he had ſeen an elephant's tooth that weigh'd above three hundred weight. What a mountain of fleſh muſt that be which carry'd ſix hundred weight in only two teeth! There are wonderful ones at *Mozambique*. I ſhall ſpeak more at large in another place. *Elephant's tooth.*

2. The tigers in *China* are very numerous, large, fierce and bloody; it is incredible what numbers of people they kill and devour every year. A Chriſtian *Chineſe* who had liv'd ſome years at *Macao* with the jeſuits, and with me when I came firſt to the miſſion, told me that they were in troops *Tigers.*

NAVARETTE. of a hundred, or two hundred together at one certain place on the road from *Canton* to *Hai Nan*, that travellers durſt not ſet out unleſs they were one hundred and fifty ſtrong, and that ſome years they had deſtroy'd ſixty thouſand perſons. I neither avouch nor deny this, but only relate what I heard from that man. I made ſome objections, but he perſiſted in what he had ſaid. If this continued long, *China* would ſoon be unpeopled. Some I have ſeen, one of them in truth was bigger than a great calf. A religious man of my own order who died upon the miſſion, told me he had ſeen one leap a wall as high as a man; and catching up a hog that weigh'd about a hundred pounds, and throwing it over his neck, he leap'd the wall again with his prey, and run ſwiftly away to the wood. In winter they come out to the villages, where there is no ſafety for man or beaſt; and therefore in country-houſes, or villages that are not incloſ'd with walls, and are near the ſides of mountains, or in valleys, all men are at home betimes, and every one ſecures his door. I was ſome days in a place where they did ſo, and they would come to the door before it was dark, howling ſo dreadfully that we were not without fear in the rooms. The *Chineſes* do not take much pains to catch them, ſome gins they lay for them, and value the ſkin, of which they make a ſort of coats which the captains wear, with the hair outwards; they look handſomely, and keep out the cold.

Leopards. 3. There are leopards, and ownces, but no lions, and many believe there is no ſuch beaſt. Two braſs lions were part of the preſent the *Dutch* made the emperor in the year 1665. There being leopards, it is hard to believe there ſhould be no lions, but they own the one and deny the other; and perhaps thoſe they ſpeak of are no leopards.

Bears. Bears there are in abundance. In the province of *Xang Tung*, there is one ſpecies of them, which the *Chineſes* call men-bears, *hiung ſin*. *F. Antony de Santa Maria* ſaw them; they walk upon two legs, their face is like a man's, their beard like a goat's. They climb the trees nimbly to eat the fruit; unleſs provok'd they do no hurt, but when anger'd they come down furiouſly, fall upon the people, and ſtrike two or three times with their tongue, which is very odd, carrying away with it all the fleſh it touches. The aforeſaid father often ſaid it, as did father *John Balat* a jeſuit, and both of them had liv'd years in that province. Sure they are of the nature of the *Lamiæ*, *Jerem. Lament.* iv. ℣. 3. of whom St. *Jerome* ſays, *They have a human face, but a beaſtly body.*

Muſk-animals. 4. The provinces of *Xen Si* and *Xan Si* breed abundance of thoſe animals the muſk comes from; in that country they are call'd *xe*. Their books deſcribe it after this manner; the body is like that of a ſmall deer, the hair reſembles that of a tiger or ownce; when hard drove by the hunters, it climbs upon the rocks, where it bites off the muſk-bag which hangs at its navel, thinking thus to ſave its life by quitting the treaſure to the hunters, but it ſoon dies. This account of the book agrees with the common opinion. The kingdoms of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, *Comboxa*, *Laos*, and others have vaſt numbers of theſe precious beaſts; and if the *Europeans* through their covetouſneſs had not enhanced the price of this commodity, it would be of ſmall value, for there is great ſtore of it in thoſe parts, but that of *China* is counted the beſt. In the year 1669 it went about a begging in the province of *Canton* at fourteen ducats in ſilver, conſiſting of twenty ounces, and no body would buy it. *This was of the beſt ſort, and they ſay ſo excellent, that the merchants make two ounces or more of one, and ſell it in Europe as choice.* F. *Mendoza* writ ſome things upon this ſubject, which I find no ground for; 'tis likely he was impos'd upon by him that gave him the information, eſpecially if he was any of the *Chineſes* that live at *Manila*, as plainly appears by other things he mentions in the ſequel of his hiſtory. *Pound.*

5. There is another creature in the ſame province very like that we have ſpoke of, it ſeems to be an imperfect ſpecies of it, for it only differs in that it has no bag, all the reſt is exactly the ſame. This beaſt is ſold to eat. As we came away from court, our men bought one; it is wonderful what a ſcent the fleſh exhal'd when it was roaſted, for it diffuſed itſelf all over the veſſel, and into all the cabbins; when eaten, it taſted like the higheſt preparation of muſk, and the ſmell was ſuch as did not offend the taſte, but if ſtronger there had been no eating of it for the perfume.

6. The *Chineſes* talk and write much concerning the unicorn, they commend and look upon it as an omen of proſperity. They paint him very beautiful, but after all it ſeems to be much like the ſtory of the phœnix. They write of him that his body is like a deer, his tail like a cow's, and his feet like a horſe's; that he is of five ſeveral colours, the belly yellow; has only one horn, with fleſh about it, is two fathom high, a merciful beaſt, and the emblem of all felicity. *Unicorn.*

7. In *Siam* and *Camboxa* there are *habadas*, vulgarly call'd unicorns; the *Chineſes* are acquainted with their qualities, and therefore value any thing that belongs to them. Thoſe of *Mozambique* are very famous. The little horns of the females before the males cover them are moſt valued; they

they make ſmall account of the great horns there. Concerning this beaſt you may read *Oleaſter* in *Num.* xxiii. *& à Lapide.*

8. There are two other ſtrange and remarkable creatures in *China*, the one is called *lang*, its fore feet are very long, and the hinder ones ſhort. The other is nam'd *poei*, or *poi*, whoſe hind feet are long, and the fore feet ſhort, whence it follows that they cannot go ſingly apart from one another. Their Maker taught them how they ſhould go from place to place to feed and ſeek their ſuſtenance. Two of them joyn, and one helps the other, ſo that one ſets down the long fore feet, and the other the long hind feet, ſo they make one body that can walk; thus they get their food and live. The *Chineſes* call miſerable poor wretches that cannot live by themſelves *lang poi*, to ſignify that they want ſome aſſiſtance to get their living. *This is not unlike a lame and a blind man, one finds eyes, and the other feet, and thus they help one another, and walk.*

Lang. *Poi.*

9. In the mountains of the province of *Nan King*, there is a beaſt call'd *jang*. It is like a goat, has ears and noſe, but no mouth, and lives upon the air. I am not ignorant that many authors hold againſt *Pliny*, that no creature can live only upon air; yet others ſide with this grave author, and maintain the ſame of the cameleon, as do all the *Chineſes* in general of the beaſt here mention'd, of which none can ſay what ſome urge againſt the cameleon, for it has no mouth as that has; ſo that we muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to *Pliny*'s opinion, or deny this account which I myſelf read, *and is generally receiv'd and allow'd in that country.* Read *A Lapide, Levit.* xi. *v.* 29, 30. where he ſpeaks of the cameleon, and other creatures.

Jang.

Horſes. 10. *China* breeds many good and able horſes; vaſt numbers are continually carry'd thither out of the weſtern parts, but they geld all; their ſaddles are ſomewhat different from ours, they have good bridles and ſtirrups. They have abundance of pads, ſome very ſmall and finely ſhap'd. The *Tartars* are excellent horſemen and archers; they let fly an arrow, and running a full ſpeed, take it up again with the end of their bow, and ſome with their hand. In the ſouthern parts there are camels enough, in the kingdoms of *Golocondar* and *Narſing* infinite numbers. There they make uſe of camels for carriage, as we do of mules. *China* abounds in mules, aſſes, buffalos, oxen, ſheep and goats. The ſwine are ſo numerous, that their fleſh is eaten freſh all the year about throughout the whole empire, and is very good, and as wholſome in ſummer as in winter; a great deal beſides is ſalted up. One would think it impoſſible for theſe creatures to breed ſo faſt.

NAVARETTE. *Swine.*

11. Inſects and vermin there are enough in *China*, but not ſo much as in *Manila*, *India*, and other places. I will in this place treat only of one which is very ſingular; in another place I will ſpeak of thoſe of *Manila* and *India*. This is call'd *jeu ting*, *pie lung*, or *xeu kung*. It is a ſort of lizard to which they have given the name of the *wall dragon*, becauſe it runs up them, and it is call'd the *guard of the palace* on the following account. The emperor us'd to make an ointment of this inſect, and ſome other ingredients, with which they anointed their concubines wriſts; the mark of it continues as long as they have not to do with man; but as ſoon as they do, it utterly vaniſhes, by which their honeſty or falſhood is diſcover'd. Hence it came this inſect was call'd *the guard of the court*, or of the *court ladies:* a ſtrange and ſingular quality. Here it is fit to remember what I ſaid above out of maſter *Torre*, that a wiſe and learned man muſt not when he hears ſuch things raſhly attribute them to ſuperſtition, or art magick, but believe there may be ſome ſecret vertue anſwerable to ſuch an effect, whatſoever it be. What I write was told me by a *Chineſe* Chriſtian who was a very able ſcholar, his name *Clement*, and in his own language *Chu Fi Chi*; he was then expounding to me the *Chineſe* words abovemention'd. It were a great happineſs if all marry'd men had that ointment, it would make them ſafe, and they would have nothing to fear; and if the women had ſuch another for their huſbands, it would be ſome comfort to them, though they would be at a conſiderable charge in furniſhing themſelves with it. The *Chineſes* paint dragons and ſerpents very frightful to look at, which they do to terrify the multitude. They are very myſterious in theſe particulars. The commonalty believe any thing, and therefore *they quake where there is nothing to fear.*

Jeu Ting.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of ſome Birds and Fowls of CHINA.

Eagles. 1. THE bird the *Chineſes* make moſt account of is our eagle, which they call *the bird of the ſun*; and perhaps from what is vulgarly ſaid, that it looks full at the ſun. When it appears, they ſay it denotes good luck. According to their

NAVARETTE. their learned men, one appear'd at the birth of their philoſopher. Their books tell us, the body of it is like a crane, the neck like a ſnake, the tail like a dragon's; that it reſts not upon any tree, nor eats fruit: that there is a male and female (therefore it cannot be the phœnix, as ſome miſſioners imagine) and they ſing to a charm; no man living in *China* ever ſaw it, but they hold it for certain there is ſuch a creature. There *Pheaſants.* are abundance of fine pheaſants very cheap, the feathers are worth more than is given for them, the uſual price is a penny a pound.

2. There is a very beautiful bird in the province of *Xen Si: F. Michael Trigaucius* uſed to ſay, that the tail feathers which are extraordinary gaudy, are a fathom in length. Turkeys are not yet brought into *China*, but they have encreas'd mightily in *India*, *Pegu*, *Bengala*, *Golocondar*, and other parts. *Peacocks.* They carry peacocks from *Siam*, for they do not breed in *China*, but abundance of them do in ſome parts of *India*. They are alſo found in the iſland of *Madagaſcar*.

Cranes. 3. In *China* there are very many cranes; they are a bird that ſuits with any country, hot or cold. At *Manila* which is extremely hot there are abundance; they eaſily become tame, and are taught to dance. I never eat their fleſh, but have heard it much commended. I look upon that as a mere chimera, which *A Lapide* in *Levit.* xi. ỳ. 13. *p.* 658. *col.* 2. mentions out of *Paulus Venetus*, concerning the bird *rue* that takes up an elephant. I was ſix months in *Madagaſcar*, *Surat*, and other parts, and never heard any thing like it.

Bird-fighting. 4. There are certain little birds in *China* in great eſteem, they are like linnets, they breed them in curious cages, not to ſing but to fight with one another; thoſe that have been tried are of great value. The *Chineſes* alſo fight cocks; but that is more us'd in the *Philippine* iſlands, and ſeveral kingdoms and iſlands of the *Eaſt-Indies*, where it is a great recreation, and much money is won and loſt at it. The ſame is practis'd in ſome parts of *Europe*, as doctor *Laguna* writes, where he treats of this bird.

Fiſhing with ſea-crows. 5. Many of the *Chineſes* breed up ſea-crows to fiſh with, and ſell them from one province to another. It is the prettieſt paſtime in the world, I think, to ſee the manner of fiſhing with them. I will write what I ſaw myſelf, and obſerv'd at leiſure. Ten or twelve little boats, at the firſt dawning of the ſun, appear'd on a ſpreading and ſoft flowing part of a mighty river; juſt as I was ſailing that way, I ſtopt to ſee the ſport. Every boat had four or five crows at the head, they were ſtretching out their wings, and picking themſelves. Being come to the place they deſign'd, the boats drew up in a large ring, and they began with their oars to make a regular noiſe; then one or two of the crows leap'd off from the boat and div'd, catch'd a fiſh, and every one return'd to his own boat without ever miſtaking, being led by the ſound of their maſters oars. Thus they plung'd into the water, and return'd to the boats, which was a great diverſion to all that attentively obſerv'd them. Thoſe that caught large fiſhes, brought them in their beaks, and the fiſhermen took them in their hands; they that took ſmall fiſhes, ſwallow'd them, and when they were come out of the water into the boat, the men laid hold of them; and holding down their beak, gave them a gentle ſtroke on the neck, whereupon they immediately caſt up all the fiſhes they had in their craw. Thus they went on till they fill'd their baſkets with fiſh, which was not long a doing, and then they went away up the river to their homes, carrying the crows on the prow as they had done before. What I admir'd was, that when a crow had plung'd into the water, and came up at a great diſtance from his own boat, and near another, he immediately went away to his own without regarding the reſt.

6. When they come home, they pick out the ſmalleſt fiſh, and give them to eat; thus their maſters feed them, and maintain their families with the large and middle fiſh. There is a great deal of difference between ſeeing and relating of it. I muſt ſay again, it is one of the prettieſt diverſions in the world.

7. There is no end of the geeſe and ducks they have in *China*, for though infinite numbers are conſum'd, there are never the fewer. The capital of *Canton* alone, according to *Ortelius*, ſpends fourteen thouſand a year, and in my opinion, and that of others, twenty thouſand, beſides beef, pork, goats-fleſh, hens, capons, fiſh, eggs, and other things. As we came from the imperial city, we ſail'd by the ſide of a lake of ſo great an extent, that as far as the horizon terminated our ſight, there appear'd nothing but water, and a conſiderable part of it was cover'd with theſe fowls. The *Chineſes* catch them very artificially. They go into the water with their heads thruſt into calabaſhes, and walk ſo ſlowly, that it looks as if nothing moved but the calabaſh upon the water: being come up in this manner to the gooſe, or duck, which they can ſee thro' the holes in the calabaſh before their eyes, they lay hold of it by the feet and pull it under water, where they wring the neck, and put it into a bag they carry for the purpoſe; then *Geeſe and ducks how caught.*

go

go out again as ſoftly as they went in, without diſturbing the reſt. This way of catching them is more profitable than diverting, they that do not underſtand it, would think the ducks dive for food, as they do every moment. Theſe fowl are dreſs'd ſeveral ways; they are frequently boil'd, and their broth is look'd upon as very nouriſhing: they are very good roaſted, and in ſouce; but they are incomparably better ſalted and dry'd, there's no gammon can compare with them; and they are a dainty proviſion by ſea, or for travellers at land. Infinite numbers of them are ſold after this manner. Beſides theſe they breed abundance in their houſes, which are more valued becauſe they are tame, though it is hard to diſtinguiſh betwixt them by the ſavour and taſte. Leaving other common birds, let us proceed to others foreign to *China*.

6. There are ſome ſo ſtrange, that they require particular mention ſhould be made of them. The firſt is that which at *Terraneſe*, and in other places, the *Europeans* call *the bird of paradiſe*; its body is ſmall, ſomething leſs than a blackbird. It has neither feet nor wings, which ſeems incredible; but there being ſo many that have ſeen them, there is no doubt to be made of it. I have often view'd them carefully, but could never find any ſign of feet they had; that they have no wings is more viſible to every body. I have been told for certain there are two at *Madrid*, thoſe who have ſeen them can teſtify the ſame. The beak of them is ſomewhat thick and large, fit to catch gnats, which is their food; their feathers are thick and beautiful, their tail very long, of ſeveral colours, and as fine as can be imagin'd. They never light, nor can reſt upon the ground, as may eaſily be conceived, becauſe they have no feet. Their fixt abode is in the region of the air, for which reaſon they are called *birds of paradiſe*. They light upon trees, and by the help of the wind, and their natural motion, they fly from one to another, making uſe to this purpoſe of their ſightly tails. If the wind fails then they preſently fall, and their bill being heavy, it is the firſt that lights upon the ſand, where it ſticks ſo that they cannot ſtir, but are taken with eaſe. The guts being taken out, the people dry and keep them many years, only to admire their beauty. *A. Campango* captain of *Manila* preſented me with a couple of them at *Macaſſar*; and I immediately gave them to a great lady, who had done me very conſiderable courteſies. Some are kept at *Manila*, and ſerve to deck the altars; that of our Lady and of the Roſary has ſome extraordinary fine; they look very glorious, and are beyond all noſegays. I enquired after their neſts, and how they hatch'd their eggs: they anſwer'd me, that the hen laid her eggs upon the cock's back, and there hatch'd them. I made ſeveral objections, but they could give me no more ſatisfaction; it is certainly ſo; it ſeems indeed impoſſible, but it is eaſy to him that made all things. *Behold*, GOD *is great, and we know him not*, Job xxxvi. And if we go about to ſearch into the manner, how the limbs, fingers, eyes, noſe, ears, &c. of a creature are form'd in its mother's womb, and how it is nouriſh'd and grows daily, with many other particulars that happen there, we ſhall be quite at a loſs, and more aſtoniſh'd than we are at the *bird of paradiſe*.

Bird of Paradiſe.

Navarette.

7. At *Macaſſar* there are a great many of a ſort of bird they call *cacatua*, they are all white, ſome bigger than hens, their beak like a parrot; they are eaſily made tame, and talk. When they ſtand upon their guard, they are very ſightly, for they ſpread a tuft of feathers that is on their heads, and look moſt lovely. The *Portugueſes* carry them to *China*, and thoſe people give good rates for them.

Cacatua.

8. In the iſlands there are innumerable parrots, and paroquites; but thoſe of *Terraneſe* carry the day from the reſt. I ſaw one at *Manila* that coſt two hundred pieces of eight, and would certainly have been worth two thouſand at *Madrid*. It ſang ſo diſtinctly that it deceiv'd me twice, and others oftner.

Parrots.

9. Along the ſea-coaſts of many of the iſlands, there is a very ſingular bird call'd *tabon*, the place where it lays its eggs is call'd *Tabonan*. What I and many more admire is, that it being no bigger in body than an ordinary chicken, tho' long legg'd, yet it lays an egg larger than a gooſe's, ſo that the egg is bigger than the bird it ſelf; and no man living would judge that the egg could be contain'd within it. In order to lay its eggs, it digs in the ſand above a yard in depth; after laying, it fills up the hole and makes it even with the reſt; there the eggs hatch with the heat of the ſun and ſand. When the chickens are hatch'd by natural inſtinct, they break thro' the ſand upwards, and ſo get out of that dungeon their dam put them into; then they walk directly to the ſea to ſeek for weeds to feed on. This creature might well ſay, *My father and mother have left me, but the* LORD *hath taken me to him*. That natural inſtinct GOD gave them is their life and food. Another thing in it is wonderful, which is that they are not ſtifled when they come out of the ſhell with the heat and weight of the ſand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the ſtrength to break thro'

Tabon.

NAVARETTE.

thro' ſo great a weight. They are prodigies of the Almighty's working.

10. The *Indians* to find out theſe eggs go about ſticking ſharp canes into the ground; when they find the ſand light, they ſtop, and throw it up ſomething above the length of a man's arm, and there they find them. They are ſweet and of a pleaſant reliſh, one of them is enough to ſatisfy a good ſtomach; the ſtaler the egg the better it is. One morning having lain upon the ſhore, and near to the place whither theſe birds reſorted, we repair'd thither carefully, and making a noiſe, a great company of them came out of their holes, in which we found many eggs, ſome hot, ſome cold, ſome white, ſome of the colour of the ſand, which are the ſtale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of thoſe that were freſh and warm, but in truth the ſtale ones were better. There were among them ſome with chickens, and I obſerv'd that the *Indians* lick'd their chops when they eat them; they courted me to eat, and prais'd them, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went againſt my ſtomach to think any body ſhould eat them. Once they preſs'd me ſo much, that at laſt, not without much dread and averſion, I reſolv'd to taſte one; I did ſo and made an end of it, very much diſſatisfied that I had not eaten a great many of them. I muſt own, that ſince I was born I never eat any thing more delicate, more pleaſant and palatable, and I am convinced there is nothing in the world to compare to it. After this I ſeiz'd all that were found with chicken. I ſaw no locuſts whilſt I was in *China*, but they have them at times; *I know not* whether thoſe people eat them, as the *Indians* of *Manila* do; ſo did the *Jews* and other nations, ſays *A Lapide*, in *Levit.* xi. ℣. 22.

11. In the iſland of *Calimaines*, belonging to *Manila*, and in others of that *Archipelago*, there is a ſort of ſwallows not much unlike ours, they ſwim upon the ſea, and build their neſts in the rocks along the ſhore. Theſe neſts are mightily valued in *Manila* among the natives, and much more in *China*, where they give great rates for them. Thoſe birds make them of the foam of the ſea; when dry they look like a piece of aſh-colour'd clay, but being boil'd with fleſh they are excellent meat, and very nouriſhing, as they all ſay. Marry'd men, and thoſe that have weak ſtomachs uſe it; it is no good food for thoſe that are dedicated to GOD's ſervice; but it is wonderful ſo delicious a morſel, as they who eat it think can never be ſufficiently commended, ſhould be made of ſuch matter. *America* produces great variety of ſightly birds. Theſe they call *cardinals*, becauſe they are all red, and are charming to the eye. Thoſe of the *conception*, ſo call'd becauſe they are clad like the nuns of that order, are alſo extraordinary beautiful. But the gayeſt and fineſt bird I have ſeen, is the king of the *Copilotes*, which I ſaw ſeveral times in the port of *Acapulco*, and never had enough of looking at him, ſtill more and more admiring his beauty, ſtatelineſs, and grace. There are alſo moſt delicate nightingals in *China*, they are bigger than ours, ſing to admiration, and are kept in curious cages. They breed many blackbirds, prize their note, and indeed with good reaſon.

Swallows.

Cardinal, a bird.

Nightingals.

CHAP. XIX.

Of ſome Pools, Rivers, and Lakes in China.

1. THERE is no doubt but all we have and ſhall write, is a great motive to excite us to praiſe our LORD, and diſcover his infinite power and wiſdom: for the more man knows of the creatures, the more occaſion he has to bleſs and magnify his Creator. It is not in vain that *Eccleſiaſticus*, *cap.* xlii. requires us to remember the works of the LORD, *Be mindful of the works of the* LORD. Remember then what GOD has created, it is a plain caſe, the end is to bleſs and praiſe his divine Majeſty. We have ſufficient matter for it, in that which GOD has ſo bountifully beſtow'd on the heathen *Chineſes*, and perhaps he has given them ſo much that they may have the leſs excuſe for their ignorance of his Godhead. But now to talk of the ſubject of this chapter, I muſt inform the reader that the *Chineſes*, eſpecially thoſe of the learned ſect, are great lovers of fiſh-ponds for their recreation, which is a good and commendable diverſion. The fiſh they keep in theſe ponds are ſmall, but the very perfection of beauty; they call them *kin ju*, gilt-fiſhes, becauſe they are gold-colour'd, tho' there is ſome difference among them; ſome have two tails, others three, ſome have black fins, others red, and others gold-colour'd. The colour of ſome of them is like a rich brocade, of others like a fine damaſk. One of them put into a glaſs, as I have ſometimes ſeen, is a moſt extraordinary beautiful ſight.

Gilt-fiſhes.

2. There are abundance of great ponds in *China*, to breed fiſh to ſell. I have already

Fiſhponds.

ready taken notice that there are nine hundred ninety and nine within the walls of the metropolis of *Nan King*, and the ſame number in the city *Kan Cheu*. We could not find out the myſtery, why they muſt not be one thouſand, but the *Chineſes* have ridiculous notions concerning even and odd numbers. The fiſh in them is large and good, but not to compare with that of the ſea, or rivers. The whole kingdom being cut acroſs by rivers, and full of lakes and ponds, there is vaſt plenty of fiſh, a great deal is ſold alive, being kept in tubs or troughs full of water. What they don't ſell, the owners put again into the ponds, to draw it out as they have occaſion. The ſpawn carried about in little jars from one province to another to ſell.

3. In the metropolis of *Xan Tung* there is a great idol temple, and in it a fiſh-pond that has a thouſand ſprings bubling up; theſe form a river, which at a ſmall diſtance carries many veſſels.

4. In the province of *Xen Si* there is a lake of ſalt-water, whence all the northern provinces are ſupply'd with ſalt.

5. We paſs'd by three very large lakes in our way from the imperial city; we have already ſpoke of the firſt, that has an infinite number of ducks and geeſe. The ſecond has nothing remarkable. The third is in the province of *Kiang Si*, in the midſt of it is a vaſt rock, upright, and very high, and on the top of it a temple of *bonzes*. A narrow, ſteep, and uncouth path leads up to it. That habitation to all appearance muſt be very painful. It is call'd *the place of the penitent bonzes*. At the bottom is a little pair of ſtairs reaching to the lake, where one of the bonzes ſtands to beg of the boats that paſs by. This is all they have to live upon, but no veſſel paſſes without giving ſomething, tho' it be but a little rice. A league farther is another leſs rock, with another temple on it, and bonzes, who live after the ſame manner. Short of *Canton* there are certain rocks of a vaſt height, and ſhagged, riſing out of the ſame river we ſail'd on. In the midſt of them is a large breach or cleft, and within it a ſtately temple. Stairs cut out of the rock come down to the water; about two fathom above the ſurface appears a large handſome balcony, well painted, that overlooks all the river and the boats that paſs by, of which they beg. We went not up to the temple, but they told us it was well worth ſeeing and admiring, as well as its ſituation. *F. Kircher* mentions a lake in this province of *Canton*, but I ſaw it not, nor can I tell where it is, perhaps it may be on the weſt ſide, whither neither I nor any of us went.

Bonzes.

6. At *Chao Hien*, a town in *Fo Kien*, there is one thing very remarkable, of which it will not be amiſs to ſpeak in this place, tho' it be neither fiſhpond nor lake, but a mountain all hollow within. There is in that country a printed book, which is only an account and deſcription of that mountain; I will here relate what is moſt material concerning it. Our *Chineſe* father, and *F. Coplet* of the ſociety went into it. The mountain is half a league in length, all a hard rock, and quite hollow within. There is a door at one end to go in, and another at the other to go out. Cloſe by the firſt lives a man, whoſe buſineſs it is to guide thoſe that deſire to ſee what there is within. If they go in in ſummer, they clothe themſelves very warm, becauſe it is rather cold than freſh within. In winter the heat is ſo great, that a few clothes will make a man ſweat. At the entrance is a narrow lane, and at the end of it a large room built by nature; in the midſt of it is a large pillar, which reaches not up to the arch, and ſo like a great burning wax candle, that all men take it to be one, therefore they call that room *cho tang*, that is, the room of the candle. The two fathers ſaid, the very drops that fall from a candle were ſo natural upon it, that they could hardly perſuade themſelves but that they were true. The flame and ſnuff of it were ſo exactly to the life, that they had much ado to believe all they ſaw was not real. A few paces further is another room call'd *pu ſa tang*, that is, the hall of the idols; becauſe all the idols they have in *China* are there carv'd by nature, and ſo like and excellently done that none can chuſe but admire them. Then follows another room by the name of the room of heaven, *tien tang*; in the roof of it are the ſun, moon, and ſtars, ſo beautiful and bright, that our father told me he ſtood long in doubt thinking what it might be, for he was ſatisfied the ſun could not pierce into that place, nor the ſtars ſhine with him. At laſt he aſk'd, whence that light came, and yet to this day he cannot conceive the manner of it, or what it was he ſaw. He ſays, the water that dropt from the walls and run about the ground was as cold as ice, tho' it was in the month of *July* that he went in. He proteſts that every word they ſpoke there reſounded like the eccho of a canon; and when one of them call'd out aloud, they thought heaven and earth had been coming together. There is another greater mountain near to this, of which old men tell wonderful ſtories. The town, to ſave the expence they were at with *mandarines*, and other great men that went to ſee it, wall'd up the gates ſtrongly.

NAVARETTE. *A wonderful cave.*

NAVARRETTE.

7. All *China* abounds in rivers, brooks, running lakes, and ſprings. The moſt famous river is that they call the *ſon of the ſea*; they ſay it has no bottom: it is very large, and runs above five hundred leagues from eaſt to weſt before it falls into the ſea. They travel almoſt all over the ſouthern provinces by water, which is a great conveniency; ſometimes a few robbers appear, but it is ſeldom. Not many years ſince they robb'd the fathers *Fabri* and *Augeri*, both jeſuits, of things of conſiderable value, and wounded the firſt of them dangerouſly. The noiſe this made was great, the booty was worth four thouſand ducats, and it was given out for thirty thouſand, and that it was a preſent to the emperor. Advice was ſent to court, no ſmall ſearch made; afterwards they took the ringleader of the robbers, and that very day twelve month they cut off his head. A few years after, as thoſe very fathers and others of the ſame ſociety affirm, the *Chineſes* rais'd a temple in honour of that robber, ſo that he is now become an idol, perhaps becauſe he was a great maſter of his trade; to make that out in *China*, which *Lact. Firm. de inſtab. 5. cap. 2.* ſays of others, *Therefore they adore their enemies, and appeaſe murderers with ſacrifice.* The roads are never without wells or ſprings of excellent water for travellers, and generally by the well is a fine earthen diſh to drink out of, and no body dares carry it away; if that were among us, all the earthen ware in *China* would not be enough for one fountain. Beſides, along the roads, about a league diſtance, and ſometimes not above half a league, there are excellent reſting-places, with good ſeats, and well covered with tiles. Here travellers meet, reſt them, chat, and are ſhelter'd from the ſun in ſummer, and from the rain and cold in winter. There are alſo at every ſtep on the roads very decent, cleanly and convenient places where paſſengers eaſe themſelves; and even to make water there are places no leſs decent. The aſcents and deſcents of ſteep mountains are ſo handſomely cut out in ſteps, that nothing can be finer. There is ſcarce a ſtream, or a little brook without a handſome ſtone bridge; and if there happens to be none of ſtone, they build it of excellent timber. It cannot be denied but that the *Chineſes* are curious, and provident in what relates to the publick good. They make theſe things their peculiar care, and in truth they proſper in their hands, for the people being numerous, there are enough to mind every thing. I have ſeen a road mended in ſo ſhort a time that I ſtood amaz'd; ſuch a work would not be finiſh'd in *Spain* in a year, nor perhaps in many.

Idolatry.

Roads.

8. I made a ſtep from the rivers and fountains to the high-ways, the diſtance between them ſometimes is not great. But to return to the ſprings: I muſt take notice there is one at *Macaſſar*, that has given me and others enough to talk and think of. This ſpring is on the ſea-ſhore; when the ſea flows it dries up, and as ſoon as it ebbs it abounds with excellent water, which all that ſail by that place take in for their ſtore. I was aſk'd my opinion concerning this ſpring, and had ſome anſwers which did not well ſatisfy my own curioſity. What I thought might be likely was, that the ſource of that water did not lie deep towards the ſea, which when it flow'd, the weight of the water which loads and oppreſſes the ſand ſtopt the paſſage of the ſweet water, and therefore at flood the ſprin was dry, but upon the ebb the ſand grows looſe, and much of the weight that lay upon it goes off, which makes way for the ſweet water to glide thro' and flow into the hollow of the ſpring. If this be not ſatisfactory, let others give a better reaſon for it.

Spring that ebbs and flows.

9. Travelling in the iſland of *Mindoro*, I met with another ſtrange little ſpring, which was on the ſhore too, but ſo cloſe to the ſea, that the flood came over and beyond it. When the tide ebb'd, the *Indians* made a little hole with their hands and took up freſh water, when the ſalt was quite about it. That port is very dry, and it would go hard with thoſe that travel that way, had not GOD furniſh'd them with this little ſpring.

10. I will conclude this chapter with *China*, acquainting the reader, that it is not deſtitute of hot baths. There are ſome in ſeveral parts, and the natives make uſe of them as they have occaſion. There are baths in moſt cities and towns to waſh themſelves when they are in health: they ſay they are very curious, and that ſuch as will are waſhed and cleanſed at a ſmall expence.

Baths.

CHAP. XX.

Of other notable Things that are in this Empire.

1. THE ſubject I treat of is ſo full of variety, it is no wonder if I forget many things, ſome I am ſure I muſt. As I was about to begin this chapter, I remember'd I had ſaid nothing of the *Chineſe* woollen-manufactures, and it is requiſite to give ſome account of them. The *Chineſes* having ſo much ſilk and cotton, have no great occaſion for wool. However they weave very pretty ſtuffs, not ſo cloſe as the *Spaniſh* ſerges, but thinner; they make them white, and ſomewhat ſad colour'd, which is reckoned a grave ſort of garment, lin'd with ſilk, with ſome other trimming. They make abundance of felts of ſeveral colours. It is a notable thing to ſee how they make a whole ſuit of one piece, breeches, caps, and other things. So they make carpets a fathom and a half, and two fathom long. They neither uſe nor weave any other ſorts of cloth. When the *Dutch* ſome years ſince preſented the emperor with ſcarlet, and other fine cloths made in *Europe*, he aſk'd, how, and what they were made of. Being told the manner of it, he ſaid, his ſubjects could make it, and therefore there was no need to bring it from ſo far. And I doubt not but if the *Chineſes* give their mind to it, they will compaſs it. They have delicate wool, and work it ſo fine, that it looks like pure ſilk. Now let us proceed to ſomething elſe.

Woollen-manufactures.

2. In the metropolis of *Xen Si* there is abundance of ſalt earth; which being boiled, they extract from it very white ſalt, and the poor people dreſs their meat with it without boiling. Near that city is a town, about which the land produces three things: one is the ſoap they uſe there, called *kien*, they know nothing of ours. After it has rain'd, if the ſun ſhines, there riſe out of the earth certain bladders of thick froth, which are gather'd to waſh and whiten linen. The ſecond is ſalt-petre; and ſalt the third. Out of twenty pounds of earth put into a jar, and wrought after their manner, they get twelve pounds of ſalt, and three of ſalt-petre. There is a wonderful conſumption of it in *China*, eſpecially for gun-powder. The quantity of it ſpent there is ſo great, that ſome miſſioners are of opinion it is more than all *Europe* together expends. The greateſt conſumption is the firſt and laſt months of the year, particularly in ſquibs and fireworks, which for ſhew and ingenuity much exceed ours. The *Europeans* do not miſlike the *Chineſes* way of rejoycing. The beginning of the year 1668, ſome maſks paſs'd by our door, and we all thought the curiouſneſs and gaity of their clothes a noble ſight, well deſerving our praiſe, and even admiration. At the time of their full moon, and three days before, and three after, is the feſtival of the lanthorns, which ſeems to me and others the fineſt in *China*; and I am almoſt in the mind to ſay, there is not a more pleaſant, a more ſightly, and more univerſal ſolemnity in the whole world. If ſuch a thing were done at *Madrid*, I don't doubt but people would flock from all parts of the kingdom to partake of the divertiſement. Their lanthorns are nothing like ours in *Europe*, they are very large, and of a thouſand ſeveral ſhapes and curious figures. Some are made of the glaſs they have there, with delicate fine workmanſhip about them. There are ſome of two, three, and four hundred ducats apiece. Many are made of thin ſilk, painted with variety of colours and figures of men, women, birds, flowers, and other things; beſides men a horſeback continually riding round within them. In others there are cocks fighting, with all their motions very natural; in others fiſhermen and gardiners; and in others ſoldiers giving battel; all ſo lively that it is ſurprizing. Many are made of paper of ſeveral colours, and curiouſly cut; ſome in the ſhape of roſes and other flowers; ſome of fiſhes continuually gaping and beating in their fins and tails; ſome with many puppets: in ſhort, there is a wonderful multiplicityand variety. In the year 1663, I went abroad at eight at night to ſee this ſight, and before I came to the great ſtreet, I ſtood aſtoniſh'd, or as we call it, quite beſides myſelf with admiration: when I got into the great ſtreet, my ſenſes and faculties fail'd me. The ſtreet was a league in length, which I walked always under lanthorns, and ſcarce one of them but had ſomething ſingular. I ſaid to the *catechiſt* who went along with me, *Clement*, we have gone by above twelve thouſand lanthorns. He laugh'd heartily, and anſwer'd, father, they are above thirty thouſand. With what we afterwards ſaw, they certainly exceeded eighty thouſand. In the temples of their idols there were ſtill greater curioſities. The *Chineſes* themſelves, tho' us'd to that ſight, were ſurpriz'd, and many ſtood gaping like utter ſtrangers.

Salt earth. *Soap.* *Salt-petre.* *Fireworks.* NAVARETTE. *Feſtival of lanthorns.*

3. Thoſe in the metropolis of *Hang Cheu* are the moſt famous of all *China*. In the

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year 1665, when I was in that city, I lay in the priſon, and therefore could not ſee them, but thoſe the priſoners ſet up before the temple that is in the goal, rais'd mine and my companion's admiration, both for the multitude, as alſo for the curioſity and orderly placing of them. That night I went out to ſee the lanthorns, I curiouſly made ſome obſervations. The firſt was of an infinite multitude of people, but not one woman, for it would be look'd upon as a grievous ſin if one were ſeen. The ſecond, that tho' there was a great deal of joſtling and hunching one another as they paſs'd in *Civility.* the croud, yet I ſaw no offence taken, or ill language given, they made ſport and laugh'd at all. The third, that there being a great many ſhops full of variety of fruit and cold banquets, no man preſum'd to ſnatch away ſo much as a cheſnut; ſo that the ſellers were as eaſy as if it had been noon day. The modeſty with which thoſe infidels are bred, and the niceneſs of their carriage at all times is very remarkable.

Feſtivals. 4. They have alſo their feſtivals at other ſeaſons of the year; ſometimes they keep holiday in honour of one ſtar, ſometimes of another; one day to one idol, and another to another. There are ſeveral brotherhoods in ſocieties to this effect. Every quarter of a town has its peculiar patron. One general ſolemnity is kept throughout the whole empire on the fifth day of the fifth moon. This day they go out upon the rivers in boats finely deck'd and adorn'd, to ſolemnize the feſtival of a certain great magiſtrate, who was very zealous for the publick good. They report of him, that an emperor refuſing to take his advice, he caſt himſelf into a lake and was drown'd. Againſt this feſtival they provide a ſort of cakes, and other meat, which they throw into the water in honour of that magiſtrate. Others ſay they do it, that he may have ſomething to eat. I have before made mention how one year above five hundred veſſels went out from *Nan King*, upon the river they call *the ſon of the ſea*; but a ſudden guſt of wind riſing, they all ſunk to the bottom, not one eſcaping. In regard of this magiſtrate we may ſay, we have in *China* another *Lycurgus*, of whom *Tertullian* in his *apology* ſays, that he kill'd himſelf, *becauſe the* Lacedemonians *had mended his laws*. And we may ſtill more properly compare him to *Ahithophel*, who hang'd himſelf becauſe *Abſalom* ſlighted his counſel and follow'd that of *Huſhai*, 2 Sam. xvii.

5. *F. John Balat* the jeſuit told us, he one year in the imperial city ſaw the publick proceſſion of the players, and affirmed, it was one of the fineſt ſights in the world. On the 11th of *April* 1663, there paſs'd before our door a general proceſſion of many idols, ſo rich, ſightly, orderly, and well contrived, as we had never ſeen the like. We all concluded it would have been very ſurprizing in any part of *Europe*. The figures were all alive, and conſiſted of about twenty four boys, every one borne on men's ſhoulders upon carriages richly adorn'd, and they moſt gorgeouſly clad, accompany'd by abundance of flags, ſtreamers, and muſical inſtruments. Every boy repreſented a ſeveral idol, and acting the parts of ſo many ſeveral ſtatues; their garb and colours were alſo different. One was in the middle of a perfect roſe, all of lively colours; another upon a ſerpent; ſome ſitting, others ſtanding upon both, and others upon one foot. Some carry'd ſpears, others bows in their hands; and one of them had a vial, out of which iſſu'd a wonderful flower. It is impoſſible to conceive the finery and gaity of their clothes, feathers and garlands.

6. The private diverſions of *China* are *Diverſions.* for the moſt part plays, eating and drinking. Cards are alſo common among them, the *Moors* carried them thither. There are great gameſters among them; when they have loſt what they have, they make vows to their idols to play no more. Some in a paſſion cut off the tips of their fingers, to diſable themſelves, and be incapable of ſhuffling the cards. There are abundance of dancers, active tumblers, puppet-players, and muſicians.

7. One thing we obſerv'd which is remarkable, and never fails every year, tho' it is more general in the ſouthern than the northern provinces, which is a ſtrange influence of ſome conſtellation, never known in our parts; for all garments grow damp and mouldy, and all ſtains that ever were *Mouldineſs.* in them, tho' never ſo old, appear again, *Stains.* tho' they have been ſeveral times waſh'd, whether they are ſilk, cotton, or leather. This laſts for ſome days, and if they are not carefully air'd, hung in the ſun, and often clean'd, they are utterly ſpoil'd. It is pleaſant to ſee what care all men take during thoſe days of their apparel, beds, caps, boots, and other things. Much has been written concerning the cuſtoms of this nation, ſomething ſhall be ſaid in the following books. Methinks thoſe words of the *Proverbs*, xxx. ℣. 12. may be well apply'd to it, *There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not waſh'd from their filthineſs.* Yet there are *Europeans* who think there wants but little towards the canonizing of all *China*.

8. The common people are very ſuper- *Superſtitions.* ſtitious, which is moſt certain; and none of them can indure to undertake any thing, without drawing their lots firſt to find out how it will ſucceed. *F. de Angelis* was very right

right in this particular. They are vain obſervers of the heaven, of the earth, the notes of birds, the barking of dogs; of dreams, and many other things. There is no temple without two like large caſtanets, with ſome characters on them, which they eſteem very myſterious. After many genufluxions made before the idol, they caſt that inſtrument on the ground ſeveral times, till the characters they wiſh for turn up; then they look upon the calendars which are fix'd on the walls, and by them make out their gueſs at the ſucceſs they are like to have.

Law-ſuits. 9. That nation is wonderful ſharp at contriving of law-ſuits, and exquiſite at concealing the mortal hatred they bear any man for ſeveral years; and when an opportunity offers, they vent it to their hearts content. It often happens in law-ſuits that the defendant hangs himſelf, only to ruin and be reveng'd on the plaintiff; for when he is hang'd, all his kindred repair to the judge, complaining that he had hang'd himſelf to avoid the the trouble and vexation the plaintiff put him to, having no other remedy left him. Then all join againſt the plaintiff, and the judge among them; and they never give over till they ruin him and all his family. I muſt add that the *Chineſes* ſell their ſons and daughters when they pleaſe; they uſe it frequently. The *Sclavonians* had the ſame cuſtom, and kill'd them too if they would. Read *A Lapide* in *Gen.* iv. ℣. 1. the *Perſians* kept them as ſlaves. NAVARETTE. *Parents abſolute power.*

The End of the Firſt Book.

BOOK II.

Of the Nature of the *Chineſe* Government, of their Sects, and of the moſt remarkable Paſſages in their Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſeveral Degrees of People into which this Monarchy is divided.

NAVARETTE. 1. I Do not at all make any doubt but that the nature, method, and diſpoſition of the *Chineſe* government is admirable, and may be a pattern or model to many in the world. In regard all is ſo excellently order'd, that the whole empire looks like one well govern'd family; the *Chineſes* call it a noble houſe, or family, *Kuei Kia*. Nevertheleſs they are defective in one very material point, as to the ſeveral ſtates or degrees into which they divide their people, which is, in making no mention of the ſoldiery, as all monarchies that ever were in the world have done, and we ſhall mention in another place. It is a plain caſe, ſays S. *Thomas* in xi. *ad Heb. lect.* 7. that the ſoldiery is very neceſſary, and an eſſential part of the kingdom. Theſe are his words, *Among all outward acts of moral virtues the acts of fortitude and juſtice ſeem to be the chief, becauſe they principally relate to the publick good. For by fortitude the commonwealth is defended from the enemy, but by juſtice it is preſerv'd.* The *Chineſes* cannot ſay they do not ſtand in need of defending themſelves, for they never wanted enemies, and they have always maintain'd mighty armies, as appears by thoſe that guard the wall. Yet for all this in their accounts of their government they make no mention of the martial men. Not only experience, but S. *Thomas* alſo, *Opuſc.* 20. *lect.* 2. *cap.* 1. teaches us that the northern people, as the more ſanguine, are fitteſt for war. GOD himſelf after creating all things taught us this policy, *Gen.* ii. ℣. 1. the words are, *Thus the heavens and the earth were finiſh'd, and all the hoſt of them.* Read *Oleaſter* upon theſe words.

Soldiery.

Ranks of people. 2. They divide all their people into four ſtates or degrees, which are theſe, *Zu*, *Nung*, *Kung*, *Zang*, that is, ſcholars, huſbandmen, handicrafts, and merchants.

SECT. I.

Of the Scholars.

Scholars. 1. The ſcholars of *China* are the nobleſt and moſt reſpected people in that empire, they are the knights of the *belt*, or rather the *Phariſees*, their ſciences reach no further than morals, hiſtory, rhetorick, and ſomething of aſtrology, which they ſtudy for paſtime, not *ex profeſſo*, for only thoſe that aſpire to be among the court-mathematicians make a ſtudy of it. Their philoſophy is full of errors and extravagancies.

2. They have the three degrees in uſe among us of batchelor, licentiate, and doctor. Our moſt learned *Paſſerinus*, *Tom.* III. *de ſtatibus*, *q.* 187. *a. t.* 1. *n.* 1137. ſpeaks of the firſt original of theſe degrees, which is very ancient, there the reader may ſee it. He that arrives to be a batchelor, is no longer ſubject to the civil magiſtrate, but to the univerſity, as it is us'd among us in ſuch places. But tho' he has taken his degree, yet is he examin'd every three years, beſides the ordinary yearly examinations; and if they do not improve every year, they puniſh them ſeverely. Some they whip, others they turn down to a lower ſchool, and others they degrade, and make incapable of being graduates for ever; which makes them pore on their books all their life-time. The ſame laws are in force among us, but they are not put in execution. See *Silb.* v. *Doctor.* § 5. where, after laying down the qualifications of a doctor, he concludes thus, *if afterwards he grows uſeleſs he muſt be degraded by the doctors, &c.* Our *Paſſerinus* ſays the ſame, *num.* 1143. But it muſt be underſtood he ſays, when he becomes uſeleſs through his own fault, not if it happen through ſickneſs or any other accident. This method of examining ſcholars continually, is of excellent uſe to keep

Scholars examin'd yearly.

them out of idleneſs, and to prevent the vaſt increaſe of them. The emperor *Juſtinian*, to obviate theſe inconveniencies, took away the royal revenues from ſeveral cities that had ſchools. *Francis* the firſt of *France* was much blam'd for having founded many univerſities, becauſe they vaſtly increas'd the number of ſtudents, and ſo there was a want of ſoldiers, huſband-men, and handicrafts. *Narbona* handles this point very well.

3. The lord *Quiepo de Llano*, being preſident of the univerſity of *Valladolid*, was much concern'd that his majeſty did not ſave the expence he was at in that univerſity to ſupply the publick wants; for if the college of S. *Gregory* were incorporated into the univerſity, there would be good ſchools of philoſophy and divinity at a very ſmall expence. The ſame method might be us'd in other univerſities. The method had been *practis'd in China* before now, were they under the ſame circumſtances.

4. One that valued himſelf upon his politicks, and good humour, us'd another argument, ſaying, that the number of ſcholars was very prejudicial to the ſoldiery, becauſe ſince they encreas'd ſo much, we ſee many more doctors and licentiates for their number, made knights of the military orders, than there are of captains, majors, and other military officers. To conclude, he added, either let the number of ſcholars be reſtrain'd, or elſe let them give ſoldiers doctors caps, for they will as well become martial men, as the military honours do civilians and canoniſts. He diſcours'd excellently upon this ſubject, and ſpoke very ſurprizingly and much to the purpoſe. There are notable wits in the world.

5. *Philip* the third of happy memory was about taking away ſome colleges in *Portugal* from the fathers of the ſociety; the warrant was ſign'd; one of them that had been preſent at the time it was agreed, diſcover'd the ſecret to thoſe concern'd, who had recourſe to the queen, ſhe to the king, and thus the execution was ſtop'd. F. *Antony de Gouvea* a *Portugueſe*, and ſuperior of their miſſioners in *China*, told me this, nam'd the party that diſcover'd it, and acquainted me with other circumſtances relating to the affair. Let us return to *China*. The bachelors of the firſt rank who hold their degree twenty years, are privileged, and free from further examinations, ſo are thoſe that riſe to be licentiates, and of courſe the doctors.

Scholars degrees.

6. During the reign of the family *Sung*, which is ſix hundred years ago, was the time when learning flouriſh'd moſt, the ſchools were increas'd, twenty bachelors were allotted to every town, forty to each city, and fifty to every metropolis. Theſe they call *Lin Seng*, that is bachelors that have allowance from the king. After that they added ſixty to a town, and a hundred and twenty to a city. They are ſtil'd *Ceng Seng*, that is additional bachelors. Afterwards they gave leave for all that would to take their degrees. Theſe are diſtinguiſh'd by the name of *Fu Hio*, which ſignifies bachelors clapt to the ſchool, ſo that there are three degrees of them. They either advance or put them back upon their examinations, according as they perform. Thoſe who are privileg'd are call'd *Kung Seng*, and there are three ſorts of them, one known by the name of *Pa Kung Seng*, which implies that they were ſuch able rhetoricians, and their compoſitions ſo good and elegant, that they thereby merited their degree, without being oblig'd to wait the time that others do, which is a mighty honour in that nation. Others are ſtyl'd *Cie Fuen Kung*, and are thoſe we ſpoke of who hold the degree of bachelors twenty years. The laſt go by the appellation of *Ngen Kung Seng*, denoting they are bachelors privileg'd by the emperor's favour. The ſons of carmen, butchers, hangmen and players, are incapable of taking any degree, and ſo are all baſtards.

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7. One good thing there is among others in the ſchools of *China*, which is that there are very few play-days, there are not eight throughout the whole year, and no vacations at all. They are continually at it, and conſequently there are men admirably vers'd in their laws, hiſtory, and morals, upon which they compoſe moſt ingenious and polite diſcourſes, prov'd and adorn'd with all imaginable elegancy and learning. It were well the ſcholars of *Europe* were like theirs, for they are the graveſt, the modeſteſt and the moſt orderly people in *China*. So that when they ſee a man in the ſtreet with his eyes fix'd on the ground, and very modeſt, all men know he is a ſtudent. The ſame gravity and ſtayedneſs is ſeen even in ſchool-boys. I often ſaw and obſerv'd this with no little ſurprize. The *Tartar* has not ſhewn much favour to learned men, but has humbled them in ſome meaſure. We *Europeans* lik'd it very well, becauſe they are vaſtly numerous, and proud, yet no hindrance to the army, for there are people enough for both uſes, and to ſpare.

Scholars play-days.

Scholars carriage.

8. The books daily printed in *China* are numberleſs. The conveniency for it is very great; paper is ſo extraordinary cheap that I have bought above five hundred and fifty ſheets for two ryals and a half, (fifteen pence.) There are a thouſand ſeveral ſorts of paper, ſome coarſe, ſome indifferent, and ſome extraordinary fine, yellow, red, and

Books.

Paper.

NAVARETTE.

and of ſeveral gay colours, whereof they make moſt curious figures for their houſes and temples. All the paper the emperor uſes is yellow, no man beſides him muſt uſe it. All the orders, bills and books that come abroad in the emperor's name are upon that paper. They have had printing among them, according to *Trigaucius* and others, above one thouſand ſix hundred years. They do it with boards, thoſe of pear-tree are beſt. They cut the letters on them, and when the book is printed the author keeps the tables, and then for a very ſmall expence repeats as many impreſſions as he pleaſes. Having no alphabet, they cannot print as we do, but are forced to cut the letters of what is to be printed every time.

Printing.

Poeſy.

9. Poetry is of great antiquity in that nation; I think what *Lactan. firm. de div. opific. l.* VII. *cap.* 22. writes of other countries, may well be apply'd to *China*, *viz.* That in them poeſy is of more antiquity than their hiſtorians, orators, and other writers. That which *A Lapide* writes in, xi *Geneſ.* ℣. 7. that *the elements of the firſt tongue*, &c. *remain'd in all nations*, cannot be verify'd in the *Chineſe* language, becauſe *it is deſtitute of elements*. Their hiſtory in like manner is moſt antient, and exact. There are imperial annals of the empire, and ſeveral abridgments of them, for the attaining an eaſy knowledge of all things without much trouble. They may ſerve as patterns to all other people in this faculty. Every metropolis has its peculiar hiſtory, and ſo every province, city and town. Every author very particularly ſets down all the product of his country, what famous temples there are in it, their antiquity and founders, the tombs of note, the renowned men, the rivers, mountains, vallies, and every thing elſe worth remembring. Every town and city has curious maps of its territory and extent, by theſe the governors and judges of towns, villages, open countries and highways, eaſily know the bounds of their juriſdiction. All this relates to the learned men, who have one quality they do not deſerve to be envy'd for, which is a helliſh pride, fix'd in their very marrow and bones; and this is the reaſon they look upon thoſe of the other nations of the world as ſcarce men. The *Greeks* accounted all other nations barbarous, and the *Chineſes* look upon us and them as ſuch. This is the effect worldly learning produces. So are the words of St. *Paul* underſtood, *But learning puffs up. Lira* writes thus upon the firſt of *Eccleſiaſtes: In much wiſdom* (that is, human) *is much anger, for ſuch wiſdom puffs up, and pride puff'd up is eaſily provok'd to anger.* This is verify'd in the *Chineſes*, and GOD grant it be not in others who are under better circumſtances.

Hiſtory.

Maps.

Scholars proud.

10. I muſt lay it down as out of diſpute, that the body of the learned is a ſect the ancienteſt, and moſt particularly *Chineſe*, profeſſed by the ſcholars, as ſhall be ſaid in another place; and it has the property of other ancient ſects, which is to deſpiſe all others, and oppoſe them as falſe and pernicious. *Lactan. firm. de divin. præm. lib.* VII. *cap.* 7. writes againſt this, and ſays, *for we do not ſo overthrow philoſophy as the academicks do*, &c. *but we teach that there was no ſect ſo far out of the way, nor any of the philoſophers ſo vain, but they diſcern'd ſomewhat of truth. It is therefore an incredible error in thoſe who when they approve of any ſect, damn the reſt as falſe, and vain, and arm themſelves to fight*, &c. There is no doctrine but what has ſomething of truth, ſays S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *q.* 172. *art.* 6. *As it is impoſſible to find any thing that is abſolutely deſtitute of good, ſo it is impoſſible to find any doctrine and learning, which does not ſometimes intermix truths among falſhoods.* If it were not ſo, ſects and hereſies would find no followers; but ſuch is the vanity of the *Chineſes*, that with them nothing is of any value, or has the leaſt ſhadow of truth or reaſon, beſides their ſects and doctrine.

Literati.

11. I will ſay ſomething in this place concerning the examinations of ſcholars, leaving other points to be handled among the controverſies. In every metropolis there is one like a firſt profeſſor, who has charge of all the ſchools of the province. This man ſpends moſt of the year going about to all towns and cities, where he yearly examines all the bachelors; ſuch as advance he rewards, the others he puniſhes, as we ſaid above. The ſtudents that have a mind to it are examin'd, and if they deſerve, do take their degree. They are very regular in this particular, as to precedence of firſt, ſecond, third, &c. which they look upon as a great matter of credit and reputation. Not all the bachelors, but only thoſe who for their learning have got ſufficient reputation to aſpire to the degree of licentiates, reſort to the general examinations, which are every three years in the capital cities of provinces; there uſually meet four or five thouſand or more. It is eaſy to imagine how great their colleges muſt be. That of *Canton* has five thouſand little chambers, or cells, with a chair and table in every one. Theſe rooms are ſo contriv'd, that the viceroy who is in a tower hard by has them all in his view. On the eve they all meet the viceroy, magiſtrates, examiners, and many *mandarines* of the province who come to aſſiſt the others. At every one of theſe examinations fifty are advanc'd to the degree of licentiates. As thoſe that are to be examin'd come in, which is the day before examination, they ſearch them even to their ſhoes and the ſeams

Scholars examination.

Colleges.

ſeams of their garments, to find out whether they carry any written paper about them; if it be found upon any of them, they whip him ſeverely, degrade him of his bachelor's degree, and turn him out. When they are all, every man in his little cell, they place a centinel upon every two of them, who is to take care that none of them talk to one another, nor to any body elſe. Thoſe that attend the viceroy take care of the ſame. If any thing of this nature be diſcover'd they make a noiſe on a great drum they have by them; the guards preſently look out, and having found where the fault lay, they immediately puniſh the offender according to the crime. The magiſtrates who are examiners give them by word of mouth their themes, which are generally upon the moral virtues of patience, humility, *&c.* When they have all heard them, they immediately begin to write, extol the virtue, prove their aſſertions, confirm them by hiſtories, ſimilies, *&c.* according to the beſt of every man's ſkill. Having finiſh'd their compoſition, they cloſe it up curiouſly, writing their name and country upon it; but they take care to put a cover over it, that it may not be read. Then it is deliver'd to thoſe appointed for the purpoſe, and carry'd to a room of *mandarines* who read and examine it. Such compoſitions as deſerve to go up to the ſecond room, are laid aſide, the reſt are thrown out; of five thouſand, the one half are rejected in this firſt hall. Thoſe that are choſen, go up to the ſecond, where after being view'd, about half thoſe go up again to the third. Being come hither, where the magiſtrates examiners are, they pick out fifty of the beſt and moſt elegant among them, with precedency, as firſt, ſecond, third, *&c.* Then they look upon the names (this is the manner of all examinations) call thoſe that have merited to take their degree, and write their names upon large tables which they hang in ſome publick place to be ſeen by all people. By vertue of this very action they become graduates without any further ceremony; even as *Eleazer, by only the ceremony of clothing without any other unction, or conſecration,* became high prieſt, *Num.* xx. 21, 26. If they find any more compoſitions worthy of the degree, they write the names of them they were made by, commending them, and declaring, that if there were more allow'd to take their degrees, they deſerv'd it, which they account a great honour. They are three days lock'd up about this buſineſs. The emperor is at the whole expence, which is very great; and to ſay the truth, I do not name it here, becauſe no *European* will believe it. After this the viceroy, examiners, and other great

Scholars degrees.

mandarines receive thoſe that have taken their degree with much honour, entertain them at a ſolemn banquet, and give every one a ſilver porringer, a blue ſilk umbrello, and a ſedan, which is there carry'd upon men's ſhoulders. After receiving all congratulations, every man returns home with more honour than he came abroad. When the tables are hung up, there are a great many ſtand by ready to carry the news. As ſoon as they have read the names and countries of them, one goes away one way, and another the other, travelling day and night to get the reward of their good tidings. He comes into the town making a great noiſe, and the kindred of him that has taken the degree reward him bountifully for his journey. All the whole city, or town, makes publick rejoicing for the good fortune of their townſman. When he comes home, every body viſits, joys, and offers him ſomething according to their ability. What they give at this time is ſilver to bear his charges to court. Every licentiate is oblig'd to repair preſently to court, where he makes his appearance, and his name is regiſtred in the imperial books, that he may be made uſe of in the government when there is occaſion. They that will riſe to be doctors give notice they are examin'd before the emperor: he himſelf aſſigns them their themes, and chuſes thoſe he likes beſt. He that is firſt nam'd among them, obtains the greateſt honour imaginable. Some of them are appointed for the imperial college, and of which I gave an account in the firſt book; others return to their own homes, where they muſt expect with patience till employments are given them.

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12. Extraordinary care is taken that no bribes be given to get a degree. The *Chineſes* have their contrivances for every thing. In my time the emperor, father to him now reigning, caus'd a licentiate and his examiner to be beheaded, becauſe it was prov'd there had been bribery betwixt them. As we were going to the imperial city, we overtook another licentiate, who was carry'd in irons for the ſame crime; and if upon enquiry it were prov'd upon him, there's no doubt but he loſt his head.

Scholars degrees upon mere merit.

13. Their manner of bribing is not always the ſame, but that moſt us'd is, to go out two or three days journey to meet the examiner: if they find their buſineſs like to take, they agree for five hundred ducats or more. Then they agree upon the mark to know the candidates compoſition, by which is commonly a daſh or ſtroke, in one particular place or other; or elſe the examiner makes known to him the ſubject, that he may have time to ſtudy upon it, and add ſome particular letter, which when

NAVARETTE. he ſees upon examination, he paſſes it, and allows his rhetorick; ſo he gets the degree by his money, and not by his learning. Now this being not to be tranſacted only between them two, it is hard but ſomething of the matter will be known; and if he that has thus taken his degree, is not look'd upon as an able ſcholar, they ſuppoſe the bribery, and they accuſe him who promis'd to raiſe him by his merit.

Schools. 14. The ſchools are very antient in *China*, they were far advanced long before *Plato*'s time. Learning and the empire it ſeems began together. In *Europe* it is of later date. *Spondanus*, *tom.* 2. *an.* 535. obſerves it of *Rome*, and ſays, there were no Chriſtian ſchools in that metropolis of the world till that time. *As to which particular it is as well worthy obſervation, as to be admired, that there were not hitherto doctors at* Rome, *to teach divinity publickly in the ſchools, by which you may the more plainly diſcern the purity of the apoſtolical fountain inceſſantly flowing there,* &c. *yet afterwards, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to have rejected learning, and avoided being examin'd, ſhe alſo fairly propos'd the doctrines ſhe taught to be diſcuſs'd in the ſchools, eſpecially upon account of the hereticks, againſt whom the catholick managers were oblig'd to prove all points of Chriſtian faith to be true and ſolid by all ſorts of arguments.* The articles of our holy religon were preſerv'd in thoſe firſt ages with holy ſimplicity, without the multiplicity of diſputes that afterwards enſued, and continue to this day. Malice grew ſtrong, and the number of enemies encreas'd, ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary to oppoſe them. *Seneca* has an admirable ſentence, which may well be applied to our times: *In ancient days men were better; ſince learned men appear'd, good ones fall ſhort, for we are taught how to diſpute, not how to live.* If it were not ſo, one would think as the number of learned men increaſes ſo conſiderably, life ought to mend daily. We have already given a brief account of the learned men of *China*. Let us now go over to the next rank of people in that nation.

In Jacob's *time there were ſchools and ſcholars.* A Lapide *in* Gen. xxv. 27.

SECT. II.

Of the Huſbandmen, and Huſbandry.

Husbandry 1. The *Chineſes* ſay, the emperor's principal care ought to be for the huſbandmen, and to allow them as large privileges as may be, becauſe all the empire ſubſiſts by their labour and induſtry. The ſame, and for the ſame reaſon ought to be done in all parts; and if this were practis'd in *Manila* the land would be more plentiful, with no ſmall increaſe to the king's revenue. Many in thoſe iſlands will not work, becauſe all they reap goes away in duties; if they do not ſow, they don't reap, and ſo are free from them. So ſay the *Indians*, and ſo have I heard it ſaid. *F. de Angelis* ſays the *Turks* do the ſame. We need not admire them, nor is it reaſonable we ſhould follow their example, but rather that of the *Chineſes*; for they act very orderly in this and ſeveral other caſes.

Manila.

2. The huſbandmen of *China* are mighty numerous, and as to rank are prefer'd before merchants and mechanicks. They work without ceaſing, and if they had the feeding and wine thoſe of *La Mancha* in *Caſtile* have, no men in the world would outdo them at their buſineſs. They are continually about their lands; if they have any time to ſpare, away they go immediately to the mountains to cut wood, to the garden to look to their herbs, or to cut canes, &c. ſo that they are never idle. The land in *China* never lies fallow; generally the ſame ground produces three crops in a year; firſt, rice; and before it is reap'd, they ſow fitches; and when they are in, wheat, beans, or ſome other grain: thus it continually goes round. They manure it as much as may be, there is no dung but what is put to this uſe. Human dung is ſold, and the countrymen go about the ſtreets, crying, who will exchange this commodity for wood, oil, or herbs? all which they carry with them. To carry it away decently, they have ſmall tubs very cloſe cover'd. They carry them ingeniouſly on their ſhoulders; and thus the houſes are cleans'd every day, and get ſomething. They often cleans'd the priſon I and my two companions were kept in, and the goaler was well paid for it. A great many go about the ſtreets with baſkets, and little iron ſhovels, picking up all the filth there is, whether it be dogs, ſwines, or any other creature's dung, ſo that all places are conſtantly kept clean. Beſides this, as I hinted before, there are neat and decent places in cities, towns, and in the country, for all neceſſities; and ſo on the roads. The owners of them make uſe of all they find there, in their gardens and fields.

Husband-men. *Manuring.* *Cleanneſs.*

3. When they take up the rice from the firſt bed and tranſplant it, they uſe an extraordinary art to give it ſtrength, which I would not dare to inſert here had I not ſeen and examin'd it. They that kill ſwine, which moſt men do, carefully keep the hair. The huſbandmen buy it, and when they plant rice, put a little of it made up like a ball into the ground with the plant. This they ſay ſtrengthens the rice, and gives vertue to the earth. When the plant is grown up and begins to ear, they ſcatter unſlack'd lime about all the rice-fields. This lime they ſay kills the worms, burns up the weeds, and at the ſame time fattens the land.

Rice.

land. We could not but admire every time we ſaw this practis'd, but experience ſhews it is as they ſay. By this means the rice-fields are ſo clean, that I have ſometimes walk'd thro' them looking for ſome ſmall herb, and could never find any; which ſeems incredible, ſo that the rice draws all the nouriſhment from the ground; and there is ſuch tall lovely rice to be ſeen, that it is very ſurprizing.

Urine. 4. At certain times it is uſual to ſprinkle the rice and herbs, or water it with man's piſs mix'd with ſome of the excrement. We *Europeans* thought this a riddle, becauſe in *China* corn, rice, and all ſorts of greens are nouriſh'd, fed, and kept alive by piſs, which among us burns and deſtroys all plants.

5. In regard the rice requires to be always ſwimming in water, in ſuch places where there are not rivers, brooks, or ſprings, whoſe waters they contrive a thouſand ways to convey into the fields, they have wells and great ponds made by hand to keep the *Rain.* rain, which generally falls in *May* in the ſouthern provinces. When their ponds are full, the huſbandmen are pleas'd, becauſe that water will ſerve them if it ſhould rain no more. This they uſe to water their ground with great eaſe, and have admirable engines for that purpoſe. I have often ſeen, and diligently obſerv'd them, yet I cannot deſcribe how they ſhould be made. They have been carried to *Manila*, and the *Dutch* have them at *Jacatra*; I believe there is not a better invention in the world for draining of wells, ſprings, or ponds. If it does not rain about *May*, then begin the pray-*Publick devotions.* ers, proceſſions, and faſts, which are ſtrange and aſtoniſhing. The magiſtrates and judges meet to conſider of means how to appeaſe heaven, and like blind guides run into follies. The conjurers act their deviliſh parts. The idolaters have recourſe to their idols, the ſchoolmen to the mountains and valleys; and all of them are reſtleſs, and more diligent in making their application to devils and idols, than we are in praying to GOD upon the like occaſions. In all publick neceſſities they make uſe of the ſame remedies.

Rice. 6. They gather rice twice a year, once in *June*, and the next time in *December*. The ſouthern provinces have more plenty of rice than the northern; tho' there is great abundance of corn, yet more of this in the north. There is not a foot of waſte land in all *China*; and if it were not all till'd, the product would not ſuffice to maintain ſuch multitudes. The huſbandmen are generally poor people, and have but a ſmall parcel of land they farm from others: The general rule is that the land-*Rent.* lord pays taxes and has half the crop, the huſbandman tills the ground and has the other half for his pains. There is not a horn, bone, or feather, but what they burn to make aſhes to manure their ground. *Horace* and *Cicero* wrote much in praiſe of huſbandry. See *A Lapide*, *Geneſ.* xlix. ℣. 15. NAVARETTE. *Manuring.*

7. Huſbandry is of great antiquity in *China*; one of their firſt emperors, by name *Xin Nung*, was the firſt that taught it. They ſacrifice to him at this time, and he has magnificent temples. *Idolatry.*

SECT. III.

Of the Handy-crafts.

1. A great deal might be ſaid of this rank of people. There are in *China* handy-craft workmen of all ſorts that can be imagined, and ſuch numbers of them that it is prodigious. The curioſities they make and ſell in the ſhops amaze all *Europeans*. If four large galeons were ſent to the city *Nan King*, to that of *Cu Cheu*, to *Hang* *Manufac-* *Cheu*, or any other like them, they might *tures.* be loaden with a thouſand varieties of curioſities and toys, ſuch as all the world would admire, and a great profit be made of them, tho' ſold at reaſonable rates. All things neceſſary to furniſh a princely houſe may be had ready made in ſeveral parts of any of the aforeſaid cities, without any farther trouble than the buying, and all at poor rates in compariſon of what is ſold among us. The *Chineſes* are very ingenious at imitation, they have imitated to perfection *Imitation.* whatſoever they have ſeen brought out of *Europe*. In the province of *Canton* they have counterfeited ſeveral things ſo exactly, that they ſell them in the inland for goods brought from *Europe*. *F. de Angelis* was much in the wrong in affirming they have rare painters among them, for they are and *Painting.* ever were very mean ones. They paint flowers, birds and trees indifferently, but fall ſhort in the ſhadowing. They very much admire our paintings, tho' they are but ordinary ones. It is true, that ſome of them who have learn'd at *Manila* and *Macao* have prov'd great artiſts. The filigran the *Chineſes* make at *Manila*, which they learnt of the *Indians*, has aſtoniſh'd the *Europeans*. They now begin to imitate it in ſome meaſure in *Italy*. In *Canton* they make very good ſpectacles, proſpective, burning and looking glaſſes, ſo like ours that it is hard to know them aſunder. Not long before I came from thence we underſtood they made them of pebbles ground ſmall, for want of fine ſand which they have not. The tools mechanicks uſe are much like ours, except here or there one. The tailors uſe no *Tailors.* thimble, but only a rag ty'd about the ball of the thumb, and that ſerves them: they for the moſt part ſew ſtanding, only leaning againſt a table on which their work lies. There are abundance of weavers. In *Weavers.* *Canton*, where there was a free trade with

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the *Portugueſes*, there were ninety thouſand looms. The women work hard, many of them maintain themſelves by their labour; they embroider delicately. A great many ſhoemakers go about the ſtreets with all their tools about them; they go where they are call'd, mend ſhoes, and ſole them for half a ryal (three pence) and they will laſt a year or two with thoſe that do not go much. I know not after what manner, or what it is they uſe to tan ſo rarely. Smiths walk about after the ſame manner, and carry their little bellows, which are much more convenient, and as uſeful as thoſe in *Europe*. They call them, and they will make nails, or any thing elſe. There are others whoſe trade is to mend broken earthen ware, which they do by nailing together the pieces with bits of braſs; the diſh is ſtrong, and the crack ſcarce perceivable. Many carry about apparel to ſell; others fleſh, fiſh, herbs, ſo that no body needs go abroad for proviſion. There is meat ready dreſs'd to be had at any time of the day, and at all rates, in every city, or town, or even in the villages that lie in any frequented road: beſides, there are many conſiderable eating-houſes, where if any man will have a dinner for half a ducat, for one, two, three, or more, in an hour's time they will ſend it home in good order, cleanly, and on the fineſt earthen ware. The inns of *Italy*, or other parts, do no way outdo them.

Shoemakers.

Smiths.

Eating-houſes.

2. I will here briefly treat of the earthen-ware of *China*, concerning which many groundleſs ſtories are reported in theſe our parts. It is neither made of egg-ſhells, nor of ſea-ſnails, as *Mendoza* writes: nor is it buried under ground an hundred, nor yet twenty years. All the earthen ware that is us'd in *China*, and all that has been brought hither, is made in a town of the province of *Kiang Si*, call'd *Chao Hien:* Only the earth of that place is proper for it. They cleanſe it very well, paint it of ſeveral fine colours; and after being bak'd, it comes out tranſparent, and no diſh, plate, or baſon has any knot. Of late years ſome in the province of *Fo Kien* attempted to counterfeit it, but what they made was not to compare with the other; and the emperor, at the requeſt of thoſe of *Chao Hien*, commanded the others to deſiſt. That of *Japan* is good, but ſtill inferior to the other; beſides it has one great fault, which is, that boiling water cracks and breaks it, and it does not that of *China*. The gilding and varniſhing of *Japan* is beyond that of *China*, though their gilders and varniſhers are very ſkilful, and daily improve, particularly in painting of trees, birds, and flowers on the ſeveral works they make. The *Chineſes* make abundance of fine paper-flowers, but thoſe made of ſilk are better. At *Nan King* they make them of wax to ſuch perfection, that we were amaz'd at them, as I obſerv'd in another place.

Porcelane.

3. The *Chineſes* are great lovers of perfumes, ſpend much money in them, and therefore there are a great many who live by making ſweets to burn. They uſe them in the temples of their idols, and about their dead. There are ſeveral ſorts of them, ſome better than others. Of the ordinary ones which are wonderful cheap, they make things in the ſhape of a fardingale, mark'd out at diſtances as far as can burn in an hour, and ſo they make them for eight or twelve hours, or more or leſs. They hang them up in the temples, every man according to his devotion; others uſe them in their houſes to watch, or riſe by in the night; for looking upon the ſcores that remain, they know how many are burnt, and by that how many hours they have ſlept, and how long it is to day.

Perfumes.

4. We may reckon the multitude of phyſicians they have among their handy-crafts, and if they pleaſe we will allow them to paſs among the men of learning. I forgot to give them a place there, and it is but reaſonable they ſhould have a good one, and we ſhould all allow it them, for we all ſtand in need of their worſhips. *Honour the phyſician for the need you have of him.* There are good ones in *China*, and ſome very expert at diſcovering the indiſpoſition by the pulſe. Yet the greateſt part are mere farriers, for tho' the *Chineſes* are ſo fond of their life and health, eſpecially the great ones, yet they have taken no care, nor made regulation for this faculty, tho' ſo neceſſary; ſo that tho' there are examinations, and degrees to be taken by ſcholars and ſoldiers (for theſe are made bachelors, licentiates, and doctors, and are ſeverely examin'd, tho' their degrees are much inferior to thoſe of the learned men) yet there is nothing at all for phyſick. Any man that will take upon him to be a phyſician, does it without controul. The phyſicians themſelves are apothecaries, and therefore when they viſit their patients, they carry a ſervant loaded with their medicines. When he has felt the pulſe at leiſure, he leaves what he thinks proper and goes away with the money. They never bleed, cup, give gliſters or purges. They know nothing there of potions, their greateſt cure is a regular diet, which is very agreeable to *Galen: the greateſt medicine is abſtinence. S. Thomas, opuſc.* 60. *art.* 10. quoting *Galen*'s words, ſays, *the body of a man is oftener found to fall into mortal diſeaſes through exceſs, than through want:* So that it requires to be dieted. The firſt thing they do is to forbid fiſh, fleſh, and eggs; they allow rice broth, rice boil'd thin, ſome herbs ſalted, and upon the recovery

Phyſicians.

gooſe-

gooſe-eggs ſalted; as alſo ſalt-fiſh dry'd and roaſted. This ſame method they obſerve in *Japan*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and all other kingdoms even as far as *India* and the *Moguls* country. Very little rhubarb is us'd in *China*, tho' there is ſo much of it that it is not ſold for above half a rial (three pence) a pound. They uſe more of that they call *ſo lin*, and we *China* root.

5. The practice of phyſick is of great antiquity in *China*. One of the firſt five emperors introduced it. His books are preſerv'd to this day, with ſome others that treat of the nature of herbs. True it is, his ſucceſſors have advanc'd this faculty but little or nothing. *F. Coplet*, of whom we have elſewhere made mention, is a violent aſſerter of the *Chineſe* phyſicians, here and there one is of his opinion; he is about tranſlating ſome of their books for the improvement of *Europe*. The *Chineſes* neither ſtudy, nor know any thing of philoſophy; this being ſo very neceſſary an aſſiſtant to phyſick, how can there be any able phyſicians without it? In truth, there all depends on chance; they hit right perhaps by experience, not by their learning. They never ſee, nor aſk for, nor underſtand the water. In ſome ſlight indiſpoſitions they uſe cupping; their manner and application of them I like better than ours. They are made of braſs, have a little hole at the top, which they ſtop with a little wax; when they lay them on, they put a ſmall lighted wick, made to ſtand upright, on the place appointed; then they clap the cupping-veſſel upon it, it draws well; and then unſtopping the little whole with a needle, the air goes out at it, and the cupping-veſſel of itſelf gently comes off the fleſh. There are many good ſurgeons, who do their buſineſs very well without all that variety of inſtruments us'd among us. An infinite number goes about telling fortunes, and ſo of muſicians. Some blind women, purpoſely blinded by their parents, go about with gittars to get their bread. Others playing on inſtruments, calculate nativities, and pretend to underſtand phyſiogmony. During the rice-harveſt many go about the fields playing to the reapers; and they having the rice and corn at hand, pay them in that coin. They are not a few who aſſign fortunate places for ſepulchres; they obſerve the poſition of the place, that it looks towards the ſouth, and other circumſtances that may make it have a communication with the dragon they feign to be under the earth. Hence comes all honour and riches to their children and poſterity, and this they call *fung xui*.

Fortune-tellers.

Muſicians.

6. It remains here to ſpeak of the *China* root, paſſing by many other ſorts of drugs that country produces. There are two ſorts of it, one perfect, which is fine and white, and ſold in *China* for four times the price of the other. I gueſs none of this comes to us, it grows in the northern provinces. The other is a very imperfect ſort, they call it *the root of the earth*; it grows in the provinces of *Fo Kien*, *Canton*, and others in the ſouth, it is of a ruddy colour, there is abundance of it about the fields, it coſts only the taking up and carrying home. Both ſorts grow under ground, and have nothing above but ſome little ſprigs with very ſmall leaves, by which it is found out. This laſt ſort is it they bring into *Europe*. In *India* it is very dear, I have ſeen that ſold at *Malaca* for eighteen pieces of eight, which in *China* did not coſt two. The *Portugueſes* at *Macao* of late years fell into the way of preſerving this root. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* bring ſome of this preſerve into *Europe*, it is very delicious. In the year 1674, diſcourſing on this ſubject with doctor *Requena*, he told me an *Engliſhman* had given him a little of it.

China root.

NAVARETTE.

7. It will be proper to ſay ſomething of the moſt famous root call'd *jin ſen*. It is valued above all things in *China*; it grows not there, but in the neighbouring countries on the north-ſide. The *Chineſes* call it *a medicine that raiſes the dead*. The name is well due to it, for its admirable effects. It is much like ſmall radiſhes without leaves; they ſell it at an extravagant rate, generally for its weight in gold; and when ſcarce, double. Its particular quality is to comfort the ſtomach, and ſtrengthen the whole body, ſo that it ſeems to inſpire new ſpirits and life. When a man is quite ſpent with weakneſs, let him take a decoction of this root to the quantity of the weight of a ſiver rial (a ſix-pence) and he preſently recovers more ſtrength than if he had eaten a pullet. It is a wonderful thing how much virtue there is in ſo ſmall a thing. The great men exceed in the uſe of it, in order to indulge themſelves more freely in ſenſuality. Much more might be ſaid in this place, but thus much will anſwer my deſign.

Jin Seu.

SECT. IV.
Of the Merchants.

1. The number of traders and merchants in *China* is exceſſive. Whatſoever town or city a man comes into, there ſeem to be more ſellers than buyers. They are all very obliging and civil; if they can get any thing, tho' never ſo little, they don't ſlip the opportunity. They are the very antipodes of the *Japoneſes*, for theſe are rough, diſobliging, and poſitive; when they once ſay a thing is worth twenty ducats, they will not abate a croſs, tho' you argue it with them a twelve-month.

Merchants

2. From

NAVARRETTE. *Trade with foreigners.*

2. From all antiquity the *Chineſes* have been forbid trading with foreign nations; but the people being covetous, have of late years by their money purchas'd leave to go to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Jacatra*, *Siam*, and other places within the ſtrait of *Scicapura*. This has given many *Chineſes* the opportunity of ſettling in thoſe countries. In my time it was moſt rigorouſly obſerv'd that none ſhould go to ſea, not ſo much as the *Portugueſes* of *Macao*, nor no ſhip of other nations ſhould be admitted. This was obſerv'd during the time we were in cuſtody, and they twice turn'd away the *Dutch* without ſuffering them to buy or ſell. The *Chineſes* ſay they want nothing that foreign countries afford, and they are in the right. This is a good piece of policy. The ſame might be done in other kingdoms, but they do it not, becauſe they will not.

CHAP. II.

Of the Coin of China.

Money.

1. IT will not be amiſs in this place to treat of the *Chineſe* coin, and others I have ſeen. The current coin of *China* is plain ſilver without any ſtamp, but it goes by weight. It paſs'd ſo in *Abraham*'s time, *Oleaſter* in *Gen.* xxiii. For which reaſon all buyers or ſellers carry about them a little curious *Roman* beam, we call it the *Stilyard*; with which they weigh what they receive and pay. They reckon by crowns, every one worth ten rials plate, like the *Italian* crowns. They divide a rial into ten parts, as the *Romans* do into ten *bayoques*; that tenth part they ſubdivide into an hundred, but moſt commonly into twenty, the others are ſo ſmall they do not weigh them. There is ſome ſilver very fine, in which they pay their taxes to the emperor, and no other is allow'd of for this uſe; there is another fine ſort, another that is current, ſome coarſe, and ſome coarſer ſtill, which is the cauſe of many cheats, to which moſt of the commonalty are much addicted. The leiſure the *Chineſes* take to weigh half a farthing in ſilver, is intolerable to the *Europeans*. They make pigs of ſilver of what weight they think fit, to ſend up the taxes to court; uſually they weigh fifty crowns, and they are curious in this particular, as in all other things. There are abundance of founders in every city and town, who are all or moſt of them very expert at ſtealing the ſilver, and making up the weight with other metals. They have great ſhears of ſeveral ſorts to cut the ſilver with, which all men are provided with, eſpecially the merchants and traders; and becauſe when it grows duſky it is hard to know ſilver, and bits of it are apt to drop down when it is cut, therefore as ſoon as the ſun ſets all the ſhops are ſhut up.

2. There is another braſs coin round, and as big as a *Spaniſh quarto* (ſomething broader than a farthing) in the middle of it is a ſquare hole, which ſerves to hang it on a ſtring by; it is more generally us'd in the imperial city than in any other place. The emperor's name is engrav'd upon it, but the value of it is not certain; in ſome places it riſes, and falls in others, but in all parts where I have been, the braſs ſold by weight is worth more than when coin'd. It was ſometimes propos'd at *Manila* to make uſe of it for ſmall expences. I have ſeen this project in print, its being good is cauſe enough why it ſhould not be practis'd. It would be advantageous on ſeveral accounts, and it were no ſmall benefit, that by this means his majeſty would be furniſh'd at eaſy rates with metal to caſt guns.

3. I am perſuaded the *Chineſe* coin is the ancienteſt in the world. The firſt we *Europeans* have any knowledge of, is that which they ſay *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, coin'd at the requeſt of king *Ninus*, and the firſt pieces of it were thoſe thirty for which *Judas* ſold CHRIT, ſo ſays *Alhericus de Roſate in lib. de contr. empt.* and quotes *Capola*, *Felicianus de Solis*, and others. The coin of *China* was invented and made by one of the firſt five emperors, who according to their annals without doubt liv'd before *Terah*. *Spondanus* writes they began to coin money in *France* about the year 549 after CHRIST, it was a gold coin with the effigies of their kings, not of the emperors, as others were. *Ariſtotle* in the fourth of his morals diſtinguiſhes the ſeveral ſpecies of coin. S. *Thomas* quotes him, *lib.* II. *de regin. princip. cap.* 13. and ſays, *Moneta* implies, *Monens mentem ne fraus committatur; & numiſma, quia nominibus principum, effigieque deſignatur.* Whence it follows that the braſs-money of *China* is *numiſma*, and the ſilver which is weigh'd muſt be *Moneta*.

4. At *Macaſſar* they uſe a royal coin, for it is gold, they call it *bulay* and *copones*, it is us'd as low as the value of half a rial (three pence) and has their kings arms on it. True it is, for ſmall expences, as buying of herbs, cocos, fiſh, *&c.* they have another little braſs coin, which they call *abejarrucos*. In *Camboxa* the current coin is of ſilver curiouſly caſt. The ſtamp on it is a cock, and therefore the *Europeans* call it by the name of *gallos*, or cocks. At *Siam* they uſe very fine ſilver, known by the name of *ticals*, in the midſt of it is a

ſmall ſtamp with the arms. For ſmall change they uſe ſome fine little ſhells, they
Sigueyes. call *ſigueyes*, brought to them from the coaſt
Money of ſhells. of *India* and *Manila*, of which there are vaſt quantities in the iſland *Luban*. I heard in *China*, they were given to the king, I am ſatisfied his majeſty will be little or nothing the better. This ſort of money paſſes at *Suratte*, whither the *ſigueyes* are carry'd from the *Maldivy* iſlands. The ſame is us'd throughout all *Guinea*, according to *Monardes*, fol. 134. In *Japan*, *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* they uſe ſilver-money.

5. At *Malaca* I ſaw five ſeveral ſorts of coin, pieces of eight; *rixdollars* a finer ſilver than the pieces eight; crowns of a lower allay; *caxa*, which is only one third ſilver, is like the *tarjas* of *Navarre*, current in all places where the *Dutch* are. The fifth is copper: at *Columbo* they have the ſame five ſorts of coin, and the *roupies* beſides, the ſilver whereof is perfectly fine. At *Cha-*
Fanones. *ramandel* they uſe *fanones*, which are of gold, ſeventeen of them make a piece of eight, and one *fanon* makes one hundred and ten little pieces of copper-money; there
Pagodes. are alſo *pagodes* of gold, one of them is worth two pieces of eight. At *Goa* there
Seraphims are *ſeraphims* of coarſe ſilver; S. *Thomas's* of gold, each of them is a crown of ours.
St. Thomas's. They are call'd S. *Thomas's*, becauſe they bear the effigies of that holy apoſtle. There are alſo *tangas* and *abejarrucos*.

6. *Spondanus* in his ſecond volume writes, that *Spain* is ſo exhauſted, that for want of gold and ſilver it makes uſe of copper-money. What I can ſay to it is, that whereſoever I have been, which is a conſiderable part of the world, I have ſeen our pieces of eight in great eſteem, and I know they are ſo in *Turky*, *Babylon* and *Perſia*. The *Chineſes* value them at a great rate, for whereas they reckon but ten degrees or carracts of fineneſs in ſilver or gold, which anſwers to our twenty four; they allow the pieces of eight to be nine carracts and a half fine. Yet for all this we ſee braſs-money in *Caſtile*, which amazes all the nations in the world. The *French* miſſioners in *China* ſaid, they NAVA-
did not doubt but that there were more RETTE.
pieces of eight in *France* than in *Spain*; and affirm'd, there went out of the port of *Marſeilles* above ſix millions of theirs in pieces of eight to *Turkey*, and other parts where they trade. How then can the *Turk* want ſtrength to make war upon us? What miſs has the *French* of the *Weſt-Indies*? Even as much as *Genoa* and *Venice*. A pamphlet that came from *Portugal* into *China*, rail'd much at the falling of the money in *Caſtile*; adding, that ſtrangers brought in braſs-money, and carried away the ſilver. This has been a grievance theſe many years, and it is very odd that no remedy ſhould be apply'd to ſo grievous a diſeaſe. S. *Thomas*, ſpeaking of the falling of money, ſays in the ſame place we quoted above; *He muſt be very moderate* (that is, the perſon at the helm) *in altering or diminiſhing the weight or metal, becauſe it turns to the peoples loſs.* Here he cites pope *Innocent* reproving the king of *Aragon* upon this account.

7. F. *Faber*, a *French* jeſuit, diſcourſing with me concerning the plate that is every year carry'd out from *Marſeilles*, told me, what diſputes and controverſies there had been in *France* about juſtifying that action, and bringing them off with a ſafe conſcience who had a hand in it. He ſaid the laws of the kingdom were very ſevere againſt it, and the ill conſequences of it conſiderable; however he own'd his ſociety maintain'd the action, and ſatisfied all perſons in that point, becauſe the laws made againſt it were not ſo binding in conſcience. Thoſe of the ſociety in *Manila* ſay the ſame thing in regard to the factors in that city. In theſe caſes I look upon it to be ſafer to have regard to the publick good, than to the benefit of private perſons: beſides that the intention of the legiſlators is ſufficiently expreſs'd without allowing any the leaſt interpretation. The coin of *China* has drawn on this diſcourſe, it may be allow'd of as a diverſion, and change of ſubject.

CHAP. III.

Treating of the Chineſe *Government.*

Government. 1. SOmething has been ſaid, tho' briefly, of the four ranks of people, into which the *Chineſes* divide all their multitude. Theſe again they place under five ſtates or orders, *viz.* the emperor and ſubjects; parents and children; huſbands and wives; elder and younger brothers, and friends. The whole *Chineſe* government tends to make theſe five ſtates or orders live regularly, and in decent manner; and to ſay the truth, if this can be perform'd, there is no more requir'd towards keeping a kingdom in peace and unity, which is the end we ought moſt to aim at in this life. The *Chineſes* deſign is, that every perſon keep within the bounds of their vocation and calling, without exceeding the limits preſcrib'd them. All their doctrine and books tend to preſcribe rules and methods to practiſe what they aſpire to. This is the ultimate end of all the labours and writings of the great *Chineſe* doctor *Kung*

Nava-rette. *Fu Cu.* To kings and emperors they preſcribe the love of their ſubjects, compaſſion, mercy, and fatherly affection; for this reaſon they call him father, and common father of the empire. To the ſubjects, fidelity, loyalty, and obedience to their emperors, kings, magiſtrates, and governors: tho' they ſee the ſword hanging over them, they are not to be deterred from ſpeaking the truth, or performing their duty. To parents meekneſs, and upon occaſion to uſe ſeverity towards their children; to inſtruct, and chaſtiſe their failings, to do with them as S. *Paul* directs in his ſixth chapter to the *Epheſians.* To children, that they be obedient to parents; diſobedience to them is the greateſt ſin the *Chineſes* know, as ſhall be ſaid in another place. Parents uſually accuſe their children before the *mandarines* for diſobedience, when they have not the heart to puniſh them, becauſe they are grown up. The puniſhment inflicted on this account is very ſevere. In thoſe places where there are no *mandarines*, they have recourſe to the elders, who have authority to puniſh this crime. Generally the puniſhment is inflicted in the preſence of the parents, and laſts till they ſay they are ſatisfied, and plead for their child. The practice in this caſe is comical, for any one takes upon him to be plaintiff, and complains that ſuch a one is not obedient to his parents, and ſometimes it falls out that the parents themſelves maintain the contrary, and are at charges to clear their ſons.

Obedience to parents.

Wives. 2. They preſcribe many rules for huſbands and wives, ſome of them ſhall be mention'd in their proper place. The wives in *China* are half ſlaves, their ſubjection extraordinary; they do not know that God made woman of man's rib, and took her not from his feet. They are recluſe in the higheſt degree, their modeſty and reſervedneſs is not to be parallel'd in all the world; they out-do all others upon earth in continual labour and induſtry. They write very much concerning the reſpect and courteſy due from the younger brother to the elder, and the love of the elder towards the younger. Little is ſaid of ſiſters, becauſe they make ſmall account of them. Only the males inherit, the females are cut off; and ſo if they do not marry, when their father dies, they are left to the mercy of the brothers, or other relations. The miſſioners diſcourſing one day about perſuading maids to preſerve their virginity, and become devotees, as is practis'd among us (the fathers of the ſociety have made many, we had but few) I propos'd ſomething of what has been ſaid, and concluded with theſe words: Let your reverences ſecure them a diſh of rice, or as we ſay a morſel of bread to keep them alive, and let it be ſo; but if this can never be ſecur'd, to what purpoſe ſhould we engage ourſelves in affairs of very dangerous conſequence? What muſt a young maid well born do alone in a room or houſe, under a vow of chaſtity, without any thing to maintain her, but her labour; under a confinement never to go abroad, or being able to beg, tho' ſhe be in want? And if ſhe fall ſick, who muſt look after her? That vineyard is not yet at a growth to ſpread along the walls.

Women.

3. They give very pretty documents to friends, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place. They include *mandarines* and maſters in the firſt rank or order, and therefore they call the viceroys fathers of the provinces, the governors of the cities, and the judges of the towns. The reverence and reſpect they pay their maſters is ſcarce to be imagin'd, it laſts not only whilſt they are ſcholars, but all their life-time; ſo that the ceremonies they uſe towards them are continual, and this they do tho' the ſcholar arrive to great preferment, and the maſter ſtill continue a private perſon. I every day approv'd more and more of this reſpect, they far out-do the *Europeans.* The *Chineſes* call the diſtinction and good order of theſe five ſtates mention'd, *ta tao*, which is, great learning and wiſdom. They alſo aſſign five virtues, prudence, juſtice, mercy, fortitude, and fidelity. For the attaining and practiſing of them, they ſet down nine general principles to thoſe that are in authority, which are to compoſe and regulate themſelves, to reſpect virtuous perſons, to love their family, to reverence their ſuperiors and great counſellors, to be in unity with miniſters of ſtate, and be of the ſame body with them; that is the meaning of the word *ji*, to cheriſh, love, and ſupport the ſubjects, to treat ſtrangers who come from far countries with kindneſs, (this they perform but ill at this time) to give great honour to the petty kings, and ſuffer handicrafts to come from other nations. They comment largely upon this, and bring their reaſons from conveniency for it. They have reaſon enough not to admit of ſtrangers, as having no need of them for any worldly affairs. *Narbona* adviſes princes not to prefer ſtrangers to places of truſt, or to their councils, becauſe they are ignorant of the conſtitution, and void of affection, and becauſe the ſubjects always reſent it. He is much in the right, yet he is not minded. The *Chineſes* ſhew'd it ſufficiently in the caſe of *F. Adamus* the jeſuit; for as much as he did riſe, and the emperor favour'd him, ſo much their envy and hatred to him increas'd, and they never gave over till they ruin'd him, and all us with him for his ſake. This is the fate of thoſe that build upon ſand. The *Chineſes* found fault with him, for that he was very great

Scholars reſpect to their maſters.

Virtues.

Strangers.

great with the *Tartar*, and had not given any better tokens of his fidelity and affection to the *Chineſe* emperor, who had honour'd and rais'd him to that height. The fathers are now returning thither with the mathematicks, GOD grant it may be on a better ground and ſucceſs than *F. Adamus* had. *F. Gouvea* us'd to ſay, *F. Matthew Riccius* brought us into *China* by the mathematicks, and *F. Adamus* turns us out by his. More ſhall be ſaid in another place touching this point, ſo that at preſent we will begin a new chapter upon the ſubject of this. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. IV.

Upon the ſame Subject as the laſt.

Execution of laws. 1. THE *Chineſes* have taken an excellent courſe, for the executing of affairs which of themſelves are regularly difficult, as *S. Thomas* terms it. For example, the emperor commands ſearch to be made for a malefactor. Who is there but will ſay it is a difficult matter to find out ſuch a one in ſo large a kingdom, and ſo ſpacious a region? yet for all that it is eaſy, as ſhall be made to appear in this place. The high court in the imperial city, to whom the buſineſs is committed, ſends away orders by the poſt (which is very regular and well order'd) to all the capital cities. The *mandarin* who receives theſe orders communicates them to all the other *mandarines* there, and ſends away an expreſs to all the cities of the province; the cities do the ſame to the towns within their precinct. The *mandarine* of the town acquaints the headboroughs, every one of whom has charge of an hundred houſes, and theſe make it known to their inferiors, which are like tithing men. Thus all the houſes in the empire are ſearch'd without any confuſion or noiſe, tho' they ſtand upon mountains, in vallies or woods, ſo that moſt exact means are us'd to find out any man that is ſought after. After the ſearch the inferiors give an account to their ſuperior officers of what they have done, theſe to the *mandarines* of the town, from them it is ſent to the city, thence to the metropolis, and ſo to the court of juſtice in the imperial city; ſo that within two months time an account of all that has been done in the buſineſs throughout the whole empire, is return'd to court. The *Chineſes* in their government follow the advice that *Jethro* gave *Moſes*, Exod. xviii. read *Oleaſter* and *A Lapide*, ℣. 25. and it will appear to be ſo.

2. This was the manner of proceeding againſt all us miſſioners, to bring us together, ſo that it was morally impoſſible for any to lie concealed without great danger to the heads of ſtreets and quarters. It was with the knowledge of the *mandarines* that four of my order were hid, or elſe they would not mind it, or thought the buſineſs would not have been carry'd on with ſo much rigor. When they ſaw the affair threatned danger, to ſecure themſelves and their reputation, they omitted to uſe ſome means of diſcovery; and in truth things were in a very bad poſture, but it pleas'd GOD to ſalve up all, that ſome ſmall comfort might be left a few Chriſtians. One *F. Macret* of the ſociety was newly come into *China*, and conſequently not known; one that had known the tongue might eaſily have been left in his place to attend the faithful; it was not done, but they ſent him away to *Macao*. Very many did not believe the perſecution would have run ſo high.

3. Thoſe heads we have ſpoke of are mighty watchful over the houſes they have under their charge; none that comes from another place can live in them, without being examin'd, who he is, and what trade he follows. When they know from whence he came they acquaint the judge, who has a liſt of the names of all within his precinct. When I was ſent away to the imperial city (I was one of thoſe that far'd beſt) the judge came to my houſe, and ſent for the head of the quarter I liv'd in. He kneeling, was aſk'd before my face, How many *European* preachers are there here? he anſwer'd, Only one. Is there no more? ſaid the judge again. No ſir, reply'd the headborough. Then I deliver him into your cuſtody, quoth the judge, take care of him till I ſend him away to court, whither the emperor calls him. The headborough was an honeſt man, ſo he took my word, and left me at full liberty. The judge was a man of honour, and gave good proof of it at this time. He was above ſeventy years of age, and as active as if he had been but thirty. The officer that carried me to the metropolis aſſur'd me (and I had heard it from others before) that he eat for his breakfaſt every morning thirty eggs, and a dog's leg, and drank two quartillos (it is about a pint and a half) of hot wine. The good old man look'd ſo fat and fair, it did a man good to ſee him. *A Breakfaſt.*

4. Infinite number of dogs are eaten in *China*, they count their fleſh delicate and nouriſhing, and have butchers and ſhambles, where it is ſold; but more in the northern provinces than in the ſouthern. It is comical to ſee what a multitude of dogs *Meats.*

NAVARRETTE. purſue theſe butchers as they go along the ſtreets; I ſuppoſe the ſmell of dogs fleſh they carry about them provokes the other dogs. When they go loaded with half a dozen or more dogs to the ſhambles the ſport is ſtill better; for the noiſe thoſe ſo carry'd make, brings out all the dogs in the town to take their parts, and attack their mortal enemies. Aſſes fleſh is valu'd above any other. They alſo eat horſefleſh, buffalo, cats, mice, and other ſorts. I my ſelf eat of a horſe, dogs, and mice, and in truth I lik'd them very well. The *Chineſes* value the ſinews of deers feet brought to them dry from *Camboxa*, *Siam* and other places. The elephants trunk they affirm to be a mighty dainty, and a bit for a king; the ſame they ſay of a bear's paw.

5. Let us return to the matter in hand. All matters of moment that are tranſacted in the empire are communicated to the ſupreme governors and viceroys, who make them known to all the ſubjects, after the manner as was ſet down in the beginning of this chapter. Thus there are daily to be ſeen writings, ſet up in publick places, containing the buſineſs in hand at court, which has been laid before the emperor. Our caſe was managed after the ſame manner, and by this means it was known in the meaneſt village and farm-houſe that there were preachers of the word of GOD in *China*. True it is, this information came late, and after they had reprov'd and condemn'd that doctrine. In the year 1663 the *Dutch* went up to court by the way of *Fo Kien*, and immediately news was brought to *Canton* of their arrival, and a particular of the preſents they made the emperor, which are valued at ſixty thouſand ducats. They ſent advice from *Canton* of the arrival of an embaſſador from *Portugal*, and ſoon after the whole empire had notice of his coming. But the emperor complain'd of the ſmalneſs of the preſent, which was immediately made known to him, tho' it was worth above thirty thouſand ducats.

Ranks. 6. The ſeveral degrees, and the rank of ſuperior and inferior courts, and magiſtrates, is very well ſettled and eſtabliſh'd, ſo that there never is nor can be any trouble, or diſpute about precedence, as happens very often among us, eſpecially in the *Indies* and *Philippine iſlands*, which gives much ſcandal to new converts, and infidels. It often happens that a very mean ſoldier, and ſometimes one of them that is baniſh'd from *Mexico*, riſing to be governor, contends with a biſhop, and holds his own ſtiffly; and unleſs the poor biſhop gives way, or parts with his right (either *through too much humility*, or *a deſtructive flattery*, as ſaint *Auguſtin* ſaid) to prevent the miſchief may enſue to his flock, preſently all is in an uproar, and that which began on a frivolous occaſion, ends either in taking away his temporal revenue, or baniſhing the biſhop. The *Chineſes* order things better, every man poſitively knows what place and reſpect is due to him, and the certain extent of his juriſdiction, ſo that there is no room for any controverſy on this or the like ſubject.

7. Every three months a book of conſiderable bulk is publiſh'd in the imperial city, which contains an account of all the emperor's revenue, and the names and ſirnames of all the *mandarines* in the empire at that time, with their rank and precedence, according to their employments. Theſe books are diſpers'd abroad every where, and by them they know every one's poſt, and how they are ſubordinate to one another. It is the cuſtom of *China*, when any thing is laid to the charge of mandarines, which is not an offence that merit their being totally laid aſide, to put them down to a meaner employment; and ſo it ſometimes falls out, that he who but the other day was viceroy of a province, is now reduced to be governor of a ſingle town. The ſupreme governor of a province, who has charge of the whole, is the chief man in it, and as ſuch all kneel to him, and touch the ground with their heads; only the viceroy is exempted, who makes a ſhew of bending his knees. He, the emperor's treaſurer, and the judge criminal, after paying their ceremonies, may ſit down and eat with him. If the ſupreme governor is impeach'd when he is call'd to give account of the diſcharge of his office, he kneels down before the judge without boots, or the habit of a *mandarin*. We ſaw this done in the province of *Canton An.* 1668, to one who afterwards hang'd himſelf for mere rage. *Degradation of mandarines.*

8. All the affairs of metropolitan and other cities are under the like ſubordination, and generally paſs through all their courts. The emperor order'd we ſhould be maintain'd, whereupon we preſented a petition to the ſupreme governor, who gave command, that what the emperor had allow'd ſhould be given us; the order went down to the viceroy, who paſs'd it; from him it went to the emperor's treaſurer, then to the judge, and laſtly to the judges of the two corporations which are within the walls. Theſe gave their anſwer, which went up to the ſupreme governor in the ſame manner as it came down. All this myſtery was made to pay us five *Maravedies* (about a half penny) in ſilver, which the emperor allow'd every one of us. They paid it in coarſe ſilver, and not above half the value, for the officers of courts of juſtice are wicked all the world over; the difference is, that thoſe in *China* are very

courteous, give good words, and are ſatiſfied with a ſmall matter. In every government there are ſix clerks offices which are anſwerable to the ſix courts in the imperial city, whereof we ſpoke in the firſt book, each takes cognizance of its own particular affairs. There all orders that come from court are kept. Every two months the imperial Treaſurers ſend up an account to the court of exchequer of what has been laid out of the revenue. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the ſame Matter.

Mandarines diverſions. 1. THE method the *mandarines* uſe to be able to juſtify themſelves in the diſcharge of their duties is very regular. It is a clear caſe they never go out of their houſes, unleſs it be to pay viſits, to invitations from perſons of note, and about the execution of their office; they don't uſe, as we do, to go abroad a walking to take the air, or for pleaſure. All their diverſions conſiſt in ſome treats, and plays acted whilſt they eat and drink; upon which occaſions the cuſtom is thus. When the gueſts are all come together, the principal actor *Plays.* delivers a book of ſeveral plays to the maſter of the houſe, who gives it to his chief gueſt, to chuſe the play he likes beſt. He names it, and it is acted, which ſhews no ſmall ſkill in the actors. When the play is ended, he that choſe pays for it, and gives ſome ſilver to the waiters and cooks. To ſay the truth, they pay dear for their *Entertainments.* dinner. Men of great note will lay out fifty ducats, others leſs, and ſome only ten, or twelve. The *Chineſes* are great lovers of plays, but the miſchiefs they cauſe fall heavy on them. *Scipio Naſica*, mention'd by the author of *Faſciculus temporum*, *fol.* 31. order'd, *that they ſhould not by any means erect a theatre in the city, becauſe, he ſaid, it was a pernicious thing to a warlike people, as breeding ſloth, and encouraging lewdneſs.* In our parts we mind nothing.

2. In the year 1668, the petty king of *Canton* invited us to drink a glaſs of wine (ſo they term it.) This was a mighty kindneſs, in regard we were confin'd by his emperor. We thought it not decent to go all of us, it was agreed four ſhould go, and I was one of the number. We preſently conſider'd whether he would not have ſome ſort of ſport, becauſe it was then newyears-tide. We had a good dinner, and ſome muſick which oblig'd us to ſpend about ſix ducats, and truly with much regret, for our ſtock was then very low. Theſe are unavoidable accidents; we could no way refuſe ſo great an honour, which beſides procur'd us no ſmall eaſe and enlargement in our confinement. Thoſe who will behave themſelves like gentlemen, muſt take the expence upon them, if they would have the honour and credit it brings along with it; but this requires a good purſe, which we miſſioners want.

3. Every day, morning and evening, *Courts of juſtice.* the *mandarines* ſit in court in their own houſes, except thoſe of the imperial city, which are in a place apart; all the courts are after the ſame manner, as I obſerv'd before. Yet there is no imperial law to oblige the *mandarines* to ſit every day. No certain times are prefix'd them, nor at what hours they ſhall go to the bench, or come off; tho' a miſſioner of a certain religious order aſſerted the contrary at *Rome*, to bring about not what was moſt convenient, but that which he deſir'd and had a mind to.

4. The greater the *mandarin*, the ſeldomer he ſits. The ſupreme governors and viceroys ſit only twice or thrice every moon, unleſs ſome matter of great moment occur. All the miſſioners that ever were, or now are in *China*, know what I write as to this particular to be true. What can we ſay or do if this be otherwiſe repreſented to the head of the church? When the chief *mandarin* comes to ſit in court, they fire three great chambers; before that the muſick and waits play, and trumpets ſound, upon certain little towers near the gate before the court. They alſo ring a bell every half hour. When the court riſes they do the ſame, ſave the ringing of the bell. If the ſupreme *mandarin* is abſent, the next to him has the ſame ceremony perform'd. Whilſt he is in court his officers attend him, ſtanding in two ranks at ſome diſtance from him. The executioners wait, ſome with cleft canes, others with ſhackles. The martial *mandarines*, inſtead of canes uſe cudgels, round at top and ſquare at bottom, thicker than a man's leg. The executioners ſtand below where the criminals are, at a good diſtance from the *mandarin*; as thoſe were from king *Pharaoh* who ſaw and ſpoke to him: for this reaſon *Moſes* excus'd himſelf from going into *Egypt*, ſaying, *Exod.* iv. *I am of a ſlender voice*, according to the *Septuagint*. *St. Auguſtin* upon this place, *quæſt.* 16. *Perhaps the royal ſtate did not allow them to talk near at hand.* The emperors of *China*, and their miniſters, have always obſerv'd this method, either to make themſelves the more dreaded, or to appear the greater, *Read* Hugo Cardinalis *on this place.*

Nava-rette.

greater. *Ahaſuerus, Eſther* iv. forbad any perſon coming into his preſence upon pain of death: *That being monarch of a great empire, he might be thought ſomething more than man, and look the greater*, &c. The *Perſians* us'd the ſame cuſtom, ſays *Rupertus de vict. verb. lib.* VIII. *cap.* 9. *This cuſtom was chiefly eſtabliſh'd among the* Perſians. It is certain we cannot ſay of them as *Pliny* the younger ſays in his *Panegyrick* upon *Trajan*; *There is no difficulty in being heard, no delay in being anſwered; they are preſently heard, and preſently diſmiſt.* Nor what *Pacatus* ſaid of the great *Theodoſius*; *Nor is it more difficult to ſee our emperor than the day-light, or the ſun.*

Sylvier, *t.* 6. *p.* 170. *n.* 105.

5. The *mandarin* being ſeated, and his officers placed, upon one cry made, the three outward gates are opened; and before the people that have buſineſs come in, a crier goes about the inner court with a written tablet, crying (for example) let thoſe come in who have petitions to prefer. When theſe are diſmiſt, the crier again makes proclamation, ſaying, let thoſe that are ſent up from towns come in. Then I went in with the officer that had charge of me; and being on my knees, it was propos'd I ſhould be ſent to the metropolis. I begg'd to be allow'd a veſſel, becauſe I was poor. He granted it very courteouſly. This was the greateſt *mandarin* in the city; I went out again and return'd home. He ſat in much ſtate, a great table before him cover'd with ſilk hanging down to the ground; he had by him pencils to write with, and black and red ink. They ſign and ſeal with red. There lay a great many little ſticks in a wooden varniſh'd caſe; theſe ſerve to denote the number of laſhes they will have given to criminals. Every little ſtick ſtands for five laſhes; if they deſign twenty they throw down four of them, and ſix for thirty. The executioners ſnatch them up, and lay the wretch on his face upon the ſtone; drag down his breeches to his heels, where two ſtand to hold him down, and two more at his head. The executioner facing the *mandarin*, diſcharges the cane with all his ſtrength upon the thighs. The ſtanders-by count the ſtrokes aloud, and at every five comes on a freſh executioner till the number is compleat. There is a difference in the ſtrokes, and in the canes; the greater the *mandarin*, the thicker and heavier they are: to this purpoſe they put lead into them, ſo that the ſtroke is terrible. There lies no appeal in caſe of whipping, and very few eſcape it. When they have a mind to it, they kill a man at four or five ſtrokes. The *mandarines* can put no man to death, without ſending up to court about it; but it is common to laſh men to death. The executioners can order it much as they pleaſe, for the great ſtreſs lies in ſtriking in one place or another, in turning or bending the cane, wherein they always do the will and pleaſure of their *mandarin*. They hold up ſome men's teſticles, and fix them on a ſmall cane; on them they let fall the ſtroke, and the ſecond or third the patient infallibly dies. If he who is to be whipp'd has ſilver, he generally compounds with the executioners, and then they let fall the cane ſo, that it may make a great noiſe and do little hurt; and the better to carry on the cheat, the perſon ſuffering roars out hideouſly.

Baſtinadoing.

6. As terrible as this puniſhment is, there are ſome who hire themſelves to receive the laſhes for others; ſo that in ſome places there are people who keep ten or twelve of theſe men that hire themſelves. Thoſe whoſe cauſe is depending, and fear they ſhall be laſh'd, have recourſe to the chief of that ſociety, give an account of the danger they are in, and aſk for one to go along with them, giving ſecurity to pay four or five ryals (two ſhillings or half a crown) for every laſh. The bargain made, he appoints one of his men, who goes with the criminal to the court: the executioners are ſpoke to, and when the *mandarin* orders the whipping, or rather baſtinadoing, the other takes the place, and receives the ſtrokes for money. This may be eaſily done without the *mandarin*'s perceiving it; firſt, becauſe of the many executioners there preſent; and in the next place, which is the beſt reaſon, becauſe the *mandarin* is at a great diſtance; and as ſoon as he has thrown down the ſticks, during the execution, talks of other affairs, drinks cha, and ſmokes tobacco. When he has been laſh'd, his chief takes great care of him, has him dreſs'd, and makes much of him. Thoſe that have been baſtinado'd are generally ſent to goal; there are thoſe that dreſs them very well, but they pay for it.

Puniſhment of breaking the ankles

7. The manner of wracking the ankles is yet more cruel, many die of it; two dy'd in *Canton, an.* 1668. *F. Magalanes*, a Jeſuit, underwent it in the imperial city, in ſuch a barbarous manner, that he had no ſhape of feet left; his offence was, that they found in his poſſeſſion a quantity of ſilver belonging to a *mandarin*, who had been beheaded for ſome crimes. For this purpoſe they make uſe of a large pair of tongs with two dents below, into which they uſually put rubbiſh, and bits of tiles. The ankles being fix'd there, they cloſe above, ſtriking with an iron hammer; and every ſtroke preſſes the inſtrument together, ſo that after a few ſtrokes the bones are diſjointed, and the feet remain as flat as a pancake, as I have ſeen ſometimes whilſt I

was

was in priſon; and truly it was enough to break one's heart.

Mandarin's *retirement.*

8. When the trials are over, the *mandarine* goes in and ſeals his door with his own name, ſo it remains ſafer than if it had been ſecured with twenty padlocks. By the ſide of it is a wheel (like thoſe of nunneries) and attendants to run of errants without; that way all the *mandarin* has occaſion for is deliver'd in, and no body from abroad goes in, nor any within goes out; ſo the door is only open'd when the *mandarin* himſelf goes forward or backward. The gates of the courts are ſhut at ſun-ſet; the greater the *mandarin*, the more ſtrictly this is taken care of. Till the next day there is no looking to have them open'd.

Mandarin's *ſtate.*

9. When they go abroad, it is with exceſſive ſtate and grandeur; the attendance is ſuitable to the quality of the *mandarin*. The ſupreme governor of *Canton*, without all doubt, goes abroad in more ſtate than any king in *Europe*. Before him go two men with two braſs-baſons, on which they very leiſurely ſtrike nine ſtrokes, which are heard almoſt a quarter of a league off. The governors of towns have but three ſtrokes one after another, others have five, and others ſeven. Viceroys and ſupreme governors have both of them nine. Beſides thoſe two we have mention'd, three other couples go a good diſtance from one another. Then follow in two ranks the badges or enſigns of their poſt or employment. This is like the cuſtom of the *Romans*, as *S. Thomas* ſays upon thoſe words of *S. Paul*, in *Rom.* xiii. *For they carry not the ſword in vain.* He ſays, *But he ſpeaks according to the cuſtom of princes, who as it were to betoken their power, carry'd the inſtruments for puniſhing, that is, the bundles of rods to laſh, and the axes or ſwords to put to death.* Read *Corn. à Lapide* on that place. They carry broad ſwords, axes, canes bloody with baſtinadoing, and many chains dragging, the noiſe of which alone is irkſome. Six men go by two and two, and a diſtance between them, crying out as loud as they can, but very leiſurely, giving notice the lord *mandarin* is coming, and by this means the ſtreets are clear'd. Thoſe who bear the enſigns are richly clad, and carry at diſtances three fine ſilk umbrello's, of three folds each, of the colour that belongs to the employment. Then follows the ſedan, in which the *mandarin* ſits very gravely; it is carry'd by four, ſix, eight, or twelve, according to his quality. I have already ſaid the emperor is carried by twenty four, and thoſe of the petty kings by ſixteen. Whilſt the ſupreme mandarin is in town, the reſt, if they go abroad, do not carry the baſons out of reſpect to him. In *China* they obſerve the ſame method the *Romans* did. *S. Thomas* in *John* x. ℣. 41. *lect.* 6. ſays thus upon theſe words, *He did no miracle. This cuſtom was obſerved among all the antients*, viz. *that the inferior power did not make uſe of the enſigns of its authority before the ſuperior; for which reaſon the conſuls laid down their enſigns when they came into the preſence of the dictator.* This the *Chineſes* obſerve in beating the baſons, and firing the chambers. In the imperial city it is more ſtrictly obſerv'd, for even the counſellors of ſtate go without much attendance or grandeur, out of reſpect to the emperor. Their ſedans are round, open at top, ſightly, hadſomely adorn'd and ſet off. The *mandarines* ſit in them with the greateſt modeſty imaginable. If at any time an inferior *mandarin* perceives that another his ſuperior comes along the ſame ſtreet, he immediately alights out of his chair, and gets into a houſe, or ſtrikes into another ſtreet if there be any near. All thoſe that have the emperor's ſeal, which are many, ever carry it before them, whereſoever they go, though it be eight days journey, or farther. The ſeal is in a gilt urn, cover'd and carried upon men's ſhoulders next to the *mandarin*'s chair. When they viſit, there is a table with a carpet placed by the *mandarin*'s chair, on which the ſeal is ſet.

NAVARETTE.

10. That which *Herodian*, *lib.* III. writes of *Lucius Septimus Plautonianus*, may very well be ſaid of the ſtate of the *mandarines* of *China:* his words are theſe, *Whereſoever he went he was ſo ſtern and terrible, that he was not only not ſought for by any, but even thoſe that met him accidentally turn'd away from him; for ſome perſons walking before gave notice that none ſhould ſtand near, or preſume to look upon him, but ſhould all turn away and look upon the ground.* The ſame is done to a tittle by the *Chineſe mandarines*. They proceed with great deliberation before they take away any man's employment. There is no doubt it ought not to be taken away for every failing. *Oleaſter* obſerves it, *Numb.* xii. GOD the ſupreme legiſlator did not depoſe *Moſes* or *Aaron* from the dignities he had rais'd them to, tho' they had offended him; and *Aaron* in moſt grievous manner.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Chineſe *Ceremonies and Civilities.*

NAVARETTE.

1. ONE of he great troubles we miſſioners of *China* undergo, is to learn the ceremonies of that country. Some look upon it as a needleſs, tireſome, and impertinent buſineſs, but in truth it is not only convenient but abſolutely neceſſary towards converſing with that courteous and polite people: According to the ſaying, *when you are at* Rome, *do as they do at* Rome. Which proverb the *Chineſe* nation has, but more at large. The doctrine they call *li ki* ſpeaks thus: "When a man comes into "any precinct, he ought to aſk what is "forbidden there, that he may not offend "the lord of it; when he comes into a houſe, "he muſt aſk for the maſter of it, to thank "him for the courteſy and civility he re-"ceives there; the contrary is oppoſite to "good breeding. When he comes into "a kingdom, he muſt enquire into the "cuſtoms and manners, for otherwiſe he "will offend the people, who will imagine "he blames and condemns them, ſo that "all men will ſhun and avoid him." Now ſince, to attain the end the miſſioners aſpire to, it is neceſſary that inſtead of avoiding, the infidels ſhould ſeek for and converſe with them, it follows that to imitate their cuſtoms, and uſe all their ceremonies, is very neceſſary and advantageous. CHRIST our LORD left us a good example in this caſe, of whom *S. Thomas* upon *S. Matth.* ſays, that of his three callings to his diſciples one was, *to familiarity*. This being procur'd by following the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the country, way is thereby made to diſcourſe of the grand affair of the ſoul, which is it that carries us to regions ſo far diſtant from our native ſoil.

Civility.

2. The *Chineſe* ceremonies in point of civility are very numerous and diverſe; they have ſeveral printed books that treat of this matter. I give it for granted that polite carriage and courteſy are virtues, and a part of prudence, on which ſubject you may read *S. Thomas*, 2. 2. *q.* 50. and in other places. The *Chineſe* books teach what we are to talk about with a huſbandman, and how to converſe with him, how with a ſtudent, a licentiate, a doctor, a little or great *mandarin*, what words are to be us'd in naming them, what muſt be ſaid and diſcours'd at the firſt viſit, what at the ſecond, what queſtions are to be aſk'd, how the upper hand is to be given or taken, where the viſit is to be receiv'd, and where leave to be taken. They obſerve ſo many niceties in this point, that to ſay the truth, it requires a great deal of patience to be thoroughly inform'd in it, and much reſignation to ſpend the time that is requiſite in ſtudying it. The fathers of the ſociety have a book that handles this matter, and ſets down the queſtions uſually aſk'd at viſits; it came to my hand, and I and others made our advantage of it. One of the uſual queſtions is, how many children have you, ſir? I was inform'd that a father meeting with an eunuch aſk'd him, How many children have you, ſir? at which he was much out of countenance. It is a plain caſe that all queſtions don't ſuit with all ſorts of perſons. A *mandarin* aſk'd one of my order, How many wives have you, ſir? now the civil name for a wife and a church being the ſame, tho' the words going before vary, he underſtood the *Chineſe* inquir'd concerning churches, and he anſwer'd, three. Yet afterwards he found his miſtake, and they came to a better underſtanding. There are very few but what have made falſe ſteps in this particular, nor is it to be admir'd, for it is well known, the *Chineſe* language has the moſt double meanings of any in the world.

Language.

3. That empire being of ſo great an extent, there is ſome tho' but little diverſity in their ceremonies. In the northern provinces the right-hand is moſt honourable; in the ſouthern the left. Among the *Romans* the left-ſide carried the preference; this ſame cuſtom laſted ſome years in the eaſtern and weſtern church. Hence it came that in the pontifical bulls *S. Paul* is on the right, and *S. Peter* on the left, as the more honourable place. The ſame was obſerv'd in the councils of *Nice* and *Calcedon*, as *Spondanus* writes *ann.* 525. *num.* 17.

Ceremonies.

Read Ximenez *his Lexicon, v.* dextera.

4. S. *Thomas* upon *Galat.* i. *lect.* 1. ſpeaking of the place S. *Paul* has in the bulls, gives another reaſon for it, theſe are his words: *In regard this preſent life is ſignify'd by the left, and the next by the right hand, for as much as this latter is ſpiritual and heavenly, and the other temporal, therefore* Peter, *who was call'd by* CHRIST *whilſt he was yet in mortal fleſh, is plac'd on the left-hand in the pope's bull, but* Paul, *who was call'd by* CHRIST *then glorify'd, is plac'd on the right.* Modern authors give other reaſons for it. In ſhort, there is no matter, tho' never ſo minute, but what the *Chineſes* have writ upon, and practiſe punctually. What the miſſioners moſt admire is, that the very ſame compliments which are us'd at court, are practiſed in the very words, not only in the cities and towns, but even in all the villages, hamlets and country-houſes

Compliments.

there are throughout all the empire, ſo that it is all a mere court, and its inhabitants
Civility. all courtiers. The reaſon of it is, becauſe all men ſtudy this point; and therefore it appears, and I have often ſeen it, that a child of eight years of age performs all points of civility as nicely as a man of fifty,
Children. which is very ſtrange. Lads at nine or ten years of age obſerve the ſame method among themſelves, as gravely as if they were well in years. Our *Hugo Cardinalis* aſks, why *Iſaiah* was ſo eloquent, and *Amos* on the contrary ſo blunt? He anſwers, that *Iſaiah* had been a courtier, and man of faſhion, as we call it, but *Amos* was a ſhepherd, bred in the field, and a mere countryman. This diſtinction is to be found in thoſe countries and in *Europe*, but not in *China*. The mechanicks, plough-men, and porters, are all men of faſhion, for they are all very full of civility, and expreſs themſelves in the ſame words, as they do in the capital cities.

Viſits. 5. In viſiting, too many ceremonies are us'd. In the firſt place they take red paper, of which there are ſeveral ſorts, and abundance of every one of them; on it they write the name of him that is to make the viſit in very myſterious characters. This paper is ſent in to the perſon intended to be viſited, by it he knows the quality of the perſon, and what reſpect is due to him, and either receives, or excuſes himſelf for not admitting the viſit. The refuſing a viſit is ſometimes look'd upon as civility, and is anſwer'd by ſuch another paper. The receiv'd cuſtom of all *China*, is to carry a
Preſents. preſent, at leaſt the firſt viſit, at the new year, and every man's birth-day, there is no avoiding of it. The *Perſians* obſerv'd the ſame towards their kings, according to *Hamon* on *Mat.* ii. *epiſt.* 17. and others: *it was very uſual among the ancients for the ſubjects to offer gifts to their kings*; ſo *Seneca*, *no man can ſalute the king of the* Parthians *without a preſent.* He goes on talking of the inviolable law the *Perſians* had to this effect.

6. In *China* this cuſtom is very ancient in regard to all the *mandarines*, the preſent is writ down on another red paper in very great order, and in choice characters. There muſt be at leaſt four ſeveral things preſented, and ſix, eight, twelve, or more to perſons of greater quality. Having ſeen the paper, he receives the whole or part, and ſends an anſwer ſuitable to what he takes. Afterwards he pays the viſit, and returns a preſent of equal value. Sometimes they ſend it in ſilver, they are very careful that their preſent be curiouſly order'd and ſet out.

7. We, as being ſtrangers, muſt of neceſſity preſent foreign things, and not ſuch as the country affords, which requires ſome care and charge. This is in ſome meaſure unavoidable, both in regard it has been ſo eſtabliſh'd, and to the buſineſs we have there in hand, which muſt of neceſſity be carry'd on after this manner, till it be reſolv'd to do it as it was us'd in the primitive church, or as S. *Francis Xaverius* did in *Japan*. And if that vineyard were advanced and improv'd by this method, by ſilk clothes, ſedans, and ſervants, the labour were not ill beſtow'd; but our grief is the greater becauſe we find no good comes of it. F. *John Balat* of the ſociety, a very obſervant religious man, and laborious miſſioner, lamented the expence of many thouſands of ducats his order had been at in *Japan*, *Ethiopia*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*, without any addition to the converſions of thoſe parts. GOD grant a way may be made for all to go freely to labour in that vineyard; for if the preſents are continued, and of ſuch great value, as I have ſeen them, few orders will be able to maintain miſſioners in thoſe parts.

NAVARETTE.

8. In the province of *Canton* there was a Chriſtian, whoſe name was *John Li Re Ming*, in no greater circumſtances than a mere bachelor, who told us, he had need of a thouſand ducats a year to lay out only in preſents.

9. There is no return for the birth-day preſent. There is not a *Chineſe* tho' never ſo poor but keeps his birth-day, with all the greatneſs he is able. All the children, kindred, neighbours and friends, know every man's birth-day; a *mandarin*'s is known by all under his juriſdiction; that of a viceroy, or ſupreme governor, by all the province. It is an ancient cuſtom to celebrate birth-days, but not for private perſons, nor is it ſo univerſal as in *China*. *Pharaoh* celebrated his, and ſo did *Herod*. *Conſtantine* did the ſame, as *Spondanus* writes *ann.* 353. *num.* 11. By reaſon the *Chineſes* are exceſſive in this practice, we might apply to them the words of S. *Auguſtine*, *ſerm.* 12. *in verb. Dom. in Matth. Silly men rejoice at many birth-days of their own, and their children*; *O wiſe man, if your wine ſhrink in your veſſel, you are troubled, you loſe days and rejoice.* *Birth-days.*

10. The *Chineſes* out-do us in many particulars, one is, that there is never a one of them, great or ſmall, rich or poor, but exactly remembers his age, the day and hour of his birth, and thoſe of his parents, brothers and relations. The reaſon they give for it is very ſufficient. One thing they ſay is, that they may rejoice for having liv'd to that age; the other, to be troubled becauſe the day of their death draws every day nearer. Among us we ſhall find abundance of people, who never remember their age, either to give GOD thanks

NAVARRETTE.

for having preſerv'd them ſo long, nor to look forward what is to follow.

11. Upon the day of the new moon, which is their moſt ſolemn feſtival, the petty kings and court-magiſtrates, wiſh the emperor a happy year; the great *mandarines* ſend their deputies from the capital cities to do the ſame, and they repeat the ceremony on his birth, and wedding-day. Every province once in three years deputes ſome perſon to ſalute the emperor in its name.

Women apart. 12. The women keep their birth-days, but the men are never with the women in any rejoycing whatſoever.

Reconciliation-ceremonies. 13. They have alſo particular ceremonies to make friends and be reconciled. One very much in uſe, is to take a cock, to draw blood from his comb, and the parties to drink it. This they perform in a temple with great ſolemnity. Another is to draw blood from their breaſts, and each of them to drink the other's. The practice of the *Egyptians* was to tie the thumbs of thoſe that were to be joyn'd in friendſhip; then they prick'd them with a lance, ſo both their bloods mix'd. *That action was to ſignify that both their lives became as one.* They gave it for granted that the life was in the blood.

14. In the time of the old law, according to *S. Thomas* in 1 *Cor.* xi. *lect.* 6. there was a cuſtom not unlike that of *China*, as ſhall be explain'd more at large in another place: *Among the ancients*, ſays he, *it was a cuſtom to ſpill the blood of ſome creature offer'd in ſacrifice, to confirm the contract*, Gen. xxxi. Exod. xiv. *A Lapide* upon thoſe places here quoted, treats of this matter, as does our *Oleaſter*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Marriage-Ceremonies.

Marriage. 1. THERE are whole books in *China*, and thoſe no ſmall ones, that treat of this ſubject, and an infinite number has been writ upon it. Before I enter upon the matter I will here ſet down the obſtacles that make matrimony void, mention'd in their books. One is, if the woman be talkative, and given to prating; for this alone is ſufficient to turn her out of doors, and diſſolve the matrimony, tho' they have been long marry'd and have children. If this were allow'd in *Europe*, there's no doubt but many marriages would prove null, and it would be a great curb to reſtrain women from being ſo free of their tongue. The ſecond is diſobedience to the father and mother-in-law. In *China* the ſons that are marry'd always live with their parents ſo that their wives are obedient, and live in great ſubjection to their father and mother-in-law. They endure much miſery by this manner of life. The third is if they ſteal any thing in the houſe. The fourth, if a woman has the leproſy after ſhe is marry'd. The fifth, if ſhe proves barren. The ſixth, if ſhe is jealous; a great mortification to a woman that is naturally ſubject to this paſſion. The men in *China* are more ſubject to it than the women, for they always bear with the concubines living altogether, but theſe acknowledge the chief lady as their ſovereign; and it being uſual for one to be better beloved than the others, they never are without diſcontents amongſt them, and ſome hang, others throw themſelves into wells. When the firſt wife has no children, ſhe herſelf courts the huſband to take a concubine, and thus ſhe ſecures herſelf from being turn'd off. *Sarah* gave the ſame advice to *Abraham*, Gen. vi. ℣. 2. but upon a more noble motive. *Rachel* did the ſame, *Gen.* xxx. Others deliver'd their women ſlaves to their huſbands, and took the children to themſelves, as the *Chineſe* women do.

What diſſolves it.

Wives pawn'd and kut. 2. By reaſon of theſe impediments, and the great eaſe in parting with their wives, eſpecially among the common ſort of people, many of whom pawn them in time of need, and ſome lend them for a month, or more or leſs according as they can agree; it has been a great diſpute, whether it is really a matrimony or not, as us'd in *China*. *So that the miſſioners of the ſociety with* *Miſſioners.* good reaſon doubted, whether they might be allow'd as natural, or only as conditional contracts. They conſulted their college at *Rome* upon it, and their divines reſolv'd that the marriages of the men of learning were valid, but not thoſe of the common ſort. Another time they anſwer'd, that neither of them were good. I ſaw and read both their reſolves in *China*. We again argued the caſe among us all, were divided, and could not agree.

Divorce. 3. After our diſputes were over, I found the caſe argued in the *Chineſe* philoſophy, *Tract.* 52. *fol.* 2. the queſtion is put, Whether the wife may be turn'd out of doors? The anſwer is, "That *Zu Zu* the ſon of "their philoſopher *Confucius*, turn'd his "wife out ſeveral times, and that others "whoſe names are there mention'd did the "ſame. The people of this time, ſays the "book, look upon it as an unſeemly "thing; the ancients did not ſo, and they "were men of more ſincerity and virtue. "When a woman has any quality that is

"not

" not good, it is but juſt and reaſonable " to turn her out of doors. It puts the " queſtion again: the ancients turn'd away " their wives becauſe the houſe was full of " ſmoke, or becauſe they frighted the dog " with their diſagreeable noiſe: was this " reaſonable? It anſwers, the ancients were " hearty, ſincere men void of malice (in all " countries the ancients were beſt, for vice " daily increaſes) they diſſolv'd the knot " of matrimony without a word ſpeaking." This was rather barbarity than ſincerity. Men of honour and gravity turn'd away their wives for ſmall faults, without expecting till they committed great ones. By this we may know how good thoſe people were. Frighting the dog in the huſband's preſence was a ſufficient cauſe it ſeems to diſcard the wife; nor was it requiſite to this effect that any perſon ſhould be acquainted with her failing. The queſtion is put further in the book. " When the wife is " turn'd off, can the huſband marry an- " other? The anſwer is in the affirmative. " and it further ſays, perſons of note, ſuch " as the emperor, petty kings, and *man-* " *darines*, who have concubines to attend, " and offer ſacrifice to them when dead, " ought not to marry again, in them the " knot is indiſſoluble, others may.

4. By what is here writ by the *Chineſes* themſelves, it is eaſy to infer what opinion they have of their marriages. The miſſioners of the ſociety, tho' there have been ſome differences among them, agree, that the marriages of *Japan*, *Cochinchina*, and other places, are not to be accounted as a natural contract. In the empire of *Cochinchina*, as I was told by the *Capuchine* fathers at *Madraſta Patan*, all men marry till they are weary of their wives, and for no longer. The ſame is done in the iſland of *Madagaſcar*; nay they go farther, for the women leave their huſbands, whenſoever the fancy takes them. In another place I mention the *Jews* divorce, upon whichthe reader may ſee *Silveira*, *tom.* VI. *pag.* 161. *n.* 51. and *pag.* 162. *n.* 58. *bucſt.* 5. he diſcourſes very well on this ſubject.

A Lapide *in* Gen. iv. *ſays, it is againſt the law of nature, and that the* pope *cannot diſpenſe in the caſe. Marrying ſiſters.*

5. *Peter de Morales Pimienta*, an inhabitant of *Macao*, and ſolicitor for that city in their affairs of *Goa*, told me before a great deal of company, on the 16th of *Feb.* *an.* 1660, that a miſſioner of *Cochinchina*, whom he nam'd, gave a Chriſtian *Japoneſe* a diſpenſation to marry his own ſiſter. She died after the marriage was conſummated, and he again granted the man a diſpenſation to marry another ſiſter. This caſe ſhall be handled in the ſecond tome. The greateſt difficulty is, allowing there may be a diſpenſation in this caſe, as ſome will have it their way, whether there was ſufficient cauſe to uſe that power with a new convert, ſhop-keeper, eſpecially among the Chriſtians and infidels of *Macao* who were all ſcandaliz'd at it. Theſe ſort of marriages are us'd in *Siam*, that king is marry'd to his ſiſter. Other nations have practis'd the ſame. NAVARETTE.

6. The marriages of the *Tartars* now poſſeſſing *China* are as diſputable as the others. I deſir'd this caſe might be argu'd in our diſputes; they would not conſent to it, the reaſon I know not. What we know is, that the emperor, father to him now reigning, put away his firſt wife, and ſent her into her country when ſhe was big with child. In the year 1668, the two fathers who remain'd in the imperial city, ſent us an account by letter, that a *Tartar* man and woman, who were huſband and wife, parted, and both of them marry'd again. After this they told me *F. John Adamus* was of opinion the marriages of that nation were not valid; and that writing to thoſe of his ſociety, he ſaid, that the *Tartars* marry'd till they had a mind to take another wife; and that great men us'd to change wives, and marry one another's. It appears theſe are conditional marriages, contracted after the manner of the country, under a condition which is directly oppoſite to the very being of matrimony.

Miſſioners.

7. *F. Torrente* a jeſuit, talking of *Tunquin*, told me, that he going to hear the confeſſion of a new made Chriſtian, was inform'd by others, that his wife who was a Chriſtian having left him, he had marry'd another Chriſtian woman. The father told him he could not abſolve him. The man reply'd, father *N.* abſolves me, your reverence may do ſo too. Then do you confeſs to him, ſaid the father, for I will not abſolve you. This Chriſtian went with the father to the imperial city, where the other father was, whom *F. Torrente* acquainted with what had paſs'd between him and that Chriſtian, and why he did not abſolve him. The other father anſwer'd, your reverence may hear his confeſſion, and leave him in his ſimplicity. That is no ſimplicity, but an error, reply'd *F. Torrente*, and I will not hear his confeſſion. I commended *F. Torrente* for this action, and his behaviour in this caſe.

8. He told me further, that the *French* miſſioner who was at *Tunquin*, had ſent an account to one of his order how all the Chriſtians told him, that when the fathers of the ſociety were in that kingdom, they allow'd the Chriſtians who were there marry'd to infidel women to part from them, and marry Chriſtians. Father *Torrente* told me, all have not permitted it, ſome have. If the marriages of that nation were void, there is no difficulty in the caſe.

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9. *F. Adrian Grelon* alſo told us, that thoſe of his order in *France* were once of the opinion, that the *French* ſoldiers, who were marry'd in their own country, going over to *New France*, might marry there again, *cauſa conſervandæ continentiæ*, in order to live continent. It is neceſſary to mention all theſe particulars, that the learned may give their ſenſe upon it, the moſt material points ſhall be handled in *tom.* II. Let us proceed: the *Chineſes* aſcribe the having of children to the obedience they owe to their parents; as if this were a thing in their power, or that depended on them. They ground this opinion upon a ſentence of their ſecond philoſopher *Meng Zu*, who left it written, that the greateſt ſin of diſobedience, is to want children. *(I ſuppoſe he means the puniſhment of the ſin.)* The *Chineſes* are ſo ſtrongly grounded in this doctrine, that becauſe of it they receive concubines, ſome that they may have children, others that they may have more. But in truth the main drift is to ſatisfy their looſe appetites. The petty king that liv'd in *Canton*, as the people there ſaid, had above ſixty ſons. How many his concubines were I know not, there is no number aſſign'd, every one takes as many as he can keep. Sure this petty king was very obedient to his parents. This error is ſufficiently impugned in our books, and they like the reaſons, but improve little upon them.

Iſſue.

Concubines.

10. Diſcourſing one day with a conſiderable *mandarin* upon this ſubject, he told me, he had ever thought it moſt conſonant to reaſon, to have but one wife, which he had ever obſerv'd. One of the greateſt obſtacles to the converſion of thoſe people, is the liberty they allow themſelves of keeping concubines. The fathers of the ſociety told me, that one of their order, for the removing of this impediment, had propos'd, his holineſs ſhould be mov'd to grant a diſpenſation to the *Chineſe* Chriſtians to have ſeveral wives. Divines and caſuiſts muſt reſolve whether this be practicable. More ſhall be ſaid of this matter in the ſecond tome. See *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xvi. ℣. 1. where he follows the common receiv'd opinion with S. *Thomas*. Every turn they tell us, by theſe and other means the way to their converſion is made eaſier; GOD grant it be not rather obſtructed.

Polygamy.

11. Sodomy is frequent in *China*, yet not ſo much as in *Japan*, as I have been inform'd. There have been other nations in the world that did not look upon this helliſh vice as any ſin. So ſays S. *Thomas*, *lib.* II. *q.* 94. *art.* 6. the people of *Crete* were of this opinion. The *Romans* ſo far countenanced it, that they had publick ſtews of this ſort, which the emperor *Alexander*, ſon to *Manea*, who had been *Origen*'s diſciple, could not ſuppreſs. The *Iſraelites* were infected with this vice, *Aſa* 1 *Kings* xv. baniſh'd it. According to S. *Thomas*, *in prim. ad Rom. lect.* 8. this vice had its beginning with idolatry in the time of *Abraham*. *Thoſe who look'd upon it as no ſin, were ſuch as believ'd that nothing is naturally juſt, and of conſequence can be unjuſt, but is only ſo by the obligation of a human law; and by this rule no ſin was regarded, as being againſt* GOD, *Ariſt.* 5. *Ethic.* So it was with other vices, to which the *Chineſes* are equally addicted. It is ſaid of *Jaſon* in the ſecond chapter of the firſt book of *Maccabees*, he preſum'd to place the chief of the *youth* in *ſtews* under the very *caſtle*.

Sodomy.

12. The unhappy and unfortunate prince *Carrin Patin Gaola* drove theſe wicked people, who went in womens clothes, as they do at this time in the kingdom of *Caile*, from *Macaſſar*. In the time of the *Chineſe* emperors, there were publick ſtews of boys in the imperial city *Pequin*. The *Tartar* ſuppreſt it, yet it continues ſtill at *Jang Cheu*; they go gay, but dreſt like other men. They don't marry, as thoſe do I ſaw at *Caile*, ſixty leagues from *Macaſſar*, in the ſame iſland, where they told me, there were men would rather chuſe to marry thoſe monſters than women. Good GOD, in what darkneſs they live who know thee not! And how unthankful are we, who only through thy mercy know thee, for this benefit!

Caile.

13. We know there have been men ſo brutal, as to place their ultimate felicity in ſenſuality. *Ariſtippus* was one of them. The *Nicolaiſts* follow'd the ſame maxim, according to *Spondanus*, *an.* 68. *n.* 5. and many at this time are of the ſame opinion, moſt viſibly thoſe of the kingdom of *Champa*, ſituate betwixt *Camboxa* and *Cochinchina*. Thoſe people wear the figures of the ſecret parts about their necks, as ſingular relicks, which they worſhip and adore.

Champa.

14. Leaving aſide theſe things and ſuch like, which may make known to us the miſerable ſtate of man, and the wretched condition he falls into, when the ſupernatural light fails him, let us proceed upon the ſubject of this chapter. I doubt not but I have deviated too much, but not upon vain and frivolous things, ſo that I am the more excuſable.

Marriage.

15. The marriage-ceremonies are too many and impertinent, if perform'd according to the book which is a ritual, call'd *kia li*, order'd by the emperor to be kept throughout the whole empire. I muſt in the firſt place lay it down as a certainty, that from all antiquity in *China* no ſon ever did, or hereafter will marry without the conſent of his parents. We ſee the contrary

trary daily among ſtanch Chriſtians. In the next place, I give this for a general rule, that the bride and bridegroom have never ſpoke to, or ſo much as ſeen one another till they meet in the houſe where they are to live together. Theſe things never fail, unleſs it be among ſome poor peaſants. It is alſo very uſual for the parents to make matches for their children whilſt they are yet very young; nay ſometimes when the wives are with child they agree, if they prove boy and girl, they ſhall marry. This they call *chi fo*, which ſignifies, to mark out bellies. The ſame cuſtom is us'd in *Narſinga*, as I was told at *Patalon*.

Marriage of dead. 16. In the province of *Xan Si* they have a ridiculous cuſtom, which is to marry dead folks. F. *Michael Trigaucius* a jeſuit, who liv'd ſeveral years in that province, told it us whilſt we were confin'd. It falls out that one man's ſon, and another's daughter die. Whilſt the coffins are in the houſe (and they uſe to keep them two or three years or longer) the parents agree to marry them; they ſend the uſual preſents as if they were alive with much ceremony and muſick. After this they put together the two coffins, keep the wedding-dinner before them, and laſtly, they lay them both into one tomb. The parents from this time are lookt upon not only as friends, but relations, as they would have been had their children been marry'd living.

Marriage-ceremonies. 17. The firſt thing they do, they go to the temple of their anceſtors, there they acquaint them particularly, how ſuch a one their grandſon of ſuch an age, deſigns to marry *N. &c.* therefore they beg their aſſiſtance for the performance of it. The wife's parents do the ſame. In *China*, the *Philippine* iſlands, and other kingdoms, the huſband brings a portion to his wife, which her parents keep. But ſometimes they give the daughter part of it. *Lycurgus* king of *Macedon* ordain'd that women ſhould marry without any portion: *That wives ſhould not be choſen for money.* S. *Thomas* ſpeaks of it, *Opuſc. de Reg. Princ.* This was very convenient, more ſhall be ſaid of it in another place. When the bridegroom's parents ſend the portion, it is carry'd in the greateſt ſtate they poſſibly can. Before it goes the muſick, then follow the tables each carry'd by four men, in a very decent manner. Upon one of them are pieces of ſilk, pieces of cotton on another, fruit on a third; meat, dainties, and plate on a fourth. The ſhew and noiſe is much more than the ſubſtance.

This is buying of them. See A Lapide *in* Gen. xxix. *ver.* 18. *& in* Exod. iv. *ver.* 25.

18. On the 28th of *Auguſt*, whilſt we were ſtill all of us in the imperial city, the emperor ſent the dowry and preſent to the daughter of one of the four governors, whom he afterwards marry'd. He ſent her an hundred tables full of ſeveral things, and ſorts of meat, two thouſand ducats in pigs of ſilver, one thouſand in gold, one hundred pieces of ſilk of ſeveral colours, with ſilver and gold flowers, one hundred of cotton. This is their cuſtom, and I don't queſtion but he was able to have ſent her twenty or thirty millions. NAVARETTE.

19. They make choice of a fortunate and lucky day to ſend the portion, and be marry'd on. The preſident of the college of mathematicks has the care of appointing theſe days, not only for marriages, but for every thing they take in hand. *F. John Adamus* of the ſociety of Jeſus, held his employment a long while; ſeveral ſtories went about among thoſe of his order concerning this matter. It ſhall be handled in another place, and we will ſhew how the good father clear'd himſelf from the imputation. *Miſſioners.*

20. Having notify'd the day the marriage is to be ſolemniz'd on, their anceſtors departed, the bridegroom's parents ſend a kinſman, or ſome grave perſon, to conduct the bride. They carry a cloſe ſedan, with flags, ſquibs, muſick, and braſs-baſons, more or leſs in number according to the quality of them both. Being come to the bride's houſe, where ſhe is ready dreſt, expecting that time, ſhe takes leave of her kindred; her parents give her good advice (which I writ at *Rome*, where I tranſlated much relating to this ſubject, and left it with the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*) ſhe gets into the ſedan, where ſhe finds a little rice, wheat, and other grain, to ſignify that the bride carries along with her abundance of goods; and that her huſband's eſtate and income ſhall increaſe by her going to him. As the bride goes into the chair, they uſually break an egg (this ceremony is not ſet down in the ritual) to ſignify that ſhe ſhall be fruitful. In my time a Chriſtian father to one that was going to be marry'd, ſeeing this ceremony performed, in a paſſion threw the egg againſt the wall, ſaying, Why is my daughter a hen that ſhe ſhould lay eggs?

21. The bride being come to the bridegroom's houſe, which is richly adorn'd and ſet out, the father and mother-in-law receive her with all poſſible ſtate and kindneſs. Then they perform the obeyſances, the bride and the bridegroom in the court make theirs to heaven and earth, and then to their kindred and acquaintance. Next follow the entertainments. The men eat in the forepart of the houſe, the women in the inner. At night they convey the bride into the bridegroom's chamber, as the *Spartans* and others us'd to do, according to *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xxix. ℣. 23. On the table ſhe finds ſizers, thread, cotton, and

NAVARRETTE. other things, which is to denote to her that she goes to work, and not to be idle. An excellent practice, and good advice. The *Romans* when they carry'd the bride with great solemnity to the bridegroom's house, took along with her a spindle, a distaff, flax or wool, to the same intent as the *Chineses* do, *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xxxiv. ℣. 1. The father-in-law that day sees his daughter-in-law, and never sees her face again till she is dead, if she happens to die before him. This seems incredible, it being well known they live in the same house; but it is very certain, and the greatest persons are most exact in observing it. In small villages perhaps they are not so nice. It is never to be suppos'd that the father-in-law sets his foot into the daughter-in-law's chamber. If ever the daughter-in-law goes abroad, the father-in-law hides himself, or goes out that he may not see her.

Womens retiredness. 22. All relations are not allow'd to talk with a woman alone; it is allow'd to cousins that are younger than they, but not to those that are elder. Those that are younger, they say, will not presume to be bold with them; but those that are elder, may perhaps take the advantage of their superiority, and pretend to that which is not just or lawful. Sometimes in the year the wives go out to visit their parents, this is the extent of their divertisements and recreations. When they perceive themselves to be with child, they repair to the temple of their ancestors, acquaint them with their condition, and beg their assistance in order to a good delivery. After they are brought to bed, they return to the same temple to give thanks for their happy delivery, and beg of them to keep and preserve the child. Some time after that, they carry the child, and present it in the same temple, thanking the dead for having preserv'd it till then, and desiring they will prolong its life, and bring it to age of maturity. More shall be said on this subject in the second tome. Hence we may gather whether the *Chineses* ask any thing of the dead, or not. *F. de Angelis* was much in the right in this point; he says in his history, that the *Chineses* adore their dead; whoever sent him that account to *Lisbon*, knew it very well. Much shall be said of this matter hereafter, and I shall give some hints in the following chapter, thus much may suffice for this.

CHAP. VIII.

Of some Ceremonies the Chineses *use with their dead.*

1. THE rites and ceremonies the *Chineses* use towards their dead, are most exactly set down in the book quoted in the last chapter, and in other classick authors. Neither do these books, nor I neither, speak of the ceremonies the other sects have brought up, but of those peculiar to the learned sect, tho' it be of no great consequence if they should be all mix'd here together. However I will endeavour to distinguish those belonging to the *bonzes* for the more clearness.

Wives hang themselves to accompany their dead husbands. 2. I must observe in the first place, that it is the custom of the *Tartars*, when one of them dies, that one of his wives must hang her self to bear him company in that journey. In the year 1668, a *Tartar* of note dy'd in the imperial city, a concubine of seventeen years of age was to hang her self to bear him company. She was well born, and had good relations, her kindred were much troubled to lose her, and without doubt she was more concern'd her self. They presented a petition to the emperor, begging of him that he would dispense with that custom receiv'd and establish'd among his nation. The emperor did it to the purpose, for he commanded that custom should be no longer in force; so that it was quite abolish'd and abrogated.

3. The *Chineses* have the same custom, but it is not common, nor approv'd and receiv'd by their philosopher. In our time the viceroy of *Canton* dy'd, some said he poison'd himself; being near his death, he call'd the concubine he lov'd best, and putting her in mind of the love he had bore her, desir'd she would bear him company. She gave him a promise, and as soon as he dy'd, hang'd her self. This is much us'd in *India*, as I will write in another place.

Dying men. 4. Among the *Chineses* it is very usual, when the sick person is in danger, to call the *bonzes* to pray for him, or her; they come with little basons, small bells, and other instruments they use, and make so great a noise as might hasten his death. Nevertheless they confess that diverts them, and eases their distemper. If the disease increase, they say his soul is gone out; and therefore three or four of them go abroad in the close of the evening with a large bason, a drum, and a trumpet, and walk about hastily, seeking that wandring stray soul. They make a little stop at the crossing of streets, play on their instruments, and then go on. I saw it several times, for they always stop'd by my church, because it was the corner of a street; but I could never hear they found what they look'd for. The *bonzes* use to go into the

fields upon the ſame errand; they walk about ſinging, praying, and ſounding their inſtruments, among the buſhes and brambles, turning on all ſides; and when they find ſome humble bee, or great waſp, they ſay it is the ſoul of the dying perſon. They carry it ſafe, and with a great deal of noiſe and joy, to the ſick man's houſe. I have been told they put it into his mouth; I ſuppoſe they pretend ſo to do, I never ſaw it, but have heard it ſeveral times.

5. According to the *Chineſe* ritual, when a man is ready to die, they take him out of his bed and lay him on the ground, that he may there end his days; for their philoſophy teaches, that ſince he began to live on earth, it is reaſonable he ſhould end his life there. Formerly, as ſoon as ever the child was born they laid it on the ground, according to that of *Solomon*, Wiſd. vii. *I being born, fell on the earth.* Philo Jud. *lib.* VI. *de opific.* ſays, it was done that the child by that exterior ſhow might own it ſelf the product of the earth, and acknowledge it as its mother, from whom it had receiv'd its firſt being. *Laertius, lib.* VI. ſays, It was to expreſs how it was to return to earth, and that the ſame earth ſhould be its tomb; *She is the univerſal parent, and truly our ſepulchre.* Which ſame thing S. *Bernard* ſeems to imply, *ſerm. de S. Mart. On the earth we have our riſe, on the earth we die.* This is the cuſtom of the *Chineſes* at this day.

Funeral rites.

6. As ſoon as he is dead they put a little ſtick into his mouth that it may not cloſe; we ſhall preſently ſhew the reaſon of it. This done, one of the family, with the dead man's garment in his hand, gets at the top of the ridge of the houſe, and ſtretching out the garment, calls aloud on the dead perſon's ſoul, deſiring and intreating it to return to the body. If the perſon departed be a man, he calls the ſoul by his name; if a woman, he uſes the ſirname, not the proper name. Then he comes down, and ſtretching out the garment, ſpreads it over the dead body, expecting three days to ſee whether it riſes again. If he does not come to life, and I never heard of any that did, tho' to make good their ritural they might have feign'd it; then they go about putting him into the coffin. This ceremony is very antient, it is mention'd not only in their philoſophy, but in *Confucius* his books, which they call *kai ju.* It wants not for ſome to give it a good word among the miſſioners, as ſhall be ſaid in its place. It is kept and obſerv'd to this day; but in ſome places they perform it at the door of the houſe.

7. Next they put into his mouth gold and ſilver coin, (to this intent they keep it open) rice, wheat, and ſome other ſmall things. Rich and mighty men put in pearls. This ceremony, as well as the others, is in their books and rituals we have ſpoke of. They dreſs him in his beſt clothes, which they keep carefully whilſt living againſt they are dead; the devil takes them very richly and warmly clad. In waſhing them they uſe ſtrange ceremonies before they put them into the coffin: there is no body but has one, and there are ſome of delicate woods, of twelve, twenty, fifty, a hundred ducats a piece, or more. In every city and town there are many coffin-ſhops, where they are to be found of all ſizes. The great *mandarines* ſometimes ſhew their charity in giving a dozen or twenty to poor people. There are very many who whilſt they are yet living, endeavour to get a coffin, and make a treat the day it comes home. They keep it in ſight for ſeveral years, and ſome now and then uſe to go into it, yet they do not mend their life. It is a cuſtom or law for the emperor to have his coffin ſome time in the palace. The *Tartars*, people of *Camboxa*, and *Eaſtern-Indians*, bury the bodies, and keep the aſhes. If any poor *Chineſe* happen to have no coffin, they do the ſame by him. In the coffin they lay a ſmall quilt, bolſter and pillows, coals, and wicks for lamps, which are there made of ruſhes; all theſe things ſerve to ſuck up the moiſture of the carcaſe: they alſo put in ſizers to pare their nails. Before the *Tartars* time they put in combs to comb their hair: ſince they brought them to cut off their hair they have no need of a comb, and therefore leave it out at preſent. *F. Brancato* a jeſuit told me this; and from this change I deduced this argument: if they have left off putting the comb into the coffin, becauſe they have loſt their hair, it follows they thought there was ſome myſtery in it. They place the parings of the nails they cut off from the deceas'd as ſoon as expir'd, in little purſes in the four corners; then they caſt their lots, and lay in the body with great ſhouts and cries.

NAVARETTE.

Coffins.

Funeral rites.

8. Before they bewail the dead, they place a porringer in the middle of the room where the coffin is; having perform'd ſome ceremonies, they break it, ſaying, they open the gates of heaven, and then begin the lamentations; and if what the *bonzes* ſay were true, then their pleaſure and joy ought to commence. Having nail'd up the coffin, which is done with abundance of ceremonies, they make a ſort of an altar on it, and in the midſt of it in a ſmall tabernacle they place the name of the party deceas'd, adorn'd with candles, burning perfumes and flowers; this ſhall be farther explain'd in another place. There is a great deal goes to the condoling; but after it they go where the dead body is, kneel down

NAVARETTE. down before the coffin, and ſtrike their heads againſt the ground with much devotion and tokens of ſorrow. The *Franciſcan* fathers and we could never condeſcend to do this ceremony. *F. Antony de Gouvea*, ſuperior of the miſſioners of the ſociety, told me in the province of *Canton*, once I did it; that was the only time, I never would repeat it. Another of the ſociety writ to ours thus; My hair ſtands an end to think that a prieſt of the true GOD ſhould proſtrate himſelf at the feet of a heathen carcaſe, whoſe ſoul I am poſitively aſſur'd is burning in hell; and this juſt after ſaying maſs, when I believe the ſacramental ſpecies were ſtill in his breaſt. I heard of *F. Julius Alein*, that being reprov'd by a Chriſtian of ours for performing the ſaid ceremony, he again turn'd over the *Chineſe* books, and not liking it, he ſold the clothes he had for that purpoſe, never after daring to practiſe it.

Miſſioners.

9. And tho' it be true that moſt of the ſociety have condeſcended to practiſe this ceremony, yet the reaſons we have alledg'd are ſufficient to prevail with us not to follow them, being grounded on the doctrine of the moſt learned *Suarez*, lib. II. cont. reg. Ang. cap. 5. num. 4. *We may give civil worſhip*, ſays he, *to our departed benefactors, or renowned men, tho' we are not aſſur'd of their ſalvation, at leaſt whilſt it is not demonſtrable that they are damn'd.* I know *Sanchez* has the contrary, as I ſhall ſay in another place, which concerns me but little, becauſe he ſpeaks not to a caſe under thoſe circumſtances we write of. Nor is it to me that there are Chriſtians, who give a more than civil honour to a dead elephant, and who think it may be done to a dog, cat, or other things, as ſhall be ſaid in its place, for all this includes no ſmall difficulties.

Funeral rites.

10. As ſoon as any perſon is dead, the next thing is to make a ſtick, which they call *Chung*; the deſign of it is, that the ſoul may have ſomething to reſt or kneel upon. The rituals, and books of *Confucius* above quoted mention it. This ſtaff is hung in the temples of the dead. They alſo make thoſe tablets, which we call of the dead. Theſe are more myſterious; the *Chineſes* call them the thrones and ſeats of the ſoul. This point has been three times ſent up to *Rome*, and every time been condemn'd there, except only when one repreſented it much otherwiſe than indeed it was. I ſhall ſpeak of them more at large in the ſecond tome. It cannot be deny'd neither, but that the *Chineſes* ſuppoſe the ſouls of their deceaſed friends to be there, and that they are fed and maintain'd by the ſteam of thoſe things they leave there, ſince our adverſaries own it, as ſhall be made out.

11. Funerals are attended with muſick, and much magnificence. The *Jews* us'd muſick at theirs, as *Joſephus*, cap. xv. writes: ſo S. *Mat.* cap. ix. S. *Mar.* cap. 15. and S. *Luc.* cap. viii. ſpeaking of the daughter of the ruler of the ſynagogue; but they took it from the *Gentiles* according to *Spondanus*, *an.* 32. *num.* 18. And it ſeems very needleſs, according to *Eccluſ.* cap. xxii. v. 6. *Muſick among mourning is like a troubleſome relation.* True it is, *Manochius* and *A Lapide* write, it was doleful muſick.

12. The *bonzes* go along with ſeveral inſtruments. Being come to the tomb, they offer ſacrifice to the ſpirit of that place, begging of it to be kind to the new comer. I ſhould be glad *F. Antony de Gouvea*'s hiſtory were publiſh'd, that what I write might be ſeen there. After the funeral, they offer before the image of the dead perſon, and his tablet, for ſeveral months, a certain number of times every month, and every day fleſh, rice, herbs, fruit, broth, and ſuch like things. And *F. Gouvea* ſays, the *Chineſes* believe the ſouls of the departed come thither to eat. We ever were of this opinion, for we have read it in the *Chineſe* books, and had it from their mouths. I afterwards read the ſame in the manuſcripts of others of the ſociety, as I ſhall mention in its place.

Mourning.

13. Mourning is mightily obſerv'd in *China*, for parents it certainly laſts three years; for children, couſins, *&c.* longer or ſhorter according to the nearneſs of the relation, which is all ordain'd and ſettled in their rituals, and there is no man but what obſerves it with the greateſt nicety. When a father or mother dies, if one or more of the ſons are *mandarines*, tho' he be a counſellor of ſtate, or general of any province, and live very far from home (for no man can be a *mandarin* in his own province, leſt the love of his country, kindred or friends, ſhould weigh more with him than juſtice) they preſently acquaint him with it, and prefer a petition at court, begging leave for him to go home and lament his father's death. So he quits his charge, and for thoſe three years does nothing but ſtay at home to perform the duty of the mourning. The three years expir'd, they give him another employment, but ſometimes he ſtays for it. *Corn. à Lapide* ſpeaks of this point on *Ezek.* i. ℣. 1. but it muſt be underſtood as has been ſaid already, and as *Trigaucius* writes in his hiſtory. The *Tartar* diſpenſes with ſome. In my time he diſpens'd with the ſupreme government of *Canton*; 'tis true, the diſpenſation coſt him thirty thouſand ducats. The three years mourning was exchang'd for one month's, and he did it to keep his poſt, which is worth to him above three hundred thouſand

ducats a year beſides his ſalary, and this without the oppreſſion I have ſeen in other places.

14. All men were oblig'd to wear three years mourning when the emperor dies; but of late this has been chang'd into a few days. I was there at the time of the mourning for the father of him now reigning, but cannot well remember whether it laſted four or five days. During theſe days the *mandarines* of every town, city, and metropolis meet in ſome public place, where they faſt, weep, and perform the ceremonies uſual when a dead body is preſent. I am doubtful whether it be allowable for the Chriſtian *mandarines* to keep thoſe faſts. In its proper place we ſhall ſpeak of what has been decreed in this caſe.

Funeral rites. 15. If the dead man was a perſon of note, the *bonzes* make great proceſſions, the mourners follow them with candles, and burning ſweats in their hands; they offer ſacrifices at certain diſtances, and perform the obſequies, in which they burn ſtatues of men, women, horſes, ſaddles, other things, and abundance of paper-money. All which things they believe in the next life are converted into real ones, for the uſe of the party deceas'd. But the *Chineſes* kill no human creature to bear the dead company, as I have already obſerv'd, whoever writ the contrary in *Europe*, was, or would be deceiv'd.

16. In caſe the ſoul ſhould go to hell, the *bonzes* have found out ways and means to fetch it out from thence. They have alſo found the way of bulls of plenary indulgences, and bulls for the dead, ſome of them coſt fifty ducats. How well *S. Thomas* expreſſes himſelf upon *S. Matth.* chap. v. telling us the devil ſtill continues in his firſt deſign of aſpiring to appear like to GOD. This is palpably evident in *China*. In *Muſcovy* it is the cuſtom to put a note into the dead man's hand, containing, that the bearer was a *Muſcovite*, kept his faith, and dy'd in it. This they ſend to *S. Peter*, upon ſight whereof, ſay they, he preſently gives them free admittance into heaven, and aſſigns them a better place than he does to *Roman* catholicks.

17. The Moors of *Macaſſar* uſually have four boys very well clad at the four corners of the bier, which is very large. Every one of them carries a fan, and fans the dead body, which is to cool the ſoul, becauſe of the great heat it endures in the other world. This I my ſelf have ſeen.

Burying places. 18. I have before taken notice that all the *Chineſes* are bury'd without the towns, a cuſtom other heathens have obſerv'd, and ſo did the *Jews*, as ſays *Corn. à Lapide* in *Num.* xxix. ℣. 16. and on St. *Luke*, *chap.* vii. ℣. 12. I find ſome, and particularly *Spondanus*, abhor the cuſtom of Chriſtians of burying in the churches, becauſe of the ill vapours may riſe thro' the earth and be infectious, but it would be in vain now to perſuade the contrary. NAVARETTE.

19. The *Chineſes* are extraordinary careful of keeping their ſepulchers clean, and pulling up any weeds that grow about them. They often viſit them, weep, offer meat, and burn ſeal'd paper. F. *Gouvea* in his hiſtory poſitively affirms, that the *Chineſes* believe the ſouls are near about their ſepulchers. The antient *Europeans* were of the ſame opinion. *Lactan. lib.* II. *de orig. error.* ſays it. *As the multitude believes the ſouls of the dead walk about the ſepulchers, and relicks of their bodies*, &c. There were three ſeveral opinions in thoſe times concerning the ſoul, ſays the ſame author, *cap.* 16. *de opific. Dei.* Some thought the blood was the ſoul, becauſe when that fail'd, man dy'd. Others ſaid the ſoul was the fire, *Becauſe whilſt the ſoul is preſent, the body is warm, when departed, it grows cold.* Others, and among them *Varro*, ſaid it was air. This is the opinion of the *Chineſes*, who with their philoſopher allot a very refin'd ſlender air, of which they ſay the ſoul is form'd. They alſo affirm it is a celeſtial part belonging to heat, in which particular the *Chineſes* cloſe with both the opinions we have mention'd. This ſhall be further explain'd in another place. *Fauſtus* made our ſoul corporeal, this ſuits with what has been ſaid; but he maintain'd another folly, which in ſubſtance is much the ſame the *Chineſes* hold, and ſaid, *There was nothing incorporeal among creatures.* So writes *Spondanus*, *an.* 520. *tom.* 2. On the day of the new moon is their commemoration of the dead, and ſo is the winter ſolſtice. The kindred meet in the temple of their fore-fathers in their beſt apparel; there making many genuflexions, they offer ſundry ſorts of meats and drinks, and prayers and petitions are made *directly and immediately* to thoſe dead perſons. What has been ſaid may ſuffice for a general information as to theſe affairs. What remains ſhall be made out in its place, and the pincipal points wherein the miſſioners diſagree, ſhall be declar'd. I muſt in this place acquaint the reader, that in *China* the mourning is white, and not black. So it was in *Spain* before the death of Prince *John*, as ſays *F. Mariana*. *Souls.* *Mourning.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Sects, Temples, Faſts, and other Particulars of China.

NAVARETTE. *Sects three thouſand.*

1. THO there be three thouſand ſects in *China*, yet all of them being deriv'd from three, and reducible to them; ſo all the temples and other things pertaining to them, are reduced to the ſame originals.

2. The principal, ancienteſt, and moſt honourable ſect is that of the men of learning. Some miſſioners have ſaid, the *Chineſes* have much of the *Jews*; and one more curious than the reſt took notice, that this nation has above forty *Jewiſh* ceremonies. Certain it is, the *Jews* came into that nation many ages ſince, tho' there are ſome that deny it; it is no leſs certain that *China* is much ancienter than the diſperſion of the ten tribes, that nobody may ſay *China* was peopled by the two tribes that were left. This learned ſect profeſſes down-right atheiſm, as ſhall be prov'd at large in its proper place. This is made out by the graveſt, and moſt learned miſſioners of the ſociety, whom their hiſtorian father *Lucena* follows, and by the *Chineſe* doctors themſelves, who, as men learned in their own doctrine, are better judges of the ſenſe of their books than the *Europeans*, more ſkilful and unbiaſs'd, and ought to be of more reputation in their own affairs than ſtrangers; unleſs perhaps any one without regard to demonſtration, will give more credit to his own imaginations than to the known truth. There were ſome in the province of *Canton* tranſlating a *Chineſe* book, and father *Gouvea* ſuperior of their ſociety, ſaid to me, they tranſlate and write what they fancy and dream. It is therefore certain, that in what relates to *China*, we are to follow the opinion and judgment of the *Chineſe* doctors. Therefore *S. Thomas* ſaid on *John* vii. *lect.* 2. *It is to be allowed that his judgment is to be ſtood by, who is expert in any art, to prove whether a man be good at that art; as for example, his judgment is to be taken who is ſkilful in the* French *tongue, to know whether another ſpeaks* French *well.* And that to be judge in this affair, he muſt lay aſide paſſion, envy, hatred, and affection. The learned *Chineſes* outdo us in all things.

Literati, *Atheiſts.*

3. This is alſo grounded on the words of *Lactantius de falſ. relig. lib.* I. *cap.* 2. *Whom then ſhall we believe if we do not give credit to thoſe that praiſe? he that believes theſe lyes, let him produce other authors for us to credit, who may inſtruct us who theſe gods are,* &c. If we do not believe the learned *Chineſe*, who makes ſuch account of his ſect, that he extols it above the ſkies, will it be fit to give credit to one that came but the other day into *China*, and expounds things contrary to the ſenſe of the claſſick doctors of the nation, and contrary to all the antients of his own order and religion? there is no doubt but this would be a great overſight. In reference to this, it was daily ſaid during our confinement, that in the matter of explicating *Chineſe* characters, more regard is to be had to one *Chineſe*, than to thirty miſſioners. Allowing this for granted, which is very uſeful, I proceed.

4. Doctor *Michael*, as F. *Nicholas Longobardo* a jeſuit writes, very much lamented, that the *Chineſe* learned men had been defective in their ſect, in not inventing ſome reward, and puniſhment after death, for keeping the people more in awe.

5. *Euripides* in *Plut. de placit. lib.* I. *cap.* 7. ſays, *It is a fiction of legiſlators to pretend ſome deity governs the globe of the earth to endeavour thereby to keep the people in awe.* *Seneca* 2. *Nat. quæſt. lib.* XLII. expreſſes it better and more fully, where the reader may ſee it. The ancients and other ſectaries of *China* obſerv'd this method, only the learned men of that empire were deficient in this point.

Sect of the Literati.

6. The learned ſect talks too much of the temporal reward and puniſhment. The temples properly belonging to it, are thoſe they dedicate to their dead, which was begun by the emperor *Xun*, who is of great antiquity, and very renown'd in that nation. The philoſopher *Confucius*, of whom the *Chineſes* ſay (as the Holy Ghoſt ſaid of *Solomon*) that there never was before, nor will be after him ſo wiſe a man, has temples dedicated to him in all towns and cities. *Ching Hoang*, that is, as vulgarly expounded, the tutelar genius, has temples throughout the empire. The bachelors adore a ſtar, which they call *Vuen Chang Sing*. The licentiates worſhip the north, and call it *Kuei Sing*. The magiſtrates give the ſame honour to *Confucius*. There are many other temples belonging to the learned ſect; ſome of them ſhall be taken notice of as occaſion ſerves. The temples dedicated to the ſpirit of fire, to the god of the waters, whoſe name is *Lung Vuang*, are common to all. The ſoldiers have their god *Mars*.

Xun.

7. The ſecond ſect is call'd *Tao*, profeſſes much of art-magick, is properly *Chineſe*, and as ancient as the former. They report of its founder, that he was born grey, and ſixty three years of age. His mother was deliver'd of him at her ſide, and dy'd in child-bed. This ſomewhat reſembles what

Tao, or ſect of magick.

what *Henricus Summalix* in his *Paradiſus animæ*, quotes out of *Albertus Magnus*, *cap.* 5. For theſe reaſons the *Chineſes* call that man *Lao Zu*, that is, old ſon. He liv'd in the time of *Confucius*, and is commended by him in the books call'd *Kia Ju*. This alone might ſuffice to make ſome men leſs admire *Confucius*. This ſect has very many temples throughout all *China*, they do not profeſs ſuch poverty as others do; ſome of them marry, others have coadjutors, who ſucceed them in their religious preferments. They let their beards grow, and in proceſſions wear copes of the ſame make as are us'd in the catholick church. What father *de Angelis* writes, *viz.* that the provincials of this ſect are carry'd in chairs of ivory and gold, is a mere invention. They have a great ſuperior, in the nature of a general, formerly he went in the apparel of a *mandarin*, at preſent he has the privilege of ſuch a one, and no more.

Foe, or ſect of idols of India.

8. The third ſect is call'd *Foe*; we name it the ſect of the idols of *India*. It was brought into *China* about ſixty years after the birth of our Saviour. The founder of it his name was *Xe Kia*, he was born very many years before. This curs'd ſect has ſo ſpread, that it certainly far exceeds the *Mahometan*. From *India* it pierc'd as far as *Japan*, without leaving any iſland or part of the continent all that way exempt from it. This helliſh infection has ſeiz'd the *Laos*, *Lequios*, *Tibet*, both *Tartaries*, *Siam*, *Camboxa*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunquin*, and all the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*. The firſt principle they aſſign and know does not go beyond the *materia prima*, wherein it agrees with the two former, tho' it differ in the names and terms. This is the opinion of moſt ſolid miſſioners, of the *Chineſe* doctors, and of their claſſick authors, of which more in its proper place. For this reaſon 126 years ago, there ſtarted up a ſect of the legiſlators we have ſpoken of uniting them all, and making one of the three. This laſt ſect has its temples, on whoſe altars they place the three accurſed ſectaries afore mention'd. The worſt of it is, that nine years ſince a Chriſtian at court publiſh'd a book in which he parallels and calls our holy religion by the ſame name with all thoſe three we ſpeak of.

Sect of the Legiſlators.

9. There are innumerable temples of the third ſect, all very ſtately, clean, and neat; ſome have five hundred, ſome eight hundred, and ſome a thouſand *bonzes*. Theſe are very much given to praying, in ſome places they pray continually day and night. They have alſo their places of devotion on mountains, in woods and vallies, whither infinite numbers of people reſort at certain times, and to ſay the truth with more devotion, modeſty, and decency, than is ſeen in our parts. There are every where hermitages with hermits, as well on mountains, as in vallies, and moſt uncouth places. There are alſo in loneſome places houſes to breed up novices, where they live mighty retired. For food as long as they live they are forbid fleſh, whitemeats, and fiſh, as alſo wine; they live upon nothing but rice, bread, herbs, and fruit. An infinite number of their laity as well men as women keep this faſt, many of them handicrafts, labourers and ſailors, who never break it either on account of hard labour, ſickneſs, or age.

Bonzes.

NAVARETTE. *Hermits.* *Abſtinence.*

10. It is truly amazing to hear what accounts they give of the lives of ſome of them, and of thoſe of *Camboxa* and *Siam*; the very fathers of the deſarts ſeem to fall ſhort of them; and for abſtinence it may be ſaid they outdo that of other ancients mention'd by *Henricus Summalix* in the fifth and ſeventh chapters of *Paradiſus animæ* of *B. Albertus*, and of others *Corn. à Lapide* on *Gen.* ix. 21. ſpeaks of.

11. Among the reſt of the famous idols of *Foe*'s ſect, there is a woman they call *Kuon In Pu Sa*. Some ſay ſhe was daughter to a king of *India*: Others that ſhe was a *Chineſe* maid, who liv'd on the mountains near the city *Macao*. Doctor *Paul* a *Chineſe* put it out in print that ſhe is our bleſſed Lady; the ground for his opinion he ſays is, that the image has remain'd there ever ſince the preachers out of *Syria* preach'd the goſpel in that empire. When they were all dead, the *Chineſes* made an idol of it. It is poſſible it might be ſo, but very able miſſioners of the ſociety make a doubt of it, and they like that book as ill as I do. The moſt likely, as the Chriſtian men of learning make out, is that there never was any ſuch woman, but it is a fiction. The meaning of her name is, that ſhe ſees the wants of thoſe that bear devotion to her a thouſand leagues off; that ſhe hears their prayers at the ſame diſtance, and moſt readily ſupplies them. They repreſent her with a great many hands, one image of her in *Canton* has twenty four to ſignify the great favours ſhe does, and her extraordinary liberality. The multitude have a great deal of devotion to this monſter.

Kuon In Pu Sa.

12. This ſame ſect has another idol they call *San Pao*, it conſiſts of three equal in all reſpects. Doctor *Paul* above mention'd ſets it down as an emblem of the bleſſed Trinity, which he might as well let alone. *F. de Angelis* a *Portugueſe* mentions theſe two things, and enlarges upon them too much without any reaſon.

San Pao.

Ours was inſtituted by S. Matthew *according to S.* Clement, lib. viii. conſ. Apoſ. ver. 11. cap. xxxv.

13. The ſame ſect uſes holy, or rather curſed water, and other things, which doctor *Paul* ſays the *bonzes* took from the law of God which formerly flouriſh'd in that kingdom.

Holy water.

NAVARRETTE. kingdom. Other heathens uſed it, as ſays *à Lapide* on *Num.* xix. 11. There are alſo temples to which men and women reſort to beg children. In theſe temples there are uſually many wooden and earthen little boys, without their privy parts; the reaſon is, becauſe the women when they reſort thither to perform their devotions in order to obtain children, take theſe boys in their hands and bite off thoſe parts and eat them. Some keep them as relicks.

Ramaſel. GOD *in* Deut. xii. *commanded his people to deſtroy the temples and idols; the Chriſtians are not permitted ſo to do in* China. Lamas.

14. In the kingdom of *Tibet*, where the pope of that part of the world reſides, whom they call *the great Ramaſel*, there are the naſtieſt relicks that can be expreſſed. That man is held in ſuch mighty veneration, that all his excrements great or ſmall are honoured as relicks. In *China* they are valued at a high rate; the devil treats his people like filthy ſwine. *F. Kircher pag.* 51. writes ſome things which require more proof: 'tis a mere ſtory that *F. Adamus* hindred the emperor of *China* from going forth to meet the great *Ramaſel*, or *Lamaſſe*; nor was the *Tartar* emperor of *China* in the year twenty nine. *F. Adamus* was not ſufficiently eſteemed or accounted of by the father of the emperor now reigning, to ſave bowing and ſubmitting to an ordinary *bonze*; and is it likely he ſhould have intereſt to do what was ſaid above? beſides that in ſuch caſes, they conſult the court of rites and ceremonies, which anſwers according to the precedents they can find, and that is infallibly done; now how could *F. Adamus* have any thing to do there?

Mahometans.

15. It is above four hundred years ſince the *Mahometan* ſect came firſt into *China*, but has for the moſt part continued among them that brought it; but they marrying are vaſtly multiplied, they are above five hundred thouſand, and have ſtately temples. We ſaw one at *Hang Cheu* ſo ſightly, and with ſuch a noble front, as might ſhow well in *Rome*. The *Mahometans* ſtudy the *Chineſe* ſciences, take their degrees, and riſe to be civil and military *mandarines*; but as ſoon as any of them has taken his degree or becomes a *mandarin*, they look upon him as an apoſtate from his faith: ſo that the *Mahometans* eſteem the learned ſect incompatible with theirs, which acknowledges one true GOD to whom they aſſign the ſame attributes as we do, tho' they admit of intolerable errors. Every temple of *bonzes* has a cock belonging to it, which they keep to be ruled by him, and riſe at midnight to mattins. *A Lapide* on *Deut.* vi. ℣. 7. writes of the crowing of this fowl.

Bonzes.

CHAP. X.

A Continuation of the ſame Subject.

1. A Conſiderable part of what properly appertains to theſe chapters, is ſpoke of in ſeveral parts of my works; therefore I ſhall here ſet down and give hints of ſuch things as are moſt common. There is one very uſual faſt among the young people of *China*, which laſts only three years; this is perform'd to requite their mothers for the milk they gave them, and to repay the blood they ſpilt at their birth. This faſt they obſerve moſt rigidly, inſomuch that no accident or excuſe whatſoever can countenance the breaking of it; the manner of it is the ſame before mentioned in the laſt chapter, *viz.* to abſtain from fleſh, whitemeats, fiſh, and wine. The women, who in all parts are more devoutly given, ſignalize themſelves for faſting in *China*, and bring up their children to it; ſo that there are abundance who live to old age, without having ever eaten any thing that comes from a ſenſitive living creature, except the milk they ſucked of their mothers. When any of theſe have a mind to become Chriſtian, it is a very difficult matter to diſſuade him from the ſuperſtition of that faſt. There has been a very great variance between the miſſioners of the ſociety touching this point which ſhall be obſerv'd in its place.

Abſtinence.

2. But notwithſtanding the general tenderneſs of women, eſpecially of mothers, for thoſe they have bore in their womb, yet there is the greateſt cruelty imaginable among the *Chineſe* women towards their daughters. Very many of them, as well rich as poor, when they are deliver'd of daughters, ſtifle and kill them; thoſe who are ſomething more tender hearted, leave them under a large veſſel, where they let them die in great miſery and pain. I ſaw one that had been three days in that condition, it cried and groan'd ſo as might move a ſtone to compaſſion, and only a few boards parted her from her cruel mother's bed. I ſaw her father, her grandfather and her grandmother, who often paſs'd by the veſſel; and ſhe that had peirced my heart with her cries, could make no impreſſion upon thoſe monſters. I begged the child, they granted my requeſt, ſometimes they refuſe ſo charitable a requeſt; we lifted up the veſſel, the child lay on her back crying to heaven for relief, her feet and arms drawn up, her back lay upon hard ſtones in wet and mud. I was amazed to ſee it had lived three days and three nights in that condition: her colour was ſo high it look'd like the very blood. I carried her away, baptized

Daughters murder'd.

her

her, called her *Mary*, and gave her to a Chriſtian woman to nurſe. Within a few days it appeared how much harm that miſerable way of living had done. All her ſinews contracted, and GOD who preſerv'd *Moſes* in the oſier baſket, kept this innocent babe three days under the veſſel, to take her to heaven within a month after ſhe was baptized. She might very well ſay, *my father and my mother hath forſaken me, but the Lord hath taken me to him.* Many have been ſaved after this manner in *China:* a book there is in that nation exclaims very much againſt this barbarity; there is alſo an imperial law, which forbids it, but all to no purpoſe. The Chriſtians agreed there were about ten thouſand female children murdered every year within the precinct of the city *Lan Ki*, where I lived ſome time: how many then muſt we imagine periſhed throughout the whole empire? But who will wonder at this, ſince we know the ſame was practiſed in *Spain* upon both males and females, only upon the beaſtly motive of ſatisfying their luſt? the third council of *Toledo*, *Can.* 17. has theſe words, *That parents in ſome parts of* Spain *murder their children through the deſire of fornication, and for want of tenderneſs*, &c.

Nuns. 3. The *Chineſe* nuns called *Ni Ku*, are great faſters; they live retired in their monaſteries, but ſometimes go abroad to beg. Every one goes with her companion, they wear the ſame apparel as the *bonzes* do, and make their obeiſance like men, not like women. The *Chineſes* have no good opinion of either the he or ſhe *bonzes*, and therefore make no account of them. In the neighbouring kingdoms it is quite otherwiſe, all men reſpect and honour them.

Killing an animal a ſin. 4. All the ſects we have ſpoken of, except the firſt and the *Mahometans*, look upon it as a ſin to kill living creatures. Many of the antients were of the ſame opinion. See S. *Thomas opuſc.* 5. 5. in *opuſc.* 8. §. 3. he writes that, *the* Facians *do not eat fleſh, but altogether abhor it.* On the contrary, *Paul* 1 *Tim.* iv. *S. Auguſt. lib.* I. *de civit. Dei, cap.* 20. ſays, *That the killing of beaſts to maintain human life is not unlawful.* This I verily believe, but it is a doctrine that won't paſs in *China.* S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *q.* 64. *art.* 4. particularly impugns this error, as do his diſciples. The *Chineſe* ſectaries plead humanity and compaſſion, thinking it a cruel thing to take that life they cannot give. According to that of Prov. cap. xii. ℣. 10. *A righteous man regardeth the life of his beaſt, but the bowels of the wicked are cruel.* *Lira* on this place ſays, *The* Jews *were cruel, and therefore the law fed them to have compaſſion, not only towards men but towards brute beaſts.* But it is very well worth remarking, that they ſhould endeavour to ſhew themſelves ſo merciful to beaſts, and be ſo cruel to their own daughters, murdering them inhumanly, as has been ſaid.

See A Lapide, *on* Gen. ii. *ver.* 28.

The ſame ſays A Lapide *in many places, and* Oleaſter.

NAVARRETTE.

5. In *India* they have hoſpitals, to cure all ſorts of irrational creatures, and they let men die without aſſiſting them in their ſickneſs; ſuch is the compaſſion of ſectaries. One thing well worth obſerving, has been taken notice of in the faſting ſectaries, which is, that at entertainments they preſenrly make known their devotion, and ſo they ſerve them only ſuch meat as they can eat; but if a Chriſtian is invited upon a faſting-day, inſtituted by the church, he holds his peace, and eats all that is laid before him, without daring to make known the obligation he lies under. Before they are Chriſtians they are very zealous for the devils faſts; after their converſion it is very hard to bring them to keep only nine days the church obliges them to. The *Indians* do much better, tho' their ſuſtenance is but mean and ſmall. *Converts.*

Faſting. 6. Faſting is much accounted of in *China.* When they enquire into our holy doctrine, the firſt thing they do is to inform themſelves of our faſts; we to make things the eaſier, tell them there are but a few, and thoſe eaſy, and it is certain they don't like it. There are ſundry opinions touching this point, and it is no eaſy matter to reconcile them. I always liked the ſentiment of *Layman, lib.* IV. *trac.* 8. *cap.* 1. where ſpeaking of faſting he ſays, *Therefore it is to be introduced among nations newly converted to the faith of Chriſt, as* Navarrus *obſerves, and* Toletus, *lib.* VI. *cap.* 9. *num.* 1. All have not taken this courſe: the branches that have ſpread from theſe ſects are many, as I obſerved before. Some are more reſerv'd than others, ſome have ſtricter faſts, and obſerve rigid ſilence. When our holy faith was condemn'd, the ſupreme governor of *Canton* preſented a petition againſt the *bonzes*; upon which it was ordered, that only twenty ſhould be allowed in every town, forty in cities of the firſt rank, thirty in thoſe of the ſecond. But when we came to *Canton*, they were all undiſturbed in their houſes and monaſteries.

Bonzes. 7. All the *bonzes* profeſs chaſtity, there have been ſome ſpecial caſes. On the ſecond of *April*, 67. we were told the petty king of *Canton* had condemned eleven to be burnt alive, for having taken them in ſin, in which there was a complication of murder. It is reported of an empreſs of the laſt reigning family, who had a kindneſs for the *bonzes*, that ſhe granted them a diſpenſation to have to do with women during three days, without committing any offence, or being liable to puniſhment; they alſo profeſs poverty, but not that of the goſ-

NAVARETTE. pel. If a *bonzo* has a good opportunity offered him to eat, drink, rob, or murder, he lets it not ſlip, for they are great hypocrites. We may well apply to the *bonzes* of *China*, what S. *Auguſtin* ſays, in *ſerm.* 21. *ad frat. Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, but not thoſe that counterfeit poverty; ſuch as they are hypocrites, outwardly profeſſing poverty, but refuſing to endure any want. Such men in all their actions ſeek for the reſpect of honour, the glory of praiſe to be feared by their betters, and be worſhipped like* GOD; *they covet to be call'd ſaints by all men; they extol poverty and abſtinence only in words, but they deſign not to touch them with their finger. They outwardly clothe their bodies with deſpicable garments, but next their ſkin are clad in purple; they give out they lie upon aſhes, but refuſe not lofty palaces; they ſhew a heavenly face abroad, but we doubt not they have hearts like wolves. Such were thoſe Sarafates, concerning whom* F. Hierome *writ to us three times, whoſe race is moſt carefully to be avoided. They in fine were in* Egypt, *living in the clefts of rocks, clad in ſwines ſkin and oxes hides, only girt about with ropes made of palm-tree leaves, wearing thorns about their heels faſtened to their girdles; and coming out of their caves bare-footed, and goared with blood, they went to* Jeruſalem *to the feaſt of* Pentecoſt; *and entring the holy of holies, zealouſly preached up the obſervance of poverty and abſtinence; then they haſtily pulled their beards, in the preſence of men, without any mercy; and having thus gained renown, and made their profit, they returned to their own abode, rejoicing and feaſting in ſolitude more than we can expreſs.* The *bonzes* of *China* are here well deſcrib'd, all they do tends to gain renown and profit, without having any other end or proſpect.

CHAP. XI.

In which the Sect of Foe *is fully explicated.*

Foe. 1. HAving ſaid ſomething in general of this ſect, it remains to declare what is peculiar and abſtracting from others in it. Concerning that of the men of learning we ſhall ſpeak in another place. This will be uſeful for the information of thoſe that go over to thoſe miſſions in theſe points; that they may be furniſh'd with arguments againſt them, which will make them able upon occaſion to handle with eaſe theſe confus'd matters ſo ſtrange to *Europeans*, giving it for granted, that this ſect is the greateſt enemy we have to deal with in *Japan*, *China*, and many other kingdoms.

2. This helliſh ſect, as I obſerv'd above, came into *China* about the year 2899 of the *Chineſe* empire, 3109 after the flood, *Sixty.* and ſixty after the birth of our Saviour. Its founder in *Japan* is call'd *Jaca*, in Xe Kia. *China Xe Kia*; when they made an idol of him, they nam'd him *Foe*. He was born in the *Mid-India*, which kingdom the *Chineſes* call *Tien Cho Kue*. His father's name was *Cing Fan Vuang*, his mother's *Mo Je*: they ſay ſhe conceived in a dream, imagining a white elephant enter'd her by the mouth; he was brought forth at the left ſide, his mother died in labour. As ſoon as he was born, they write, he walk'd ſeven ſteps, and with one finger pointed up to heaven, and with another to the earth, and ſaid, I alone am holy and noble in heaven and on earth. Some ſay he was ſon to the devil, who bringing ſeed from ſome place, infuſed it into the mother in the ſhape of a *White elephant.* white elephant. This is the reaſon that beaſt is ſo highly valued in *India*, that thoſe kings make bloody wars for him.

3. *F. John Adamus* arguing againſt this ſect, and repeating the words its firſt author ſpoke as ſoon as born, gives it for granted to be as we ſaid in the laſt place, and adds, that the devil enter'd his body, which made him break out into that helliſh blaſphemy. Some *Europeans* tell us, his birth was in the twenty ninth year of *Solomon*'s reign. At ſeventeen years of age he married three wives, by one of them he had a ſon, whoſe name was *Lo Heu Lo*; at the age of nineteen he forſook the world, and became an anchoriſt; twelve years he led that life, learning from four immortal men, ſo they call the hermits who lead a very exemplary life; at thirty years of age, looking on the morning ſtar, he obtain'd a comprehenſive knowledge of the being of the firſt principle, which rais'd him to the degree of the idol *Foe*; he preach'd his doctrine forty nine years, and died in the ſeventy ninth year of his age. Before his death he ſaid, during more than forty years I have not made known the truth of what I know; for I have only preach'd the exterior, and moſt demonſtrable part of my doctrine, by means of ſeveral compariſons, all which I look'd upon as falſe, not the interior which I judg'd to be true. Therefore he then declar'd, that the firſt principle, or beginning and ultimate end, was no other than the *materia prima*, or *chaos*, which they expreſs by theſe two letters *kung* and *hiu*, ſignifying a *vacuum* or emptineſs, and that there was nothing further to be ſought after or hoped for. He had eight thouſand diſciples, out of which he choſe five hundred, and then one hundred out of

Matter *the firſt principle.*

The ancients call'd the air vacuum *whither they return'd after death.* Cajet. *in* Job vii. *ver.* 18. *obſerves it.*

of them; laſtly, he took the tenth man of thoſe, whom they now call the ten great ones. Theſe after the death of their maſter writ his doctrine in above fifty thouſand ſeveral gatherings; I ſuppoſe they were of palm-leaves, or that they call *nipa*, as they write to this day in *India*, which I have often ſeen and obſerved. *Ta Mo* a famous idol in *China*, whoſe principle ſeat is on the mountain *Vu Tang Xan*, in the province of *Hu Kuang*, is lineally deſcended from thoſe ten, and is the hundred and twenty eighth from them. They report of him, that he was nine years in contemplation with his face to a wall. Theſe contemplations on the *vacuum* or *chaos*, which are directed to imitate that firſt principle, they call taking the degree of an idol, and then returning to the *vacuum*, or nothing whence they came.

Ta Mo.

4. Either by reaſon of the likeneſs of the name, or I know not for what reaſon, I have heard it ſaid of this *Ta Mo*, and it is printed in the *Chineſe* language, that he was the apoſtle S. *Thomas*, who they affirm was in *China*. The fathers *Luzena*, *de Angelis*, and *Mendoza* follow this opinion, I look upon it to be more than improbable. I have a word to this ſame point in another place, what has been ſaid may ſuffice for the preſent; and it is the opinion of *F. Gouvea*, and convincing, that *Ta Mo* came into *China* above three hundred years after the incarnation of the Son of GOD, as appears by the opinions of very learned men given me under their hands. Nor is it to be believ'd, that when the holy apoſtle had come to *China*, he would ſo ſoon depart that country, leaving ſo plentiful a harveſt without gathering it, or ſowing the ſeed of the word of GOD, as even they of the contrary opinion affirm. And if the apoſtle was in *China*, he was none of *Ta Mo*. I have read much on this ſubject, but I find no ground they of the contrary opinion have.

Three hundred.

Foe.

5. *Xe Kia* in his will left his doctrine to his much lov'd diſciple *Mo*, or *Kia Je*, charging him to begin it with theſe words, *we almoſt ſaw it*, without ſhewing any other reaſon. His body being burnt without eagle-wood and ſandal, his diſciples divided his relicks, and ſhar'd them among mens ſpirits, and dragons of the ſea. They ſent the king of *Ceylon* a tooth, which *F. Gouvea* ſays at laſt fell into the hands of *D. Conſtantine* of *Braganza*. *F. Luzena* affirms the ſame, but without making any mention of *Foe*, or *Xe Kia*. They tell abundance of falſe miracles wrought by this curſed man; and among the reſt, that he has been brought forth into the world eight thouſand times, the laſt in the ſhape of a white elephant. This alludes to what I ſaid above.

6. In their books they take notice of another ancienter idol call'd *OMi To*. He places paradiſe in *India*, which they call a quiet and calm country. Thoſe who call upon this idol, they ſay, obtain full remiſſion of their ſins. It is wonderful to ſee how inceſſantly many call upon him, they name him oftner than we do GOD, CHRIST JESUS, or the bleſſed Virgin. Some for a long time after they are baptiz'd, have much ado to break themſelves of that bad cuſtom.

NAVARETTE.

O Mi To.

7. The books they call *fang pien*, give only this and *Xe Kia* the title of idols, becauſe they repreſent the firſt principle. The reſt, tho' they are the ſame thing as the firſt principle, are only ſtil'd *Pu Sa*, that is a ſtep leſs. They repreſent only ſome attribute of that firſt principle; as for example, the goddeſs *Kuon In*, above mention'd. Thoſe they call *Lo Hoan* are in the third rank.

Pu Sa.

Lo Hoan.

8. The ſubſtance of the exterior doctrine, which *Xe Kia* looks upon as falſe, is, that there are idols, which make ſatisfaction for men and ſave them; and being mov'd by compaſſion and pity, were born to ſhew the way to heaven to thoſe ſouls that are born in the other world, where *Foe* is ſtill upon a flower. Their glory conſiſts in thirty two figures and eight qualities, which glorify a man. This ſect has five commandments: the firſt, not to kill any living creature; the ſecond, not to ſteal; the third, not to commit fornication; the fourth, not to lie; the fifth, not to drink wine. It has ſix works of mercy: the firſt and chiefeſt, to do good to the *bonzes*; to erect temples for them in honour of their idols, and always to call upon them, which is ſufficient to obtain pardon of their ſins. To burn for the dead paper-money, pieces of ſilk and cotton, to ſerve their ſouls in the other world, and that they may have wherewith to bribe the goalers and porters of hell. The burning of paper came not from the *bonzes*, they have appropriated it to themſelves; the original of it ſhall be ſet down in another place. If they do not, as has been ſaid, they aſſign ſix ways they ſhall go to hell, where they ſhall continually be coming again into the world, as men, beaſts, devils, rich, poor, *&c.* All this the interior doctrine rejects, and ſo do the *bonzes*. The purport of the interior doctrine is, that as before my parents were born, there was nothing but the *vacuum*, which is the being of all things, and gave us that which we have; ſo after death all things return to, and are reduced to that *vacuum*, or nothing, without leaving any other diſtinction betwixt creatures, but the bare figure and qualities they have. As for inſtance, the water that is in ſeveral veſſels

Foe's *commandments.*

Foe's *interior doctrine.*

NAVARETTE. of ſundry ſhapes, round or ſquare, *&c.* The learned men in their philoſophy make uſe of this ſame ſimile to make out their doctrine, which in effect is the ſame as the interior doctrine of the *bonzes*. They alſo make uſe of the ſimile of the moon, which ſhews its figure in the water, or a glaſs, and it looks like a moon, but is only an image or reſemblance, and mere nothing. So they ſay of creatures, that they are nothing but the firſt principle, which is the being of them all, whoſe ſubſtance they ſet down as a rule, has no underſtanding, will, virtue, power, *&c.* Yet they deſcribe it pure, ſubtile, ingenerable, infinite, incorruptible, and moſt perfect. They place *Beatitude.* beatitude in this life, through meditation and mortification; ſo that their bliſs is obtain'd by meditating on that firſt principle, and reaching to the height of contemplation, wherein a man is as it were beſide himſelf void of reflection, and without any operation of the underſtanding, and further than this he has nothing to ſeek or hope for.

9. To ſpeak of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which error has infected all *Aſia*; thoſe of this ſect ſay it happens four ſeveral ways; two of them true, and two falſe. The firſt falſe way, which belongs to the exterior doctrine, feigns ſix places in ſeveral parts of the world, where thoſe men that die according to what they have acted in this life, are born over and over again in the ſhape of thoſe who inhabit thoſe places, till they are again born into this world, and afterwards come to obtain the perfection of the firſt principle. After this dying a ſecond time, they go to paradiſe converted into idols *Foe*, without returning any more to thoſe ſix places. This error ſuppoſes a ſet number of ſouls. Other ancients held it, whom S. *Thomas* oppoſes; ſee *part.* 1. *quæſt.* 90. The ſecond manner feigns, that when a man dies, according to his actions, he is converted into one of ſix things, a beaſt, a fiſh, a bird; an angry, a hungry, or a heavenly devil.

10. The firſt true way is, ſay they, that the firſt principle ſo often ſpoken of, *is in* continual tranſmigration from one thing to another, taking ſeveral ſhapes thro' four ſeveral ways of coming into the world; that is, the womb, eggs, ſeed, and converſion of one thing into another. *F. Antony Gouvea*, the ancienteſt miſſioner of his ſociety, and their ſuperior, ſays the learned and ſect of *Tao* hold the ſame in their *in jang*, matter and form, *li* and *ki*. Which I look upon as an undoubted truth; and that it may appear how much *F. Longobardus*, a grave miſſioner of the ſociety, *is in* the right, in ſaying, the *Chineſes* hold the ſame errors as other ancients did; I obſerve, that as the *Chineſe* men of learning call cold *in*, which is a word of the feminine gender; and heat *jang*, which is maſculine: ſo did the ancient *Europeans*, as S. *Thomas* takes notice of *Job* xxxviii. call *cold a female quality*, and ſo the text names it, *by the name of the womb*, which belongs *to the woman; but heat a male quality; and ſo he makes uſe of the name of the father about the generation of dew and rain, Lactan. Firm.* ſaid the ſame long before, *lib.* II. *de orig. error. cap.* 10. The ſecond way, and that which is peculiar to this ſect, is the continual rowling of the underſtanding, will, paſſions, and inward affections of man about his objects; and ſo when the underſtanding, or inward appetite is in action towards ſome object, then they ſay the heart is produced or brought forth; and when it deſiſts from that operation, they ſay it dies. In this ſenſe they affirm the underſtanding does all things, that is, that when it looks after them they are done; if it does not take care of, or think on them, they have no being. After the ſame manner as *logicians* ſpeak of the *ens rationis*, whoſe being conſiſts in the underſtanding's being fix'd in conſideration; and it ceaſes to be when they no longer think on it. They reduce all objects relating to the ſtate of man to ten heads; ſix are as it were hells, which belong to the ſecular ſtate; the other four are like heaven, and appertain to the monaſtick ſtate.

CHAP. XII.

The End of this chimerical Confuſion.

1. THIS chapter is added to conclude with what this ſect teaches, which will make it the more intelligible, and the chapters of this book not ſo long. It teaches, that our underſtanding, will, or appetite, which they call *ſin*, are continually employ'd, and rowl upon ſix objects or ways, and this *Hell.* imployment or reſtleſſneſs they call *hell*. Thoſe hermits *Spondanus* treats of, *ann.* 170. *num.* 5. ſaid almoſt the ſame thing; and according to the object the underſtanding is imploy'd upon, the perſon is ſaid to be in ſuch or ſuch a hell, and to become like the inhabitants of it. All inſenſibility and mortification in regard to theſe objects it calls *heaven*; he that goes to this place is born a *foe*, reſembling the firſt principle in imitating it. Of the ſix ways they call *lo tao*, the firſt is that hell in which they aſſign three places of pain, which are the three paſſions, anger, covetouſneſs,

touſneſs, and ignorance; they are properly the furies of this hell, which they name *San To*, that is, three venoms or poiſons. When a man is born into this world, they ſay, he is born into hell with his head downwards; that is, he is born from his mother's womb; and ſo all noble perſons are born in hell, *viz.* in this life, in which there are eight ſorts of torments, life, old age, ſickneſs, miſeries, calamities, poverty, ſorrow, and death. Another hell is term'd *Ngo Kuei*, ſignifying hungry devil; man is born into this, when he is inwardly troubled for the miſeries he indures in this life. The third is term'd *Cho Seng*, a brute beaſt; it ſignifies rude men who act like beaſts, and are ignorant of what they ought to know. The fourth is *Sieu Lo*, an angry devil; which is when men are paſſionate and quarrel, theſe are in the hell we have mention'd. The fifth is *Jin Tao*; that is, to be born a man, ſignifying the uneaſineſs of compliments, and the cuſtoms of the world. The ſixth is *Tien Tao*; that is, heavenly way, which belongs to kings and princes, who are born in heaven, when they are in pleaſures among muſick and paſtimes.

2. To eſcape theſe ſix hells, four ſteps are to be aſcended, which are the four philoſophers of this ſect. The firſt *Xing Vuen*; that is, a beginner that travels through faith, and is one that ſtands upright before the image of *Xe Kia*, whoſe buſineſs is to conceive that all things are nothing. The ſecond *Vuen Kio*, one advanc'd; he alſo is commonly repreſented ſtanding, as the former, and his buſineſs is reflection and meditation; thoſe of this rank are call'd *Lo Haon*, that is, men that meditate. The ſubject of their meditation is twelve; twelve ſteps man makes from his birth till he dies. The third *Pu Sa*, that is, perfect, or conſummate, who can advance no further, but with bowels of compaſſion employs himſelf in inſtructing men. Theſe ſit on the left ſide of *Xe Kia*, almoſt even with him, and have a ſort of beads. The fourth is *Foe*, that is, the moſt conſummate idol, who employs not himſelf in outward things, in all reſpects like the firſt principle, abſolutely perfect, which ſtate is being in paradiſe, united with the *vacuum*, or nothing, or with the refin'd, thin, and imperceptible air, and become one and the ſame thing with it.

Beatitude.

3. It only remains in this place to ſet down ſome ſayings of the doctors of this ſect; and becauſe they all in effect expreſs the ſame thing, I will only write the ſayings of two or three. *Pi Xi* ſays I receiv'd my being from the incorporeal *medium*, or from nothing (he means the *materia prima*) and as all things came from it, ſo did man. The ſoul and underſtanding of themſelves are nothing. Good and evil are alſo nothing, they have no place to exiſt in. *Xi Ki* ſays, to do good works of itſelf is nothing, and ſo to do evil; my body is like the lather of a waſh-tub compacted together, my ſoul is like the wind. The *chaos* produced a white nature, without ſubſtance or ſolidity; therefore all things are but mere appearances, they are nothing but outward ſhape.

Firſt principle.

NAVARETTE.

4. By what has been here ſaid, we may frame to ourſelves ſome idea of the extravagancy of this ſect, if ſuch wild chimeras can furniſh us with any ſettled notion; but to this end I have made it as plain as poſſible I could. Perhaps our LORD may ſtir up ſome body to write againſt it; I doubt not but it would be very advantageous. The miſſioners have writ much, but ſtill more is wanting. I never could approve of the opinion of ſome men, who ſay, it is not proper to ſpend time in arguing againſt follies. I ſay I could never approve of it, becauſe the holy doctors of the church ſpent much time in refuting other abſurdities, very like, and not inferior to theſe. Among them particularly S. *Thomas* did ſo, and it was not miſpent, but well employ'd. Beſides, what reaſon can there be not to ſpend time in diſcovering and expoſing theſe follies we have mention'd, ſince they are the means the devil uſes to gain innumerable ſouls?

5. If we obſerve the firſt principle aſſign'd by all the *Chineſe* ſects, we ſhall find they do not much vary from other ancients, againſt whom the ſaints writ much. *Heſiod* treated of the *chaos*, and not of the cauſe which produced it, as *Lactantius* obſerves, *de falſ. rel. lib.* I. *cap.* 5. The ancient poets placed the *chaos* in the beginning of the world, and ſaid it afterwards ſeparated and divided into many things, as the ſame *Lactantius* tells us, *cap.* 9. *lib.* II. *de orig. error.* The learned men of *China* maintain the ſame. S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 8. ſays, that *Thales Mileſius* aſſign'd water for the firſt principle; *Diogenes* the air. Something of both may be found in the *Chineſe* ſects. *Heraclius* would have a refin'd or ſubtile air to be the firſt principle, ſo will the *Chineſe* men of learning. *Empedocles* aſſign'd the four elements; the *Chineſes* allow five, and make them the immediate cauſes of all things, tho' at long run they reduce all to air, or a rarify'd vapour.

6. S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 15. *cap.* 9. ſays, *For the firſt philoſophers ſet it down as a maxim, concerning the nature of things, that it was only a change from one being to another.* And therefore they aſſign'd as the firſt principle, *A matter without any cauſe, for their underſtanding did not extend beyond the diſtinction betwixt the ſubſtance and the accidents.* All

NAVARETTE. this is plainly the doctrine of the ſects we have ſpoken of. *But others proceeding ſomewhat further, ſearch'd into the origin of ſubſtances themſelves, aſſigning ſome ſubſtance as the cauſe of their being; but becauſe they could not frame a conception of any thing but bodies, therefore they reſolv'd ſubſtance into ſome principles; yet ſuch as were corporeal, laying it down as a rule that bodies were fram'd by the gathering of others, as if the origin of things conſiſted in only gathering and diſperſing.* Which doctrine the *Chineſe* men of letters directly hold, as ſhall appear when we treat immediately of this ſect. *Later philoſophers advancing further, reduced ſenſible ſubſtances into eſſential parts, which are matter and form; and thus placed the being of natural things in a ſort of tranſmutation, according as the matter is alternatively under ſeveral forms.* The *Chineſes* draw ſomewhat to this notion, but after a manner very confus'd, for they have no thorough knowledge of matter and form, actual and poſſible exiſtence. Then ſince the errors are common, it is not unreaſonable, that as the ancients were oppos'd, ſo alſo the moderns be.

7. I us'd to ſay to the *Chineſes*, as *Lactantius* does, *de div. præm. lib.* VII. *cap.* 2. *The cauſe of all errors in philoſophy was, becauſe they did not comprehend the reaſon of the world, which contains all wiſdom; but that is not to be comprehended by our own reaſon, which they attempted to do of themſelves without a maſter.* And he concludes thus; *Wherefore of neceſſity all ſects of philoſophy muſt deviate from truth, becauſe they were men that ſet them up; nor can they have any ſolid ground or ſtability, as not being ſupported by any oracle of the word of* GOD. What has been ſaid may convince any unbiaſs'd perſon.

8. Here we might diſcuſs a point of great moment, which is, whether thoſe ſectaries we have mention'd were ſav'd, or whether we may doubt of their ſalvation? In the ſecond tome, which is the proper place, what was ſaid to this point in *China* ſhall be declar'd. I never made any difficulty to maintain they were damn'd, as I affirm of *Mahomet*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, and others of the ſame leaven. I know thoſe of the contrary opinion all hang by one another, and ſay the ſame of thoſe we have mention'd, as they do of *Foe* and others. But I follow the opinion of S. *Peter Marimenus* martyr, mention'd in the *Martyrology* on the twenty firſt of *February*. He lying ſick at *Damaſcus*, ſome *Mahometans* came in to viſit him. The ſaint told them that thoſe who did not profeſs the law of GOD went to hell, as *Mahomet* had done. The infidels kill'd him for theſe words, and he was a glorious martyr. Why might not he be ſo, who ſhould ſay the ſame of *Foe* and others?

9. *Lactantius*, *lib.* VI. *cap.* 9. *de vero cultu*, ſpeaking even of thoſe who live a good moral life according to nature, whom ſome in *Canton* deny'd to be damn'd, has theſe words; *But let us grant it may be, that any one perſon of a good wit and natural inclination, can be poſſeſt of real virtues, as we have been told* Cymon *the* Athenian *was, who gave alms to the needy, treated the poor, and cloth'd the naked: yet when that only thing which is the greateſt*, viz. *the knowledge of* GOD *is wanting, all thoſe good qualities are ſuperfluous and vain, ſo that he labour'd to no purpoſe in obtaining them: for all his righteouſneſs is like a human body without a head.* In confirmation of what has been ſaid we may add what S. *Auguſtin* writes to the ſame purpoſe, *Tract.* 43. in *Joan.* which is the homily read *Feria* 3. *infra oct. pent.* That neither theſe nor thoſe *enter'd through the gate into the ſheepfold.* Tho' they were ſectaries, they had followers, and diſputed much concerning vices and virtues. I will here inſert what S. *Chryſoſt. tom.* 5. *oration. de ſigil.* ſays, *It is better to deſpiſe falſe tenets, than by anſwering to lay them open.*

10. Tho' there have been many *Chineſes* who have liv'd good lives according to the laws of nature; yet there is little likelihood they ſhould be ſav'd, ſince they *came not thro' the door into the ſheepfold:* much leſs *Xe Kia* and others like him. It is well known how that nation has oppos'd the law of GOD; and we have found by a long experience what an averſion they have againſt it. *Corn. à Lapide* diſcourſing on *Jerem.* xlii. ℣. 18. quotes *Moſeius* upon this ſubject, and ſays, *That nothing ſo much obſtructed the converſion of the* Chineſes *to Chriſtianity, as the vices and ſcandalous lives of ſome Chriſtians.* This being writ before our order, or that of S. *Francis* enter'd upon that miſſion, I can neither contradict, nor ſeem to countenance it. In my time there was no talk of any ſuch thing; tho' I was not ignorant what a wicked action a convert of *F. Brancato* had done in perverting a good Chriſtian woman, and others of his family. It is impoſſible, but there ſhould be miſcarriages among new converts, eſpecially conſidering we ſee ſo many where the faith is well eſtabliſh'd.

11. I take it that the difficulties occurring in that and other miſſions, proceed from another cauſe. S. *Thomas* on *Rom.* xv. ſays, *It is a difficult thing to convert thoſe who are altogether ignorant to the faith.* And tho' the *Chineſes*, as to what relates to this life, know too much, yet in what belongs to the ſoul and next life they are moſt ignorant, as *F. Arias* writ; and of the ſame opinion was *F. Pantoſa* cited by *Morales*, which we miſſioners can well teſtify. Read *Sylveira*, *tom.* VI. on *John* xii. p. 614, 615, and 616.

12. The

12. The ſame author on *Apoc.* viii. upon theſe words, *And all green graſs*, &c. ſays, *By this they are ſignify'd who adhere much to worldly vanity, whom the verdure of the world has too much deluded and attracted. By reaſon of this adherence they are unfit for converſion, tho' not altogether under an abſolute inability; for tho' now and then ſome men, who were before plung'd in vanity, be converted, yet it is ſeldom and with much difficulty.* See *Oleaſter* on *Exod.* xxxii. *ad mores.*

Pride. 13. There is no nation under the ſun more proud, vain, and given to the world than the *Chineſe*. CHRIST ſaid to the *Jews*, John v. ℣. 44. *How can ye believe which receive honour one of another?* S. *Thomas*, lect. 6. *Therefore they could not believe in* CHRIST, *becauſe they proudly ſeeking their own praiſe and glory, that is, to be extoll'd above other men*, &c. Whence Tully, *man is to have a care of glory, which takes away all liberty.* Read *Cajetan* upon this point, where he concludes, that theſe men *can never or ſcarce believe.* The pride of the *Chineſe* men of learning, and the contempt wherewith they look upon the reſt of the world, is well known to us who have had to do with them; therefore it is no wonder we ſhould ſpeak of it. *How can ye believe?* &c. See *Sylveir. tom.* II. *cap.* 3. *q.* 5. *num.* 24. where he has other expoſitions, which all make to this purpoſe.

14. Other reaſons may be alledged, but they make rather againſt us than thoſe infidels. The fathers, *Canavari*, *Balat*, and others agree, that the preaching of the goſpel in that miſſion was deficient: In the ſecond tome the grounds they go upon ſhall be ſet down. *F. Claudius Matet*, with ſome others, declare, that the law of GOD is not ſufficiently made known in any one city of *China*. It is no wonder then that they are not converted; and if to what has been already writ, we add what *F. Bervieſt* us'd to ſay, which I ſhall mention in another place, thoſe idolaters will be ſtill more excuſable. NAVARETTE.

15. Some ſay the *Chineſes* would certainly be converted if they ſaw any miracles wrought. I anſwer, we can aſſert nothing upon future contingences. The *Jews* ſaw many miracles, and yet they continued obſtinate; ſo did *Pharaoh* and many more. Beſides, ſome mention ſeveral miracles GOD has wrought in this nation, and yet they have not produc'd the effect thoſe perſons imagine will follow. In another place we ſhall inſert *F. Lubeli*'s anſwer to this point.

16. When the *Chineſes* talk'd of miracles, I anſwer'd them out of S. *John Chryſoſtome*, and S. *Thomas*. Afterwards I obſerv'd *Sylveira* takes notice of it, *tom.* II. *cap.* 2. *num.* 113. *People believe for two reaſons; ſome becauſe they have ſeen miracles, others only by preaching: but they who only believe for the ſake of the doctrine, are more commendable, as the apoſtles.* Theſe laſt are the more intelligent and piercing, the others more rude and ignorant; and therefore I told them, there was no need of miracles for them, who have ſenſe and judgment to underſtand the doctrine, the reaſons and grounds of it. I hold, as did *St. Gregory*, in 30 *Moral. cap.* 8. that the working of miracles is no infallible ſign of the ſanctity of the miniſter.

CHAP. XIII.

Some Particulars of the Hiſtory of China.

1. THE *Chineſes* ſay, that paſt actions, or accidents, give man light how to behave himſelf in thoſe preſent, and to provide himſelf againſt the future, they add, they are a mirror in which man ought to ſee himſelf. Our renowned *Spaniard*, *S. Iſidorus* ſpeaking of hiſtory, ſays the ſame thing. This it is that mov'd me to publiſh in the following chapters of this book, the moſt remarkable paſſages I cull'd out of the *Chineſe* hiſtory, when I read it to be inform'd in the affairs of that empire, and to improve my ſelf in the language and character.

Hiſtorians. 2. I muſt allow the *Chineſe* authors to be ſincere, and to have ſet down paſſages as really they were; they write one for their own people, not for other nations, ſo that neither affection nor hatred moves them to add, or extol what was not truly ſo. The *Chineſes* value themſelves much upon keeping their words, even thoſe that are ſpoken in ſport and paſtime they would have to be of ſome weight. To corroborate this rule they bring a ſingular example, mention'd in their annals. The prince went out one day to walk in the palace-garden, his preceptor and ſome little pages much about his age attended him; he began to play, and ſaid to one of them, I make you king of ſuch a place. The maſter ſtarted up immediately, ſaying, What does your highneſs? the prince anſwer'd, I ſpeak in jeſt. There is no jeſting among princes, nor no idle words, reply'd the preceptor; your highneſs has made this boy a king, it muſt be ſo, that it may not be ſaid your highneſs talks in jeſt, and not in earneſt. The buſineſs was debated, and was reſolv'd, the page ſhould be a king, leſt it might be ſaid, *Faithfulneſs.*

NAVARETTE.

ſaid, that the prince's words were vain and of no effect.

3. The actions, examples, and doctrine of that nation will make out the truth of the divinity of *S. Thomas.* 2. 2. *q.* 10. *art.* 4. as alſo *Chryſoſt. hom. de fide & lege naturæ*, *S. Hierome* ii. *ad Gal.* and *S. Auguſtin* in many places, *viz.* That infidels may do ſome actions morally good. The ſaint alſo ſays, that GOD rewarded the *Romans*, by giving them ſo large an empire, for being ſtrict obſervers of juſtice. In his *epiſt.* 130. he affirms the ſame of *Polemon*, and I believe he would have maintain'd the ſame of the *Chineſes*, had he known any thing of them. And tho' in ſome places the holy doctor ſeems to ſuggeſt the contrary, his meaning is, that infidels ſeldom do actions really good, for want of the true and right intention, which in them is commonly corrupt. We miſſioners may be allow'd our judgment in this caſe, and tho' we cannot be poſitive as to the good or evil intention, yet we may gueſs at it by the concurring circumſtances we ſee. According to them, it would be a raſhneſs upon ſeveral occaſions, to judge their actions did not proceed from a right intention.

4. If any more modern proofs be requir'd, we have ſome very convincing at this time in the kingdom of *Siam*. I queſtion not but there are many more in theſe parts, would to GOD I were in the wrong. It is a ſaying of the Holy Ghoſt, that he ſhall undergo troubles and perſecutions, who ſincerely gives himſelf up to the ſervice of GOD. There are in that kingdom certain biſhops miſſioners, with ſome ſecular prieſts their companions, all men of known virtue, very exemplary for poverty, humility, and other circumſtances of edification, umblamable in their duty of preaching the goſpel, which all that part of the world highly extols. Nevertheleſs, for their good, and that of others, GOD has rais'd them certain oppoſites, members of Satan, who leave nothing that belongs to them which they do not beſpatter. They give out their virtue is counterfeit, that they may lead the people after them, and gain applauſe; that they are *Janſeniſts*, and more to this effect. When I was diſcourſing concerning this matter with cardinal *Bona*, whoſe ſoul I hope is in heaven, he was out of patience, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, Is it *Janſeniſm* to be poor, to pray, to exhort the faithful ſo to do, to lead an exemplary life, and preach like the Apoſtles? O that we were all ſuch *Janſeniſts*, the world would without doubt be in another condition than we ſee it is!

5. What has been ſaid may be an inſtruction to us, to look upon the actions of our neighbours, tho' they be infidels, without taking upon us to judge of their thoughts and intention in acting. This part belongs peculiarly to GOD; man muſt not preſume to incroach upon his province. This doctrine alſo conduces to give us to underſtand, that as GOD will have what is good in virtuous men made known for the edification of others, ſo he is pleas'd the virtue of the infidel ſhould be diſcover'd to the ſame end.

6. The firſt man and firſt emperor of that monarchy, the *Chineſes* take notice of, was *Fo Hi*. Before him the *Chineſes* confeſs they knew nothing of the world, or what was done in it; and tho' others name another, who preceded him, whom they call *Puon Ku*, who they ſay ſeparated heaven from earth, yet the ſect of the *Literati*, or the learned, who are the wiſe men of that nation, all agree in what I have ſaid. Fo Hi. Literati.

7. *Fo Hi* was alſo the firſt that ſacrificed to heaven, offering to it the blood of beaſts. I look upon it as moſt certain that the *Chineſes* have ever worſhip'd and ador'd the ſun, moon, ſtars, *&c.* and the fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, *Gouvea*, and others of the ſociety, whom *F. de Angelis* follows, are of the ſame opinion. Some of our modern interpreters will have it, that *Fo Hi* in offering ſacrifice to heaven, did it to GOD, who reſides in it as in his palace, ſo that they take the thing containing for that contained. To confirm this their conceit, they mention the king of the upper part, very much celebrated by the ſect of the learned. In the firſt place I might well ſay with *S. Cyril*, *lib.* II. *in Joan. cap.* 34. *that contentious men are not ſo ſtiff in holding true doctrine.* But the words of *Lactantius de falſ. relig. cap.* 11. where he ſpeaks of the poets, ſuit better in this place: *but they ſpoke of men, but to ſet off thoſe whoſe memories they extoll'd, they call'd them gods.* And then lower: *hence men come to be deceiv'd, eſpecially, becauſe thinking all theſe things to be feign'd by poets, they worſhip what they know not, for they are ignorant of the extent of poetical licence, and how far they may go on in their fictions; whereas the buſineſs of a poet conſiſts in this, that he changes thoſe things which have really been, into other ſhapes by odd repreſentations, yet with ſome grace.* We ſhall write concerning the *Chineſe* king of above in another ſpecial book. What has been ſaid is very much to the purpoſe, of the praiſes and encomiums the *Chineſes* beſtow on their emperor *Vuen Vuang*, who they affirm attends on the right and left ſide of the king of above, from whence he takes care of the advancement of his monarchy. *Sacrificing to heaven.*

8. What I ſay is, that the *Chineſes* from all antiquity never knew any thing more noble than the material heavens we behold.

So ſay their books, and their learned men own it, and they it is certain know more of this matter than the *Europeans* that go thither; for they are the maſters and teachers of their ſciences, and underſtand their own books incomparably better than we do. It being ſo natural to man to acknowledge ſome firſt cauſe, *Fo Hi*'s judgment tended towards it, but he miſs'd the mark, as many others did. Whether *Fo Hi* deſcended from *Ham*, according to the opinion of *F. Emanuel Diar*, or from the great *Zoroaſtres*, as the fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, and others of that ſociety will have it (I have already obſerv'd that it is a common opinion that *Ham* and *Zoroaſtres* were one and the ſame man) he came to *China* without any knowledge of the true GOD, as *F. Gouvea* alſo teſtifies. *Lyra* on *Gen.* x. ſays, *The Gentiles were the off-ſpring of* Japhet, *the idolaters of* Ham; *and the worſhip of the true* GOD *came from* Shem, *tho' all his children were not good. Corn. à Lapide* in *Gen.* x. ℣. 25. ſays, that *Noah* liv'd till *Abraham* was fifty eight years of age. *Therefore* Noah *ſaw the tower of* Babel, *he alſo ſaw almoſt all his poſterity deprave their ways, and turn away to idolatry*; *therefore* Noah *ſaw the world full of men, and thoſe wicked, he ſaw and ſighed at it.* On *Gen.* xxxv. ℣. 2. he writes thus: *by this it appears there were idols and idolaters in* Jacob's *family*, &c. Let the origin of *Fo Hi* be conſider'd, and it may be judg'd whether he knew GOD, or not. We certainly know *Zoroaſtres* was the inventer of art-magick. *Pliny*, *Juſtin*, *S. Iſidorus*, *S. Auguſtin*, and many others affirm it, he was ſix hundred years before *Moſes*. *A Lapide* in *Exod.* vii. ℣. 11.

Whether the Chineſes *could have an invincible ignorance of* GOD, *belongs to the ſecond tome.*

Agriculture.

9. Not long after *Fo Hi*, *Xin Nung* came into the empire, he ſhew'd the people how to till their land, brought the plough and other inſtruments of huſbandry. This man to the *Chineſes* is inſtead of the goddeſs *Ceres*, or of the god *Sterculius*, of whom *Lactantius de falſ. rel. c.* 20. writes thus: Sterculius *who firſt brought up the way of dunging the ground.*

Xun.

Temples and ſacrificing to the dead.

10. There followed other emperors, of whom they ſay little. *Xun* was the eighth of them, but the firſt that erected temples to offer ſacrifice to the dead. This ſhall be largely handled in the ſecond tome. *Xun* is much applauded by the *Chineſes*, and by their philoſopher *Confucius*. Mention will be made of him upon ſome occaſions.

Sacrificing to the hearth.

11. The petty king *Li Xao* offer'd ſacrifice to the hearth, that is to the ſpirit which they feign preſides over the kitchen-chimney, and begg'd proſperity and long life of it. He perſuaded the emperor to embrace this idolatry, telling him, if he worſhip'd the ſaid ſpirit, he would ſoon get the medicine to prolong life, and the art of converting yellow ſand into gold. From this time forward ſuperſtitions daily encreas'd in *China*. This was many years before the ſect of *India* was brought into the country. A famous miſſioner of that country in a book he printed *an.* 1663, endeavours to juſtify the ſacrifice we have ſpoke of, and reduces it to a mere civil action; I know many miſlik'd the book, and *F. Anthony de Gouvea* often told me he abhor'd it. That ſacrifice was inſtituted 2800 years after the foundation of the empire. The antient *Europeans* had ſome tincture of this error. See *Lactant. cap.* 20. Hence it is the *Chineſes* to this day give a great deal of reſpect and veneration to the hearths, or places where their meat is dreſt. They take a great deal of care they ſhould be clean and neat, and they will upon no acount do any undecent action on, or near them. To make water there is look'd upon as a great diſreſpect, and a profaning of the place where the cook-ſpirit preſides and has his abode.

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12. I think it convenient all ſhould be known; ſaid *Lactantius*, *cap.* 23. *de falſ. relig. But the firſt ſtep to wiſdom is to know what is falſe, the ſecond to know what is true.*

13. At the ſame time an embaſſador of the emperor *Vu Ti*, call'd *V Vu*, was prefer'd with great ſolemnity to be an idol, by the name of *Ching Hoang*, that is, keeper of the walls and ditches, or guardian angel of the city; from ſuch ancient times were thoſe they call in *China* tutelar angels of cities and towns choſen from among men.

Tutelar angels.

14. To theſe the governors recommend themſelves, that they may execute their charges uprightly, and reſort to their temples twice in every moon. *F. Trigaucius* writ upon this ſubject, *lib.* I. *cap.* 10. *Lucena* in his hiſtory ſays, there were ſpirits of this ſort in *India*. The ancient *Europeans* had them: *Theodorus*, *lib.* VIII. *contra Græcos*, ſays, *In like manner they worſhip the guardians of towns, and tutelars of places.* This plainly makes out that the errors in *China* are the ſame that were in *Europe*, as I have already obſerv'd. This ſubject ſhall be handled in the ſecond tome, and at the end of this. Concerning theſe ſpirits there have been ſeveral diſputes in *China*, even before the *Franciſcans* and our order enter'd upon that miſſion, of which we ſhall ſpeak at large in another place. For the preſent it ſuffices to know that all the guardian angels of cities and towns they have to this day in *China*, were men, whoſe employments, names and families are known to all men there. They every year celebrate their birth-days, then how can they be angels?

15. In

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Mandarines *forbid rich clothes.*

15. In the ſecond year of the reign of the emperor *Chang Hoang Ti*, a proclamation was iſſued out forbidding the *mandarines* to wear rich clothes. The emperor gave for his reaſon, that the exterior ornament, tho' it ſeems good, is evil; to covet outward ornament and gaiety, and be inwardly vicious, is a thing abominable. The *mandarin* who is upright and juſt, ſeeks after virtue, not fine clothes. The people is not govern'd by the outward appearance in garments, but by the virtue which exerts itſelf in good actions. This I will have obſerv'd, ſays the emperor, and the exceſs there has been in this particular rectified, that my ſubjects may live at eaſe. This were a good proclamation among Chriſtians. The *Europeans* out-do the reſt of the world in fine apparel, they will not be convinced that clothing had its origin from the ſhame caus'd by ſin; it was rather inſtituted to make us weep than appear gay.

A Lapide *on* Gen. 3. ver. 21. *handles this point very well.*

Philoſophers-ſtone

16. The method of making gold, mention'd above, has diſtracted and beggar'd many *Chineſes*; they have made ſeveral trials, and have produced nothing but loſſes and troubles. They ſuſpected ſome of the miſſioners, eſpecially the ancient ones, knew and practis'd this art, ſo they continued to have the ſame conceit of thoſe that had ſcarce a moderate maintenance, *Corn. à Lapide* on the *Acts* has writ concerning this ſubject, and ſome ages before *Albertus Magnus*; and to this day there are thoſe who maintain it practicable, *Torre Blanca* is one of theſe. In the year 1673, I lighted on a *Portugueſe* at *Rome*, who was ſo thoroughly ſatisfied he ſhould in a ſhort time make millions of piſtoles, that I could never diſſuade him from his deſign. A few years ſince, ſeveral met for the ſame purpoſe at *Naples*, they ſpent much money, and at laſt the workmen ran away, one of them was ſtill living in *India* in the year 1670, when I was there.

Bribes refuſed.

17. *Jang Chin* a *mandarin* of note, and in great favour with the emperor, was very upright in his employment, and an utter enemy of bribes. This man got a *mandarin*'s employment for his friend *Vuang Nie*. He in return went one night to viſit him, and as an acknowledgment for the kindneſs receiv'd, offer'd him eleven ounces of gold. *Jan Chin* was offended at it, and ſaid to him, Don't you who are my friend know me? how came you to do this? *Nie* anſwer'd, That makes me come by night, no body ſees or knows it; to receive ſo ſmall a trifle is not any thing of conſequence. *Chin* reply'd, Heaven and earth ſee it, you and I know it, here are four witneſſes, and can you ſay no body ſees or knows it? *Nie* was convinced and took back his gold, without daring to ſay any more to that point. *No body ſaw us*, ſaid thoſe youthful elders to *Suſanna*; they made not ſo much reflection as the *mandarin Chin*. There is much to obſerve in this action, that a heathen was not govern'd by worldly reſpect, nor did he regard whether he was ſeen or look'd upon, he only minded juſtice, and his duty, as a good miniſter. He took the advice of *Frederick* the third, who was wont to ſay, Do not that in private, which you would be aſham'd to do in publick. It is the ſame *S. Bernard* teaches us, ſpeaking of our angel guardian. *Jang Chin* has few diſciples in the world at this time. Not only heaven and earth ſee and know the bribes many men receive; but all the world is a witneſs to them, and yet they are not aſham'd, nor draw back their hands. *Oleaſter* on *Gen.* xi. ℣. 7. ſpeaks excellently to this purpoſe. This latter ſort of men ſeem to be of *Cicero*'s opinion, who ſaid, *The ſweeteſt thing in the world is to receive.* It is better to follow our Saviour's rule, *It is happier to give than to take.* It might alſo be a ſubject of reflection, that if this *Gentile* thought heaven and earth were witneſſes ſufficient to deter and make him abſtain from receiving that ſmall ſum of eleven ounces of gold; what ought a Chriſtian to do upon the like occaſion, ſince through faith he knows, that GOD himſelf is looking, not only into his actions, but his very thoughts? It would be ſome advantage to us, if it were conſider'd and obſerv'd that heaven, earth, and other creatures, ſhall be witneſſes and ſevere accuſers againſt us on the day of judgment. See *Corn. à Lapide* in *Gen.* vii. ℣. 9. *in fine.*

18. We might alſo here take notice, that the good counſellor conſcience did not in this place forget *Chin*; ſhe ſuggeſted to him, that he ought not to take any thing for having done the duty of his office: *Their conſcience bearing witneſs for them*, &c. GOD gives all men this judge and witneſs, ſays *S. Baſil, in princip. Prov. That a certain tribunal is erected in the ſecret part of the heart, where all things that are to be done are weigh'd as it were in a balance.* See *S. Thomas, opuſc.* 60. *art.* 14. where he brings the words of *S. Bernard* very proper to the ſame purpoſe.

Example of moderation.

19. *Chin* had another very particular accident befel him. His friends obſerv'd he purchas'd no lands as others did; that his children were clad and fed like very ordinary people, and that he had neither horſes nor ſedans in his houſe. They told him it was convenient he ſhould raiſe his houſe, make his family great, and get employments for his ſons and grandſons. He who was of another mind anſwer'd them, There is no riches or eſtate like the uprightneſs, integrity, and diſintereſted carriage of a magiſtrate.

magiſtrate. It is much better for my poſterity, that thoſe who are unborn ſhould ſay, I was thus qualify'd, that I preſerv'd my ſelf from being corrupted, that I adminiſtred impartial juſtice, and faithfully ſerv'd my emperor, than that I ſhould leave them great eſtates, and mighty treaſure. By theſe means I ſhall leave them rich, noble, and with honour, and they want no more. Here the ſaying ſuits well, *A good name is better than many riches.* But where is this doctrine put in practice at preſent? who is there that does not raiſe an eſtate if he can? who is it that does not ſeek preferments, not only for his children, but for his kindred if he can? who does not aſpire to a title of honour, if it be to be purchas'd for gold or ſilver, tho' got the LORD knows after what manner? If all miniſters were like the heathen *Chin*, *China* would be in another condition. And had *Chin* been guided by that light which GOD has ſo freely beſtow'd on others, what would he do, what would he ſay, how would he act?

Idolatry of Chao Lie. 20. The emperor *Chao Lie* was very careful in offering ſacrifice to heaven, earth, his predeceſſors departed, and his ſubjects that dy'd in war; he ſhew'd himſelf very religious in all his actions, but it was in a falſe and idolatrous religion. He was merciful in his government. It is juſt and reaſonable kings ſhould do good for the ſouls of thoſe that die in war. It is unreaſonable the ſoldier ſhould labour and fight till he loſes his life, and when he has loſt it there ſhould be no care taken for his ſoul. Some accounts went over to *China*, in which they blame the negligence and remiſſneſs of our nation as to this particular. I am ſatisfied of the neglect of the *French* in *Madagaſcar*, above four hundred of them were left dead in the field fighting with the *Blacks*, and as yet the firſt maſs is not ſaid for them. The miſſioners that liv'd there, and I among them, did what charity requir'd at our hands. A reſolute and brave commander belonging to the aforeſaid emperor, whoſe name was *Kuang Ju*, came to be an idol, and the god *Mars* of *China*; he is not the ſame I mention'd in another place by the name of *Tai Kung*.

Kuang Ju *made* Mars.

Choa Lie. 21. *Chao Lie* being at the point of death, gave the charge of the prince his ſon, who was then very young, to a moſt faithful counſellor of ſtate, call'd *Ko Leang*; he recommended the youth to him, and ſaid, if my ſon does not approve himſelf capable of governing, do thou take his place, for ſuch is my will and pleaſure. The counſellor wept, admiring the mighty confidence the emperor repos'd in him, and promis'd to uſe all his endeavours to ſerve the young emperor, and continue the crown in his line. Then the emperor call'd the prince, and ſaid to him, When a man has liv'd to fifty years of age, he cannot complain that heaven has given him a ſhort life, much leſs who have liv'd to ſixty. I might only be concern'd for my ſubjects, and brothers; but I truſt you will protect them. Be of good heart, prince, and take this advice from a father who tenderly loves you. Commit no ſin tho' ever ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, and do not omit to perform any virtuous action tho' never ſo ſlight. Do not follow the example of your father, but imitate the virtue of the great *Ko Leang*, whom I leave as your counſellor, friend, and father; together with the crown, I leave you virtue, which makes the ſubjects ſubmiſſive and pliable. Read *Oleaſter*, *num.* 27. *ad mores in fin. cap.* The leaſt good thought is pleaſing to GOD. Read *Sylv. tom.* VI. *cap.* 10. in *Mat. q.* 7. *num.* 36.

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22. What could *S. Lewis* King of *France* have ſaid more to the purpoſe to his ſon and heir? if to be a king and monarch, is to be father of the ſubjects, *Chao Lie* ſufficiently ſhew'd he was ſo to his, ſince it was ſuch a trouble to him at his death to leave them. If to be zealous for the publick and kingdom be ever commendable in a prince, *Lie* gave abundant proof of his zeal, by preferring it to the natural love he bore his ſon; and therefore he ſaid to *Leang*, If my ſon prove not fit to govern, do thou take his place. *He had no reſpect to fleſh and blood*, but to the good of his people and ſubjects. And if goodneſs and juſtice raiſes a prince above mankind, as *Plato* ſaid, *lib.* II. *A king is a certain human God*; and *Seneca*, *Through piety and juſtice princes become gods:* what was there wanting in *Chao Lie* towards deſerving of ſuch glorious titles? and if the king be the ſoul of the kingdom, *The king is in his kingdom as the ſoul in the body, and* GOD *in the world*; as the doctors ſay, and *S. Thomas* writes, *opuſc. de reg. princ. lib.* I. *cap.* 12. Who does this better anſwer to than to *Lie*, who at the laſt period of his life was more ſenſible of his people's being left expos'd without a head, than of the diſtemper he languiſh'd under. And we look upon him as a father; who ever gave a ſon better advice? he bids not commit a fault, tho' ever ſo ſmall. More of this in another place.

23. He alſo charges him not to omit any virtuous action, tho' never ſo ſmall. He was not ſatisfy'd that his ſon ſhould be good, he would have him attain to perfection. What pity it is the emperor had not the knowledge of GOD! as every fault is hurtful, ſo every good action, though light and inconſiderable is profitable and advantageous; and if done in a ſtate of grace, is meritorious of life everlaſting. If you doubt it, conſider what GOD himſelf has

NAVARETTE. has promis'd to him that gives a draught of cold water to the needy for his ſake.

The Chineſes never deny'd free-will in man, nor thought good actions fruitleſs, as the Hereticks of theſe times have done.

24. If we regard the confidence a good king ought to have in his miniſters, who is there in the world that can equal *Chao Lie?* he intruſted *Leang* with the whole empire, and left it to his own judgment whether he would not appropriate it to himſelf. The ſaints admire *S. John Baptiſt*'s ſincerity, when the *Jews* putting it into his power to declare himſelf the *Meſſiah*, he refus'd it when he might have aſſum'd that honour. *Lie* puts the empire into the power of *Leang*, he conſtitutes him judge of the prince's ſufficiency, and leaves the whole deciſion of the buſineſs to him. A ſingular confidence of the emperor's, and wonderful loyalty in *Leang*. A good example to confound thoſe ungrateful, diſloyal, and falſe men, who uſurp what they only had committed to them in truſt. What matter is it tho' they live great and high, when their treachery and baſeneſs is eterniz'd in the memory of man? what would this infidel ſay had he heard of your actions?

Example of moderation.

25. The hiſtory of *Leang* ſays further, that he having always been a counſellor, father, maſter, and friend to the new emperor, ever ſeeking and ſtudying the advantage of the crown, he fell ſick and died in the army. Before his death he writ a letter to the emperor, in which he ſaid; I leave eight hundred mulberry trees, and fifteen acres of land in the city *Ching Tu*, which is enough to afford my children a moderate maintenance, and they need ſeek for no more; therefore I beg it as a favour that your majeſty will be pleas'd to give them nothing. Rich and mighty ſubjects, Sir, are full of turbulent thoughts. *Oleaſter* handles this point very well in *Num.* xvi. *ad mores in princip. cap.*

26. Enough might be ſaid of *Leang*'s letter, and his poverty, after having had ſuch a hand in the government. The reader may without much trouble make his reflections on it, and conſider whether he does, or ever did know any perſon that can equal this heathen. To excuſe in ſome meaſure ſuch as are directly oppoſite to *Leang*, we may alledge what *S. Thomas* ſays, *Opuſc.* 28. cap. 7. *Wonderful actions are not to be brought as precedents, becauſe weak men can better admire and commend, than imitate them.* But the truth is, they might imitate this heathen if they pleas'd; they neither want the power, nor divine aſſiſtance, but they over-abound in covetouſneſs and ambition. What has been ſaid, is like to what is written of *Daniel*, cap. v. ℣. 17. *Leang* was not ſo ſingular, but he has had his equals in the world. *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, after he had been in mighty employments, and had great opportunities to grow rich, yet was extremely poor, tho' he had a wife and children. *Corn. à Lapide* writes the ſame of others, in *Gen.* xlvii. ℣. 16. I think we ſhould find but few modern examples in our age that can bear company with thoſe we have mention'd. Not that they are under leſs obliging ties, or want better light to walk by, but becauſe being blinded with worldly affairs they ſuffer themſelves to be led away, without conſidering they by thoſe means draw on their own perdition. I do not ſay there are no upright and unbiaſs'd people, I could name ſome I have known in this place who have given a good example, as to this and other particulars, but they are few and rare. Precious things are always ſcarce in compariſon of thoſe that are mean and baſe. So good and virtuous men are ſcarce in compariſon of the wicked. *There is an infinite number of fools*, ſays the Holy Ghoſt.

Scipio after ſo many victories, left only thirty three pieces of ſilver, and two of gold, as Plutarch ſays.

27. Prince *Sui* had a mind to build a tower to divert the ſight, by the curious proſpect of ſome groves. *Vuang Ki* a counſellor of ſtate, preſented a memorial to this effect: the ancients taking the ſimile from the water, taught the people this doctrine; the water ſerves the ſhip to ſail on, and to ſink it. The emperor is the ſhip, the people the water; whilſt there are people the ſhip may ſail, and the ſame water may ſink it. Your highneſs may conſider you are the ſhip, and your people the water; if you oppreſs them too much with taxes, and unneceſſary charges, as it now maintains, it may ſink you. The people is like a horſe, it is rul'd by the bridle, without it the rider is in danger. If you rein him too hard only for ſport, it is to be fear'd he will get the bit betwixt his teeth and become unruly. Your highneſs will do well to remember theſe two compariſons. The prince was convinc'd, and laid aſide his deſign.

28. Theſe are good ſimiles, if we made our advantage of them. How much has been ſpent in the world on extravagant paſtimes; how grievouſly has the people been oppreſs'd on the ſame account? conſider, great men, that ye are ſhips and want water to ſail; too much and too little water are equally fatal to veſſels. If you hoiſt your ſails (beſides that you may fall ſhort of ſailors) at half run you'll be aground for want of water; a ſhip without water makes no voyage. We will ſet ſail! let us have gardens, houſes of pleaſure, water-works, high towers, rich liveries, bull-feaſts, plays, riding, and other paſtime. I allow all this; but firſt take a view of your eſtates, territories, and kingdoms; take the depth of the water, ſound, ſee how many fathom there are. Look upon the villages which are deſtroy'd, and towns unpeopled; ſee the miſerable condition of your ſubjects, and you will

will be satisfy'd there is not water enough for you to sail. See *Oleaster* in *Exod.* x. *ad mores.*

29. The *Chineses* commonly ask, whether there are any poor in our countries? we answer, there are some whom GOD keeps among us to exercise the charity of the rich. This was hinted at in the first book; See *Oleaster* in *Deut.* xv. However they answer, that all being Christians, the rich of necessity must distribute what they have among the poor, and so all must live well. This is what those heathens say, grounding it upon what they hear and read concerning our holy faith; but they don't know how it is in these parts, and what extravagancy there is in expences. If they knew it, there is no doubt but they would bid us return to our own country to preach, as one who had been at *Manila* told me: what do you come hither for? (cry'd he as loud as he could) go preach at *Manila*, for I know very well how things are there, we have no need of you here, we know our duty. I must confess he put me out of countenance.

Oleaster *quoted above observ'd, that men pretend much poverty when they are to pay debts, or give alms, but not to game, or indulge luxury, &c. Christians.*

30. Not long before, as one of my order was preaching to some honest infidels, a merchant just return'd from *Manila* came in; he began a discourse concerning his voyage and trade, and said, I'll go no more to *Manila*, but to *Japan* I will. One reason is, because at *Japan* there are more commodities to lay out my money upon. Another, because the people of *Japan* are better than those of *Manila*. Those who were in company before fixed their eyes upon the father, who they knew came from *Manila*, for the merchant knew him not. I was quite out of countenance (said that religious man to me) and as cold as ice; I return'd home without the least courage or heart to prosecute what I had begun. I could make many reflections upon this passage, let it suffice at present that in the judgment of the heathen, the Christians of *Manila* are worse than the infidels of *Japan*. They are likely by example to forward the conversion of that vast number of Gentiles that resorts thither. All we missioners say, it is GOD's special providence that the *Chineses* don't know what is done in Christendom, for if they did there would be never a man among them but would spit in our faces. It has been sufficiently observ'd and declar'd that none are converted in those parts where they converse with our people, that is at *Macao*, and *Manila*; and if it happens any one does, he proves so bad, it were better he had never been baptized. In the year 1669, a *Chinese* merchant well known at *Macao*, as well to the citizens as to the fathers of the society, after he had dealt with them above sixteen years, being too well vers'd in the *Portuguese* language, and having been often exhorted to receive baptism, for he was an honest man, and we all had a kindness for him, fell sick to death at *Canton*, when we were all there. A father who was his acquaintance went four times to his house, he spoke to the point he went about, but being sent away he return'd home sad and disconsolate. *The rich man dy'd and was bury'd in hell.* What has been written may suffice to humble the vanity of those who boast they go to people those countries, that they may contribute to the conversion of souls. Let us go on to another chapter.

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What Oleaster *says of* Eugubinus *in* Deut. xv. *is much to this purpose, excepting only the case of idolatry, we are worse than the Gentiles. See* S. Thom. *in* 2 Pet. ii. 2. *in fine.*

CHAP. XIV.

A Continuation of the same Subject.

1. THE prince who forbore raising a tower for the reason mention'd in the last chapter, order'd an edict to be set forth, in which he commanded none but persons well qualify'd should be chosen into places of honour and trust. *Vuang Chang* one of the council of state presented a memorial of this purport. There must be no precipitation in electing of ministers of state, if there be, such election will not prove good. The plant that springs up fast is not lasting, in the morning it is gay, and at night withers. The cypress and pine which grow but slowly preserve their greenness, tho' the snow and cold dew falls upon them. Therefore I beseech your highness that you will be cautious in chusing of ministers, and take time to consider on it. Your highness will do well to raise those that humble themselves and withdraw out of the way, and to make account of those that are not covetous, to esteem those brave, who are of an easy and good temper. Railing and commending proceed from love and hatred, and cause good and ill fortune. If I be censur'd, it is proper to examine my life and actions. If I am guilty of what is given out, they that take notice of it are in the right; if I am not guilty of it, no account is to be made of their censures, for being false it will vanish as clouds do before the wind. The proverb advises, to wear lambskins to keep out the cold; and to be cloth'd in innocence, and lead a good life to avoid being censur'd. This, sir, is the way to curb ill tongues. See *Oleast.* in *Exod.* xviii. *A Lapide* in *Exod.* xxiii. ℣. 8. and *Cajetan* in *Exod.* xviii. ℣. 21. *Oleast.* in *Num.* i. *Sylv. Tom.* 6. *pag.* 495. *quæst.* 4. & *pag.* 500. *num.* 46. *Caius Tiberius* made no

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account of ill tongues, and us'd to ſay, *In a free city tongues ought to be free.*

2. This heathen left us excellent inſtructions to the two points he handles, and ſeems rather a Chriſtian long vers'd in the ſchools of virtue. The firſt point ſhall be handled in another place. As to the ſecond, the great *Sixtus* the third pope, could ſpeak no better to it in his famous epiſtle, when a heinous crime was moſt falſly laid to his charge, it is ſet down in 11. *q.* 4. *inter verba*, his words are theſe, *Brethren, we are not to decline to the left, on account of the accuſations, or reflections of malicious perſons, or the opinion of thoſe that commend us; but amidſt commendations or affronts, we muſt look into our ſelves*, (the heathen we ſpeak of ſays the ſame thing) *and if we do not there find the good that is ſaid of us, it ought to cauſe us much trouble; and again, if we find not there what the ill men ſay of us, we ought greatly to rejoice. For what ſignifies it, tho' all men commend, if our conſcience accuſe us; or tho' all men accuſe, if our conſcience clears us? For what is it ſlanderers do, but blow upon duſt, or throw dirt in their own eyes?* Thus groundleſs reflections vaniſh like the clouds. Let him that has not ſeen this epiſtle read it, for it is very elegant, and affords much comfort upon ſuch occaſions.

3. In the reign of the emperor *Hoei Hoang Ti*, all offices and places of truſt were ſold openly; then one *Lu Pao* writ a treatiſe call'd *Cien Xe Lun*, that is a diſcourſe and argument concerning the virtue of money, reflecting on the emperor and his miniſters; and he ſaid thus, ſpeaking in the perſon of money: I am like heaven and earth, my name is ſquare-hole, (the braſs coin has a ſquare hole in the middle, and tho' this was writ above two thouſand years ſince, the ſame continues to this day without altering the ſhape, or riſing or falling) I am honour'd, tho' void of virtue; I am obey'd, tho' I have no power or authority; I wait at the imperial bed-chamber door, like a peer; I go without any oppoſition into the privateſt parts of the palace; I eaſe the afflicted, I raiſe the dead, (that is, thoſe that are condemn'd to death) I humble and debaſe the nobility; I raiſe mean perſons; I kill the living in war, law-ſuits, and ſtrifes; without me there is no victory; I lay open the goals in ſpight of the keepers; I abate hatred, and ſuppreſs anger and revenge; fame and renown is increas'd by me: I live lovingly with the great men at court, the nobility and commons; no man is weary, or has enough of me, all men carry me in their hands; from firſt to laſt I am well clad and cloſe kept (this he ſays, becauſe in *China* they carry their money in curious ſquare cloths faſt knotted) at preſent there is no body in greater power or favour, I am the only concern of all people. A ſharp thought; he expounds all he has ſaid, but I need not explain it any further, for any man may with eaſe ſee into the meaning of it. The poet expreſs'd it in few words: *In mundo ſummus rex eſt hoc tempore nummus. Albertus magnus* mentions it 1 *Polit. cap.* 7. And all things are obedient to money, ſays the Holy Ghoſt. S. *Auguſtin.* 7. *de Civit. cap.* 12. ſays, the ancients call'd *Jupiter*, *pecunia*, or money, becauſe all things are his.

Money.

4. Here it is to be obſerv'd, that in ſo many thouſand of years as have paſs'd ſince the foundation of that empire, and always under paganiſm, employments were never ſold but at this time. The *Chineſes* abhor this abuſe. S. *John Chryſoſtom* laments the miſchiefs that enſue of ſelling places of truſt. *Honours are become venal, a thouſand miſchiefs ariſe from it, and yet no body takes care to correct, none to reprove it, but this way of traffick has found admittance, and is follow'd.* S. *Thomas* in his *opuſculum* to the dutcheſs of *Brabant*, handles this ſubject, ſo does *Tapia* in his *Catena Moralis*, and others. The *French* complain of their king for introducing ſo much of this practice, tho' it be upon ſuch conditions, as may in ſome meaſure juſtify it; yet they ſay, not deſerving, but rich perſons carry all preferments, which ruins the publick. Be it as it will, what is good every where ought to be imitated; what is bad ought never to be propos'd as an example to follow. If this thing be bad in it ſelf, will this man or the others practiſing make it allowable?

Preferments gratis.

Alexander Severus *prohibited the ſelling of employments, and was wont to ſay, He that buys juſtice muſt needs ſell it.*

5. I will not omit to inſert in this place a falſe imputation laid upon our late king of happy memory, by his enemies. F. *Anthony Gouvea* a jeſuit often us'd to tell me of it, he ſaid and poſitively affirm'd, that even the biſhopricks of *Spain* were diſpos'd of for money, and brought examples of his time to make good his aſſertion. But this falſhood is diſprov'd by the great multitude of learned, pious, and moſt religious prelates there have been in this age, and are ſtill living, who may vie with thoſe of the primitive church. This truth is further made out by ſome of them generouſly refuſing to accept of great dignities, and others, who did not admit of their promotion to the greateſt churches till oblig'd to it by the ſupreme head. If any thing of this nature was done, I am perſuaded it was by thoſe of his nation (*Gouvea* was a *Portugueſe*) and no others, or ſome perſons perhaps aſpir'd to it by that means, as was done at *Manila* by Dr. *Cabrall*, from whom four thouſand pieces of eight were taken with this intent, as maſter *Girony Cueva* told me in the preſence of the ſame doctor, which he own'd. But it will be convenient

venient we make our benefit of the doctrine of *Sixtus* the third, and the counſellor *Chang*, againſt ſlanderers. I only deſire *F. Gouvea* to read the paper, four and twenty of the commons preſented to his *Portugueſe* king *Alonzo*, where he will find things that ought to concern him nearer. We are all oblig'd, not only to eſchew evil, but even thoſe occaſions that may be a motive or ground of evil.

Providence. 6. The emperor *Vù Ti* was a great admirer of idols, his counſellor *Tan Chin* made it out to him that the idols were nothing (this is a propoſition of St. *Paul*'s, *An idol is nothing in the world*, but the *Chineſe* ſpeaks not in the ſame ſenſe as the Apoſtle) and that all things in the world happen by chance (this is as bad as idolatry:) to be great, or mean, rich or poor, is all accident, even as the bloſſoms of a tree when ſhook by the wind, ſome fall in the dirt, and ſome in clean places; thoſe that light upon clean ſpots are kings and noblemen, thoſe that tumble in the dirt are the multitude. Hence comes the diſtinction betwixt nobles and commons, rich and poor, kings and ſubjects, and not from the idols. There is no pure ſpirit without a body, the ſpirit is the matter and baſis of the body: ſpirits are nothing but the motions and actions of the body. The ſpirit is in the body in the ſame nature as the edge is in the ſword; there is no deſtroying the ſword, and leaving the edge without it. How then can the ſoul remain without the body, or the body without the ſoul? the body dies and the ſoul dies with it, for it was nothing but the actions and motions of the body; ſo there is no reward nor puniſhment, nor idols, nor ſpirits, nor any other life; all the *bonzes* teach is a mere fiction.

The Holy Ghoſt teaches us the contrary, Eccl. xi. ver. 14. *and* cap. x. ver. 5.

Soul.

7. *F. Anthony Gouvea* in his manuſcript hiſtory, which was read in the preſence of us all when we were confin'd in *Canton*, ſays, *Tan* ſpoke like a follower of the ſect of the *Literati*, or learned men, which knows nothing of an immortal ſoul, or another life; there is nothing but living and dying, with good fortune or without it, which is all mere accident; when body and ſoul are dead, there is an end of all. What they call ſpirits are the corporeal ſouls of thoſe that die, which eat and drink, and walk about the mountains and graves. Many believe not much of this, becauſe ſince by the doctrine of their ſect, the ſoul is nothing but air; *Ki* or *Li*, that is, the motion of a living body; as ſoon as this died, the ſoul vaniſh'd and diſſolv'd into ſhadows, as the Latin poet ſaid of a ſoul, *Fugit indignata per umbras*. This is the wiſdom of atheiſts and wiſe ideots. Thus far *F. Gouvea*. This is to ſatisfy all men, that it was not only the two religious orders (S. *Dominick*'s and S. *Francis*'s) who conceited the NAVARETTE. ſect of the learned held theſe opinions we have here mention'd, and that it was not without good grounds they aſſerted it, as has been given out in ſome parts. More ſhall be ſaid to this point in the ſecond tome, it was ſufficient to give a hint of it in this place.

Literati.

Spirits.

8. *Tan Chin* in his way follow'd the example of thoſe hereticks, of whom S. *Thomas* often ſays, that to avoid one inconveniency they fell into others greater. *Tan* undertook to argue againſt the idols, and to this purpoſe ran into all thoſe errors we have mention'd. He that walks in the dark without the light of faith, muſt needs ſtumble and fall. Many ancient *Europeans* profeſt the ſame errors as this heathen. *Pythagoras* and *Epicurus* deny'd the providence of GOD. Read *Lactan. de falſ. Relig. lib.* I. *cap.* 2. Like thoſe who the book of Wiſdom tells us ſaid, *He walks about heaven, and regards not our affairs. Thales*, *Mileſius*, *Democritus* and *Pythagoras* maintained, that all things came to paſs of neceſſity, and by an unavoidable fate. *Democritus* and *Lucretius* taught, that all ended with the body. *Decianus*, and others, that the ſoul was not diſtinct from the body. The *Sadducees* deny'd any other life, own'd no immortality of the ſoul, angels, or any ſpirits; *nor any other thing which they did not comprehend by ſenſe and reaſon*; ſays *Becanus de Sectariis Synagogæ cap.* 12. *q.* 8. *Tertullian lib.* I. *de anima cap. de morte* ſays of *Seneca*, that he was of opinion, death was an end of all things. *Zeno* ſaid all things were accidental, as ſays *S. Thomas opuſc. de fato.* I look upon it as moſt certain, that there is no error maintain'd in *China*, but what has been in other countries, as appears by what has been ſaid here, and is well prov'd by F. *Longobardus* a jeſuit in the treatiſe I ſhall inſert in my ſecond tome.

9. The above-nam'd emperor was ſo taken with the idols and their doctrine, that he kept many *bonzes* within his palace, put on their habit in private, and pray'd, and perform'd the other ceremonies with them. The learned men oppoſing this religion both by word and writing, the commonalty became ſo averſe to it, and conceiv'd ſo mean an idea of the *bonzo* prieſts, that tho' the emperor promis'd honours and preferments to thoſe that would wear the habit of *bonzes*, yet no man embrac'd it, looking upon that as the meaneſt and moſt abject condition in the world. The emperor to compaſs his deſign, ſet forth an edict, pardoning all perſons whatſoever that were under ſentence of death, upon condition they ſhould become *bonzes*, and as ſuch ſerve the idols. The criminals accepted of the offer, but it being rather through conſtraint than out of

Bonzes.

any

NAVARRETTE. any inclination, they preſently fell off, and abſconded. The emperor hearing of it, order'd ſearch to be made for them; and that they ſhould be ſecur'd, and to prevent their flying for the future, he commanded their heads to be ſhav'd, laying an injunction under ſevere penalties that the *bonzes*, to be known from other men, ſhould ever be ſhav'd. It was always thought convenient that we miſſioners ſhould not be habited or appear like the *bonzes*. Read *Oleaſter* in *Num.* vi. *ad mores.*

10. This is the origin of the *Chineſe bonzes* wearing no hair, and the end or deſign was that we have mention'd, not that fiction *F. de Angelis* writes. Hence it is, that when any *bonzo* preſents a petition to a *mandarin*, he ſigns with theſe words, *tien ſeng*, that is *bonzo* impriſon'd, alluding to the emperor's impriſoning thoſe that fled. From that time they increas'd very much, and daily multiply.

11. The empreſs was alſo diſpleas'd at her huſband's familiarity with the *bonzes:* to ridicule and laugh at them, ſhe invited them to an entertainment of fleſh, but ſo diſguis'd that they might not know it. The ſecret was diſcover'd, they all ſtarted and would not eat, they caus'd thoſe dreſs'd meats to be buried near a dead body: ſometime after they gave out that garlick, onions and leeks ſprung up in that place, and the *bonzes* in hatred to the fleſh from which theſe ſprung, eat none of them. So ſaid *F. Brancato* an ancient miſſioner of the ſociety.

12. About this ſame time the hiſtory of *China* gives a very ſingular account of *Kao Juen*, one of the council of ſtate, which is thus: he having ſerv'd five emperors for the ſpace of fifty years, was not found to have committed the leaſt fault or ſlip in the execution of his office. This heathen was very much addicted to virtue, ſparing, humble, upright, and uncorrupted; and tho' he enjoy'd revenues on account of his employments, yet he ever had the poverty in which he was born before his eyes, and died at ninety eight years of age. Great pity that ſuch a man ſhould not have the knowledge of GOD! But if he obſerv'd the law of nature, he could not fail of the aſſiſtance of his Maker. S. *Auguſtine*, *lib.* I. *de lib. arbitr. cap.* 6. expounding thoſe words of *Pſal.* iv. *The light of thy countenance*, &c. ſays thus, *That a notion of the eternal law is imprinted in all men whatſoever.* And *lib.* II. *cap.* 10. *certain lights of virtues, to wit, that we ought to live uprightly.* S. *Baſil*, whom we quoted in another place, *That there is in us a ſort of natural judgment, by which we eaſily diſcern good from evil.* Theſe were the cauſes *Kao Juen* liv'd and acted with ſo much integrity. We ſhall not find many ſuch counſellors as this throughout the world. It cannot be denied but that it is very extraordinary, that ſuch men ſhould be found in countries where the wicked do ſo abound. S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 18. *cap.* 7. ſays of *Abraham*, Abraham's *virtue was very great, for that he poſſeſſing riches, had his mind eſtrang'd from them; and great was the ſtrength of* Sampſon, *who without any arms, but only the jaw-bone of an aſs, ſlew many of his enemies. For in truth he does wonders who living among riches, does not give up his heart to them:* therefore it is *Eccleſiaſt.* ſo highly commends thoſe that are rich after this manner, *Bleſſed is the man that is found without blemiſh. The rich man* (ſays the ſaint) *appears to be very virtuous, and perfectly fix'd to* GOD *through charity, who contracts not the blemiſh of ſin through the love of riches, who is not carried away after the deſire of gold*, &c. *Kao Juen* preſerv'd himſelf ſo many years poor, humble, and uncorrupted, among ſo many covetous and ſo many proud men as are in *China*. It is very rare. S. *Thomas in* Job i. *lect.* 2. has theſe words concerning pride, *It uſually ſprings from the abundance of temporal things.* *Kao* had an eſtate, revenues, and great places, and yet liv'd poor, and humble. Few are to be found among Chriſtians that will imitate him.

To reckon thoſe as gods who have no covetouſneſs, Auguſt. ſer. 169. de temp.

13. In the reign of the emperor *Tang Hoang Ti*, a rebel took a captain whoſe name was *Xing Jeu Su*; he commanded him to write to a brother he had who was governor of a city, to deliver it up to him: and if you do it not, ſaid he, I will this moment put you to death. *Jeu Su* writ to this effect, I poor-ſpirited and baſe man fell into the hands of theſe robbers, and perform'd not the duty of a ſubject, ſince I loſt not my life in defence of the place the emperor intruſted me withal; be you true and faithful to the emperor tho' it coſt you your life. The rebel took the letter, read it, and having a while conſider'd on it, ſaid to him, Thou art an honourable, noble, and loyal gentleman, thou deſerveſt not death, but a thouſand lives; thou haſt won my heart by thy worth, valour, and loyalty; I will treat thee like an intimate friend, not as a priſoner; thou ſhalt eat at my table, drink out of my cup, and all I have ſhall be thine. This is the effect of goodneſs and virtue, that even the greateſt enemies diſcern, value and honour it. Would to GOD others who are under much greater ties, would prove ſo loyal upon ſuch occaſions. Some news were carried out of *Europe* into *China*, but ſuch, as it were better no memory of them were left to poſterity. *Breſidas* requires in a commander, valour, courage and fortitude; I know not why *Jeu Su* may not be well entitled to them.

Courage an example.

Integrity an example.

14. In

14. In the reign of the emperor *Tai Zung*, there was a king in *Canton* ſo powerful and haughty, that he diſown'd his ſovereign. The emperor order'd levies to be made to ſubdue him. *Ngoei Chin*, one of the council of ſtate, preſented a memorial to the emperor, adviſing to ſend an embaſſador to treat with him in a peaceable manner, by which they might ſave charges and bloodſhed: it was done accordingly, and the king or *roytelet* was ſo pleas'd at the honour the emperor did him, that he immediately ſent his ſon to court with a rich preſent, paying homage anew to the emperor, and ſo all was pacified and made eaſy. This is a good policy.

15. In ſhort, the emperor was thankful for the good advice, and rewarded the counſellor that gave it with five hundred pieces of ſilk. I heard at times ſome rigorous proceedings againſt domeſticks and ſtrangers cenſur'd. What I moſt wonder'd at was, that in *China* a miſſioner, complaining of I know not what affront that had been given certain embaſſadors of *Naples*, his native country, he ſaid, If *Naples* had any of the royal family, as *Portugal* had, it would not have been ſo. I own I thought it ſtrange to come from a miſſioner. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XV.

Actions and Sayings of other Emperors.

1. THE emperor *Tai Zung* caus'd all the materials for building a ſtately palace to be brought together: afterwards he conſider'd further upon his deſign, and having maturely conſulted with his pillow, he broke out into theſe following words, The emperor *Yu* employ'd many thouſands of men in draining the waters, which in his time had over-flow'd the country, yet no man complain'd, becauſe the profit and advantage was common to all. The emperor *Chin* built a palace with the ſweat of his ſubjects, who complain'd and groan'd grievouſly, becauſe the benefit accru'd only to the emperor, and not to the people. I conſidering this late and freſh example of my predeceſſor *Chin*, tho' I have all things in a readineſs for building of a palace, do deſiſt from my deſign, and lay aſide my inclination to this new ſtructure. The ſubjects underſtanding how their lord and emperor had argued with himſelf, and the reſolution he had taken, they ſo wholly addicted themſelves to his ſervice, and with ſo good a will, that by their induſtry the royal treaſure, and the publick good was much advanc'd. The emperor argued very diſcreetly and wiſely, but had been more commendable for doing it before he brought together the materials, which would have ſav'd his ſubjects no ſmall trouble.

Covetous princes.

2. The aforeſaid emperor went on and ſaid, I have heard that the *Barbarian* of the weſt, call'd *Hia Hu*, accidentally got a ſtone of very great value; to ſecure it, he convey'd it into his bowels, and rent them to this effect. Thoſe who heard of it laugh'd at, and made a jeſt of him, becauſe he loſt his life to ſecure a ſtone, valuing that jewel above his own being. Covetous kings and emperors are like him, they loſe their dominions by gathering treaſures by tyrannical extortion. Now what is this but tearing their bowels to ſecure the jewel, and ſo loſing their life and crown? The ſame is done by the *mandarines* that are corrupted, they receive the bribe and loſe their lives.

3. Covetouſneſs is a mighty evil, it ought to be kept at a great diſtance from kings and princes. *Samnitius* ſaid, *I had rather rule over thoſe that have gold, than to have gold myſelf.* S. *Thomas*, 3. *de regim. princ.* relates theſe words of *Marcus Curius*; *Tell the* Samnites *that* Marcus Curius *had rather have the command of rich men, than become rich: and remember, I can neither be overthrown in battel, nor corrupted with money.* *Fabricius* ſaid the ſame. There are few *Curii* and *Fabricii* at preſent. *Caius Tiberius Nero* was advis'd to lay heavy taxes on the provinces; ſuch are the projects of this world, ſuch was the advice they gave to *Jeroboam:* he anſwer'd very diſcreetly and honourably, *It is the part of a good ſhepherd to ſheer his ſheep, not to devour them.* Another ſaid, the king was made for the kingdom, not the kingdom for the king. There is a medium betwixt both extremes, by keeping the law of GOD. Let it be well conſider'd what burden the people is able to bear, and what the preſent neceſſity is; the neceſſity muſt be underſtood to be abſolutely preſſing, not ſuch as is contriv'd; that is, it muſt not be caus'd by ſuperfluous, extravagant, and unneceſſary expences.

4. It is but reaſonable to lay a burden upon him that has ſtrength to bear it; but it is a madneſs to place the weight upon him that is not able to carry himſelf. The *Chineſes* oblige all perſons, from two and twenty to ſixty years of age, to pay taxes, ſuppoſing they are not able to bear that burden either before or after. This is ſomething like the duty of faſting impos'd *Taxables.*

NAVARETTE.

by the church. To take a morſel of bread from him that has but two to feed four mouths, is not *ſpeering but devouring the ſheep.* And what good can it do the ſovereign, but breed ill blood, and oblige him to diſgorge? Holy *Job* cap. xx. ſeems to ſay as much; *His meat in his bowels is turn'd, it is the gall of aſps within him. He hath ſwallow'd down riches, and he ſhall vomit them up again,* GOD *ſhall caſt them out of his belly.* Which verifies what *Eccleſ.* ſays of the covetous man, *chap.* v. *Riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt.* Read *Oleaſter* in *Num.* xxi. he ſpeaks admirably to the purpoſe.

Six hundred and thirty ſix. Chriſtianity in China.

5. In the reign of this emperor, which was ſix hundred and thirty ſix years after the incarnation of CHRIST, the light of the goſpel came into *China.* It continued two hundred years in great vogue, followed by many, and favour'd by this and other emperors, as appears by the ſtone found in the province of *Xen Si.* What ſeems to make againſt a thing ſo plain in our opinion, is, that tho' the *Chineſes* are ſo very exact in their annals and hiſtories, yet not the leaſt memory of it is found there. This makes not only the heathens, but even the Chriſtians doubtful in this caſe. For this reaſon, when the perſecution was begun, the governors and our enemy, ſuppoſing it to be an invention of the miſſioners, they ſent truſty perſons to that province to enquire into it; what the event of it was we did not hear. What we are aſſured of, allowing the ſaid ſtory to be authentick, is, that thoſe ſervants of GOD did not eſcape without ſome trouble and perſecution, tho' eight emperors favour'd them. *F. Kircher* ſpeaks much to this purpoſe, *p.* 1, 2. and again *p.* 34.

Information neceſſary to a prince.

6. *Tai Zung*, who was one of the famouſeſt emperors of *China*, aſk'd the counſellor *Chin* beforemention'd; What it was that made a prince famous and renown'd among his ſubjects, and the contrary? He anſwer'd, That emperor who hears all men, is famous and renown'd; he that gives ear only to one man, is wicked, and cannot govern well. The reaſon of it is, becauſe a favourite to ſecure his poſt, ſpeaks what is pleaſing to the prince, concealing the grievances of the monarchy and ſubjects, perſuading him they are rich and in plenty, tho' they be ſtarving; ſo that many kings have been ruin'd by being thus impos'd on. But when the prince hears all men, he cannot be deceiv'd nor flatter'd, for there are always ſome open-hearted and unbiaſs'd perſons, who make the truth known, tho' many endeavour to conceal it; for there are always ſome zealous for the publick good, and careful of your majeſty's honour. You are in the right, anſwer'd the emperor, and added; All men ſay, the emperor is in ſo high a ſtation, and has ſo much power, that he needs fear nothing. I am of another opinion: the emperor ought to fear heaven, as a ſon does his father, who can puniſh, take away his crown, and beſtow it on another. (This is the common opinion of the *Chineſes*, and the uſual way of talking in that country. The ancients call'd *Saturn* the ſon of heaven, *Lactan. de falſ. relig. cap.* 20.) On earth he fears his ſubjects, whoſe eyes are always on the emperor, cenſuring and railing at his actions, whence enſue the turmoils and revolutions of ſtates. Therefore it is requiſite he live cautiouſly and with much moderation, always apprehending leſt he does not perform what heaven requires at his hands, and his ſubjects expect. The counſellor commendeth his diſcourſe, and exhorted him to act according to it. I think both of them ſpoke very diſcreetly. The ſaying of *Rodulphus* the founder of the *Auſtrian* family, agrees well with *Chin*'s opinion: *Come to me all men, for I was not call'd to empire to be ſhut up in a cheſt.* He was for ſeeing and hearing all men. *Ferdinand* the firſt gave admittance to all men; and ſeeing once they ſtop'd a woman who deſir'd to come to ſpeak to him, he ſaid, *If we exclude the poor from our preſence, what will become of us before the tribunal of* GOD? A mighty expreſſion, and admirable words! *Bernulaus* writes it. *Moſes* ſpent the whole day in hearing the people. The emperor fear'd heaven, becauſe he knew no other deity or god. Thoſe who thro' the divine mercy have obtain'd a great ſhare of light, have greater cauſe to fear and conſider that GOD *is their father, their king, their lord and maſter, who as he* gave them crowns and ſcepters *gratis*, ſo he can take them away and inflict them on others, and beſides, beſtow everlaſting puniſhments on the ſoul. Therefore it is ſaid, that the firſt thing a king ought to conceive, is, that GOD is abſolute lord of all things; and it is moſt certain that all things proſper with him that truly ſerves and honours him. My holy father S. *Thomas* has excellent lines to this purpoſe, *lib.* I. *de reg. princ.* he makes out his aſſertion by what happened to *Solomon*, for whilſt he continued to worſhip the true GOD, his kingdom and glory ſtill advanced. He fail'd in that particular, and ſoon found a general decay in all reſpects. The ſame happened to his ſon. In order to govern well, it is abſolutely neceſſary to give ear to all men. There are ſome that have but one ear, which proves of very dangerous conſequence; GOD gave two, and both ought to be made uſe of. *We have heard with our ears*, ſaid *David.* I hear with both

Eccl. vi. 34. *If thou love to hear, thou wilt be wiſe.*

ears,

ears, let both play their part, and let neither be ſtopp'd when the other hears. Others have never a one, for they hear with neither. And what is worſt of all, others will not have them, for through a conceit they have of themſelves, they fancy they know and underſtand all things: theſe are moſt likely to commit miſtakes.

Locuſts. 7. At this time there were great ſwarms of locuſts in *China*. The emperor went out into his gardens, and taking up ſome of them ſpoke theſe words; The people maintain themſelves on wheat, rice, *&c.* you come to devour and deſtroy it, without leaving any thing behind; it were better you ſhould devour my bowels, than the food of my ſubjects. He went to ſwallow them; and ſome that ſtood by telling him they were venomous, he anſwer'd, I value not my life when it is for the good of my ſubjects and people; and immediately he ſwallow'd them. The hiſtory tells us, the locuſts that very moment took wing, and went off without doing any harm that year.

8. Strange was the love this heathen bore his ſubjects, the conſequence was wonderful. Why may we not ſay, GOD rewarded the compaſſion of this emperor, and his zeal for the good of his people? If it was not ſo, what can we attribute that prodigy to? We know for certain, there is no good action but what GOD rewards, as ſhall be ſaid in another place; why then ſhould that paſs unrecompenſed? The emperor expos'd his life for his people. This is no more than a wiſe man ſaid, *viz.* *Execution of criminals.* *A good king is the publick ſervant.* The king is for the kingdom, and not the contrary. To ſhew his tenderneſs yet further, he afterwards made a law, that the magiſtrates ſhould faſt the day that any criminals were executed, that neither fleſh nor wine ſhould be put upon his imperial table that day, that no plays ſhould be acted at court, nor there ſhould be no muſick, or other demonſtration of joy. He ſaid, It was a matter of high conſequence, and a ſubject of much compaſſion, to take away any man's life tho' his crimes deſerv'd it. The law was obſerv'd as long as he liv'd.

Vigilance. 9. Governing an empire, ſaid the good emperor, is like curing a diſtemper; if he that is upon the recovery is careleſs, or exceeds, he relapſes with great danger of his life. The monarchy now enjoys peace, the *Barbarians* on the frontiers are quell'd, a happineſs rarely known in paſt ages; if relying on this calm I grow negligent or unruly, a relapſe will enſue, and the late rebellions will be renew'd with greater danger of utter ruin. Therefore no day paſſes but I am upon my guard, for fear this preſent proſperity ſhould have an end. For this reaſon I deſire you my counſellors, that at all times, and upon all occaſions, you give me your advice, and reprove me for all the errors you judge I commit. Could *Philip* the ſecond have ſpoken better? NAVARETTE.

10. He preferr'd *Li Xi Zu* his counſellor to a great employment, and he preſently fell ſick to death. The phyſicians ſaid, that the hair of the beard reduc'd to powder (a ſtrange medicine) and drank in wine, were the only remedy to cure that diſtemper. The ſick man was much troubled to hear that preſcription; (for the *Chineſes* put a high value on their hair and beard, a great madneſs when his life lay at ſtake) the emperor heard of it, he preſently cut off his beard, which being adminiſter'd to the ſick man, he recover'd. When recover'd, he went to return thanks; and the emperor ſaid, I did it not for your ſake, but for my own and the empire's, who ſtand in need of ſuch miniſters as you are, therefore thank me not for it. The *Chineſes* make great account of the emperor's cutting off his beard to recover his counſellor in that extremity; and if it was ſuch a man as he repreſented him, he acted as might be expected from his zeal for his people. It cannot be deny'd but a good miniſter is highly to be valued, a prince cannot do too much for him. *Hair and beards.*

11. He left excellent inſtructions to his ſon in his will. In the firſt place he ſaid to him; raiſe and make petty kings of your own family. This in *China* is excellent policy, perhaps it may not be ſo in other places; the more the emperor is ſupported by kindred, the ſafer he is. *Secondly*, Seek wiſe and virtuous men to employ in your councils and places of truſt. A hard and difficult point; men change in high poſts, and princes cannot divine; *No man is bound to divine*, ſays the civil law. There are many, ſays *Tacitus*, *an.* 3. who ſeem unfit for preferments, and yet being once rais'd to them, they diſcharge them with much zeal and uprightneſs. There are others who ſeem to be men of great parts and ability, and afterwards prove vicious and unfit for government. They conceal their vices at firſt, but having attain'd to the preferment, they return to their old cuſtoms. Others are contrary to theſe. *Otho* having been a looſe liver in *Rome*, when prefect of *Luſitania*, alter'd, and govern'd very well. All men thought *Galba* worthy of the empire, and yet he was a wicked emperor; *Tit. Liv. lib.* I. *hiſt.* *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was extraordinary lewd, and when rais'd to dignities extremely modeſt; *Budæus*, in *l. fin. chart.* 147. *Thirdly*, Examine thoſe that are to be *mandarines*. *Fourthly*, Receive all memorials Tai Zung *his advice to his ſon.*

that

NAVARETTE. that are to give advice. *Fifthly*, Remove from about you all ſlanderers and flatterers. *Sixthly*, Have a care of haughty and proud men. *Seventhly*, Honour thoſe that are moderate and ſparing. *Eighthly*, Reward the good, and puniſh the bad. *Ninthly*, Have ſpecial regard to the huſbandman's labour. Read *Oleaſter*, in *Num.* i. *ad mores & cap.* ii. *Tenthly*, Keep your ſoldiers always well diſciplin'd, that you may not be ſurpriz'd by unexpected accidents. Thus you will eſtabliſh your crown. After this the emperor dy'd, leaving behind him inſtructions and doctrine that all men may benefit by. What *European* could leave better precepts with all the learning that is among us?

CHAP. XVI.

Other Inſtances ſtill upon the ſame Subject.

Hien Zung's bearing of reproof.

1. THE emperor *Hien Zung* had a counſellor who was ſo upright, that he reprov'd him for every fault. The emperor dreaded him on this account, and was very melancholy and drooping. The other counſellors ſaid to him; Ever ſince *Han Hieu* (this was the counſellor's name) has taken upon him to give your majeſty memorials of advice, you are melancholy and lean. Will it not be convenient, ſir, that you give him ſome employment, and under that pretence ſend him from court, and ſo your majeſty will be eas'd of him? The emperor anſwer'd, It is true, I am melancholy, and fallen away, I don't diſown it, but my empire is fat and flouriſhing. *Hieu*'s counſels, which by reaſon they are continual, ſharp and quick, waſte and perplex me, make the empire thrive. By my putting them in execution, the government is kept up, tho' I be ſomewhat impair'd. Other counſels that are given me, ſuite with my taſte and reliſh, I ſhall grow fat if I follow them, but the people will grow lean; but *Hieu*'s reſolute and open-hearted remonſtrances make me live in ſecurity, and advance my intereſt, tho' they ſomewhat weaken me; therefore I will always have him by me, not for my private ſatisfaction, but for the general good of my ſubjects.

2. Many arguments are generally alledg'd to prove that a miniſter of ſtate ought not to be too rigid, and that he muſt not preſs too hard upon the prince (few are troubled with ſuch miniſters) that publick affairs muſt take their courſe, *&c.* but they may take ſuch a courſe as may ruin all. I am for the practice of *Hien Zung*. *Oleaſter* in 24 *ad mores*, writes with admiration, how uſual it is to flatter the prince's inclination.

Emperor ploughs and reaps.

3. This emperor inſtituted a ceremony which continues to this day. He would go out to his orchard, there he plough'd the ground himſelf, ſow'd corn, and when ripe, reap'd and carry'd it in. He commanded his ſons and nobility to do the ſame, and gave two reaſons for it. The firſt was, that the flower and bread being us'd in the ſacrifices they offer to the emperors departed, it was not proper any other but the emperor ſhould ſow and reap that corn, which ſhew'd his reſpect and ſubmiſſion to his progenitors. Obſerve here how great account the *Chineſes* make of the ſacrifices to their anceſtors, neither the emperor, nor any other man of any worth does the like for any perſon living. The ſecond reaſon was, to make his ſons and nobility ſenſible of the pains and labour the huſbandman takes in tilling the earth, and gathering in its fruits, on which all men ſubſiſt. Hence, ſaid he, will enſue a moderation in expences, and privileges will be granted to them that live expos'd to the weather in the fields. It were good to bring up this ceremony, that ſome perſons might not keep ſo many beaſts, and that lords might have compaſſion of their vaſſals.

Ta Zung's care of his people.

4. The emperor *Ta Zung* order'd, that nothing which was rare and ſingular ſhould be offer'd to the emperors, ſuch as beaſts, jewels, ſtuffs, *&c.* brought from far countries; and he turn'd out of his palace, all he found there of this ſort. He ſaid, the revenues of the empire were not to maintain beaſts, or clothe the emperor, but to maintain the ſubjects, and clothe the ſoldiers and the poor. This expreſſion, in my opinion, would have become a S. *Lewis*, or a S. *Ferdinand*.

5. A curious map delicately drawn was preſented him, which he refus'd to receive, ſaying, The fruitful and abundant year, when my ſubjects have plenty of ſuſtenance, is the map I love to divert my eyes on. The beſt map in my opinion, is to find wiſe, diſcreet, and virtuous men to put into employments. This heathen was very nice. Many will commend him, but I ſhould be glad if it were but a few would follow his example. *A Lapide*, in *Gen.* xlix. ℣. 15. has ſomething to this purpoſe, ſee it there.

6. He ſaid to one of his counſellors, I would fain retrench unneceſſary expences, and ſave charges, that my people might live in quiet and eaſe; but to the end my deſign may ſucceed, I muſt begin at my ſelf. He did ſo.

7. This

7. This agrees with what *Tacitus* writes in the life of *Agricola*: *Beginning by himſelf and his family, he retrench'd his own family firſt*, &c. *Caſſiodorus Lib.* X. *Var. Epiſt.* 5. ſays, *We will begin good order in our own family, that others may be aſham'd to do amiſs, when it is known we do not allow our people the liberty of tranſgreſſing.* *Lycurgus* king of *Macedon* reform'd the commonwealth: *yet ſo that he made no law to bind others, till he had firſt practis'd it himſelf.* *Bias* ſaid he was a good king, *who himſelf firſt gave obedience to his country's laws.* Read *Eccl.* chap. x. ℣. 21. All depends on the head, ſaid the philoſopher. *S. Thomas* ſpeaks of it in *Joan.* xxi. *lect.* 3. where he has good doctrine to this purpoſe. To ſave forces is a great means to ſave charges. *S. Greg. Nazian. orat.* 9. ſays, *Wars proceed from ambition, from wars taxes, than which nothing is more ſeverely condemn'd and blam'd in the divine judgment.* Arms muſt be taken up when there is no other remedy. The emperor *Marcion* ſaid, *Whilſt we can be in peace, let us not bring on war.* War is a cantery, a bitter purge, which does harm, and no good, unleſs apply'd in the utmoſt extremity.

See S. Greg. l. 4 in 1 Reg. c. iv.

Xi Zung provides for his people in a famine.

8. In the reign of the emperor *Xi Zung*, there was a famine in the ſouthern provinces, he order'd a courſe ſhould be taken to relieve that want. His council anſwer'd, it was impoſſible to relieve all that wanted, becauſe they were an innumerable multitude. The emperor ſaid, my ſubjects the people are my children, I am their father; what father is ſo inhuman, that he will not relieve his children, when he ſees them ſtarving? what do I value my revenues and treaſures, but to ſupply ſuch wants as theſe? The counſellors hearing this noble reſolution, took ſuch effectual care that all might be reliev'd, without leaving any one perſon in diſtreſs. A glorious action, which would be highly applauded in the holieſt king or pope the world ever had.

Infant-princes.

9. The emperor *Tai Zu*'s mother being near her end, call'd her ſon and aſk'd him, Whence had you the empire? he anſwer'd, From my forefathers merits. It is not ſo, ſaid the empreſs, (and ſhe was in the right, for her huſband had uſurp'd it tyrannically from his predeceſſor, which violence her ſon call'd merit.) Hear me now, ſon, when you die leave your brother your heir; and ſo when he dies let him leave his younger brother; for that empire which has an emperor who is at age, and can enter upon the government, is ſafe; but if it falls into childrens hands, they neither can, nor know how to govern it, ſo that it is expos'd to danger. Her ſon did ſo. The empreſs was a diſcreet woman, and ſeeing that her predeceſſor having left a child but ſeven years old his heir, he was dethron'd, ſhe feared leſt the ſame might happen to her ſon, if he ſhould leave an infant-prince his heir. NAVARETTE.

10. This is not a precaution to be practis'd in all places. We have in our days ſeen great monarchies left to infants. That of *Spain* to *Charles* the ſecond now reigning, whom GOD preſerve. That of *China* to the preſent emperor, who was but five years of age, took upon him the government at thirteen, and in my time diſcharg'd himſelf of it to the general ſatisfaction of all people. They ſubſtituted one year, as the cuſtom there is, that he might begin to govern at fourteen. The emperor of *Japan* was left but young.

Conſtancy of a counſellor.

11. The counſellor *Zao Pu* preſented a memorial containing, that it was requiſite to change the *mandarines*, to raiſe ſome, and put down others. The emperor was offended at it, and anſwered, I will not do at preſent as you adviſe. *Pu* reply'd, The reward or puniſhment of it depends not on your majeſty's conſenting to, or oppoſing it, but on the right and reaſon of the thing. A reſolute expreſſion, yet juſtifiable. No man ought to govern himſelf by his will and pleaſure. Reaſon and judgment ought to give laws; the will is blind and incapable of direction and government. When the *Phariſees* ſaid to our LORD, *Matth.* xii. *We will ſee a ſign from thee*; *Cajetan* takes notice of the word, *we will*, and ſays, *obſerve the raſhneſs.* It is a raſhneſs for man to ſuffer himſelf to be led away by his will, to act according to it, without regard to the rules and law of reaſon.

12. The emperor was in diſorder (for great men do not love to hear ſuch naked truths) and in a pet retir'd to his apartment, (another would have vented paſſion after another manner.) *Pu* followed him to the door, where he waited a great while with much reſolution and conſtancy, and without fearing to diſpleaſe his lord, ſo he did the duty of his office. The emperor was pacify'd, and approving of his miniſter's zeal, perform'd all he had advis'd; telling him there at the door where he found him waiting, that he was well pleas'd at the zeal he had ſhewn. I know not which of them deſerves moſt commendation, whether the emperor for his patience, or the counſellor for his conſtancy. *Eſop* ſaid to *Solon*, *Kings are to be ſpoken to as little as poſſible, or in as ſoft a manner as may be.* *Solon* anſwered, *Not ſo, but it muſt be either with much integrity, or not at all.* So did *Pu*. He that is ſo bold expoſes himſelf to much danger. *Tacit. lib.* I. *hiſt. It is a thing of much trouble to perſuade a prince to*

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13. A few days after he preſented another memorial againſt a counſellor, it took no effect; he repeated it another day, to no purpoſe; he try'd again the third time. The emperor in a paſſion tore the memorial. *Pu* very calmly gathered all the pieces, and putting them in their places paſted them together, and ſo offer'd it again to the emperor. He yielding to the miniſter's reſolution, did as he deſired. Here it is worth diſcuſſing, which deſerves moſt commendation, whether the emperor's patience, or the counſellor's reſolution. Let the wiſe decide it.

Cien Vu's care of his ſoldiers.

14. *Cien Vu*, the emperor's general, was in the kingdom of *Cho* with a mighty army. One day it ſnow'd, and the emperor bethinking himſelf of the cold and miſery his ſoldiers endur'd, ſaid, It is not reaſonable that I ſhould be in my palace clad in ſilks and ſables at my eaſe, faring well and ſleeping heartily, and that my ſoldiers ſhould be in the field, ſtanding under all this ſnow that falls, and perhaps many of them have not wherewithal to cover their nakedneſs. This ſaid, he took off his ſables, and cauſing a vaſt quantity of ſkins and garments to be got together, ſent them to the army. The ſoldiers rejoicing that their lord the emperor was ſo mindful of them, gave great acclamations, ſwore either to conquer or die in his ſervice, and overthrew the enemy.

15. The action had been great in *Charles* the fifth: what the ſoldiers perform'd, well deſerv'd the emperor's kindneſs, perhaps without it the victory had not been obtain'd. He purchas'd it with the garments and ſkins he ſent. There is no doubt but ſoldiers are much encourag'd when they feel the effects of ſuch a remembrance. Reward is a great heartner, ſays the philoſopher in the third of his morals. *Thoſe ſeem to be braveſt in battel, among whom cowards are unregarded, and valiant men honour'd.* This is the ſame as *Liſander* ſaid, when they aſk'd him, *Which commonwealth he beſt liked?* he anſwered, *That which gives brave men and cowards what each of them deſerves.*

His reformation.

16. This emperor, in order to reform the people, began with himſelf and his court, according to what has been ſaid above. His daughter the princeſs was refractory; to bring her to his beck, her father ſaid, What is done and practis'd at court is an example the whole empire looks upon; if they ſee virtue there, all men imitate it; if they diſcover vice and extravagancy, they all follow the ſame courſe. I receive the revenues and taxes of the empire, not to ſpend them in coſtly clothes and exceſs, but to maintain the army, the civil officers, and to ſupply the people's neceſſities. The princeſs ſubmitted immediately. This was excellent doctrine. If the crown-revenues, taxes, and incomes, were only employ'd in this manner, much good would come of it. The ninth ſynod of *Toledo* obſerv'd the ſame method the *Chineſe* emperor did, in order to the reformation it deſign'd, and has theſe words: *In regard he does not rightly judge his ſubjects, who curbs not himſelf firſt by the rules of juſtice, it has ſeem'd a proper expedient to us, firſt to moderate our own extravagances, and then to mend the faults of the ſubjects*, &c. The council of *Trent de reform.* takes the ſame courſe. *S. Ephrem Syrus* among other matters handles this point, *tom.* I. *de vit. ſpirit. num.* 36.

His clemency.

17. This emperor overthrew the family *Tang*; the king *Lo Vuang* ſubmitted to him. The emperor ſeeing him proſtrate at his feet, ſaid to him with tears in his eyes, Alas, what miſeries and calamities does a war cauſe! what murders, robberies and inſolencies have been committed in the court of *Tang!* alas what pity! then he preſently order'd a great quantity of rice to be diſtributed among the conquer'd people. The *Chineſe* hiſtories highly commend this compaſſion, and with great reaſon. He was little puff'd up in his victory and triumph. Read to this purpoſe what *Oleaſter* writes in *Num.* xxi. *ad mores in fine.*

Library.

18. The emperor *Tai Zung* brought eighty thouſand volumes into his library, which was divided into three large rooms richly adorn'd. Obſerve how much had been printed at that time in *China*, for all the books were in that language, and writ by *Chineſe* authors. How much muſt they be increas'd ſince then? *Ptolomy Philadelphus* got together ſixty thouſand volumes, but they were of ſeveral nations and countries. Others ſay they were ſeventy thouſand, gather'd out of *Chaldea*, *Egypt* and *Rome*. *Vincentius* his library had a hundred and twenty thouſand volumes: that of *Pergamus* two hundred thouſand. The *Faſciculus Florum* tells us a library of four hundred thouſand books was burnt in *Egypt* in the time of *Hyrcanus*. A noble library, and great diſaſter! but what I affirm is, that there never was a library like that of *China*, of one only kingdom, and at preſent it might be made three or four times as large. The emperor was ſo addicted to reading, that he every day turn'd over one or two volumes. They are not ſo large as ours in *Europe*. A counſellor told him it was not convenient to take ſo much pains, or ſpend ſo much time in reading. The emperor anſwer'd, Reading is not troubleſome, but profitable and diverting: This year I would

read

read a thouſand volumes. Books teach how to govern, they give inſtructions for peace and war, without books we are all in the dark; this makes me ſo fond of them, becauſe I deſire to know how to govern my monarchy.

19. Hiſtories by repreſenting to us the puniſhment of vice, deter us from it; and by ſhewing the reward of virtue, excite us to practiſe it. So ſaid the emperor *Baſilius* to his ſon, exhorting him to read them. But that is true which *Tacitus* teaches us, *lib.* VI. *hiſt. viz.* That a prince's knowledge is not to ſerve to exert his learning, but to make him know how to govern, and to ſhew reſolution in adverſity: let him know as much as is neceſſary and no more; and that muſt be ſuch a knowledge as is neceſſary to govern well, not a notional learning to diſtract him; or let him learn holy things, as *Robert* king of *Sicily* did.

Read Sylv. tom. vi. *in* Mat. xii. q. 5. per totum.

20. *Tertullian apolog. cap.* 5. calls *Trajan, a ſearcher into all that was curious.* Athanaſ. lib. VIII. cap. 16. calls him *a mighty lover of learning.* The ſame may be ſaid of *Tai Zung* for the reaſon above. Let the prince that finds his inclination lie this way check himſelf, as *Julius Agricola* did. Let him not follow the example of king *Alonſo* the wiſe altogether. *Spondanus, tom.* II. ſays of him, that he read over the bible fourteen times with its comments: A wonderful thing in a man that had ſo much care and buſineſs upon his hands! *A Lapide* mentions the ſame *ex panorm. encom. S. Scripturæ ſect.* 2. *num.* 60. *Periander* ſaid, *Meditation is the life of a wiſe man, and to a learned man to think is to live.*

He read holy writ in his chariot, ſaid S. Jer. *of the council,* Acts viii. ver. 27.

21. In *China* they are very careful to bring up the emperors to ſtudy, becauſe it is very neceſſary for that government, otherwiſe they cannot underſtand the memorials: they uſe ſo much rhetorick, ſuch tropes and figures in them, that the emperors muſt be very underſtanding to dive into the meaning of them. When all we miſſioners were confin'd in the province of *Canton*, a learned Chriſtian form'd a memorial for us, to be preſented to the ſupreme governor; it was ſo full of bombaſt and *hyperboles*, that none of us underſtood it, till we had heard it explain'd: he call'd the emperor, the heavenly palace, the governor we ſpoke of, the tribunal of heaven, and ſaid they lifted up their eyes to him, as we did to heaven. Strange extolling of them, and humbling of us, under unuſual ſimiles and figures! they take great pains, and ſtudy theſe things very hard.

Education of their emperors.

Stile.

22. The *Chineſe* nation is much addicted to learning, and inclin'd to reading. I have met men on the road in ſedans or *palankins* on men's ſhoulders, with a book in their hands. In cities I have often ſeen *mandarines* in the ſame manner. The tradeſmen and ſhop-keepers ſit behind their counters with books before them. To encourage the children to learn, in their primmers they have particular examples, and the cuts of men that riſe to great preferment by their learning. Among the reſt there is one of a man that kept cows; he rode upon one of them, as is uſual in that country, with a book laid on her horns that ſerv'd inſtead of a deſk, and ſo he ſtudied all the day. After ſome years he grew ſo learned, that he took his degree, and came to be a great *mandarin.* They tell of another, who was ſo poor that he could not buy oil for his lamp to ſtudy by at night; and becauſe he would not loſe time in winter, he us'd to go out to ſtudy by the light of the ſnow. Another gather'd abundance of glow-worms, and ſtudied by their light. There was another poor man had a little room which was parted but by a ſlender lath-wall from a rich ſtudent; and knowing the place where his table and light ſtood, he made a hole oppoſite to it, and ſtudied by the light that came through it. Theſe men and others they bring as examples, they all riſe to high preferments. There have been abundance of authors among them, but none of them has writ of ſo much as the ancients of other nations. *Ariſtarchus* writ above a thouſand commentaries upon ſeveral ſubjects. *Chryſippus* wrote above ſeven hundred volumes. *Dydimus Alexandrinus*, as *Heſychius* affirms, wrote three thouſand five hundred books. *Dionyſius Grammaticus* three thouſand five hundred. *Triſmegiſtus* thirty ſix thouſand five hundred and twenty five. This authors affirm. The *Chineſes* are much addicted to reading of their own hiſtories, and to ſay truth, they are much in the right. *Cicero* ſaid, *Hiſtory is the witneſs of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the miſtreſs of life, the record of antiquity.* See *Marquez, lib.* I. of his Chriſtian governor, *cap.* 4.

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Addicted to letters.

23. Prince *Juen Kie* rais'd an artificial mount with great expence and labour of the people, he feaſted the *mandarines* upon it, and they were aſtoniſh'd at the work; one of them, whoſe name was *Chao Tan*, hung down his head, and ſeem'd penſive and ſad. The prince aſk'd him the reaſon, and he anſwer'd, Sir, my eyes will not bear to look upon a mount made of blood and ſweat. Is this a mount of blood and ſweat, ſaid the prince? When I was in my village, anſwer'd *Tan*, I ſaw and heard the oppreſſion of the people, who were forc'd to contribute ſilver towards this work, many wrought without being paid their hire, multitudes were laſh'd, their complaints went up to heaven, the blood

of

Navarette. of thoſe that were chaſtis'd bath'd their bodies and ran down to the ground. Then how can your highneſs think much, I ſhould call this we ſtand on a mount of blood and ſweat? Let it be immediately demoliſh'd, ſaid the prince full of concern, let it be all laid level, let not one ſtone be left upon another, nor any memory of this ſtructure. I order'd a mount of paſtime and diverſion to be rais'd, not a mount of extortion to my ſubjects. A mount of ſo much blood is no place of diverſion, but a ſcandal to all the world; the very foundations ſhall be taken up. It was perform'd accordingly.

24. A brave action, but yet the execution of it made no amends for paſt harms. It is common to apply the remedy when it can produce no effect. Many buildings might be raz'd for the ſame reaſon.

CHAP. XVII.

Other memorable Paſſages of Emperors and others.

Counſels to Xin Zung. 1. THE emperor *Xin Zung* was an enemy to idols, and caus'd abundance to be deſtroy'd: *Y Kien* a counſellor preſented him a memorial of advice, wherein he ſaid, 1. Your majeſty may be pleas'd to ſhut out ſectaries and idle people, who introduce falſe doctrines, and outward prayers, in order to get preferments and and revenues. (Who doubts but it is deſtructive to monarchy to allow of ſeveral ſects? God preſerv'd *Spain*. *F. James Faber* in *Canton* ſaid and maintain'd, that it was better there ſhould be hereticks publickly allow'd in *France*, than an inquiſition in *Spain*; I find no reaſon that he had for it, but the natural affection to his country.) 2. Your majeſty may be pleas'd to forbid and puniſh bribery, which diſturbs the peace and government. 3. Not to admit of flatterers, in whoſe words there is no truth, and leſs in their actions. Of theſe *Rodulphus* ſaid, *That flatterers were not unlike to wolves; for as theſe devour aſſes by tickling and ſcratching them, ſo flatterers make uſe of fawning and endearing words to ruin princes.* They are the plague of kings and kingdoms, ſays *John Sariſber. It is lawful to flatter him whom it is lawful to kill.* 4. Let your majeſty order lewd women to be baniſhed. 5. Do not admit of eunuchs, as favourites. (From them generally have begun the rebellions.) 6. Do not burthen the people with much labour, taking up the time they ſhould employ in huſbandry. 7. Moderate expences, for no revenue can ſuffice for thoſe that are needleſs. 8. Let no offices be bought or ſold, which will open a way to much extortion, and preferments will be beſtow'd on rich, not on deſerving men. The emperor made great account of theſe counſels, and commanded them to be practis'd. All theſe inſtructions are agreeable to reaſon, and have been hinted at in other places.

2. The caſting down of idols by Chriſtians in lands of infidels is difficult, and meets with ſome inconveniences, as has been found by experience upon ſome occaſions. *F. Gouvea* made his complaint to me, that there was ſome diſturbance about this buſineſs at *Xang Hai*, where *F. Brancato* reſided ſeveral years. The twenty ſixth canon of the council of *Illiberis*, or *Granada*, has theſe words: *If any man break down idols, and be there ſlain, in regard it is not written in the goſpel, nor ever appears to have been done by the apoſtles, it has been thought fit that he be not receiv'd into the number of martyrs.* True it is, *S. Theodorus*, whoſe feaſt is kept on the ninth of *November*, ſuffer'd martyrdom for having burnt a temple of idols; and *S. Marcellus* biſhop ſuffer'd martyrdom in *Apamea* of *Syria* for having overthrown a temple of *Jupiter*. On the ſixteenth of *June* the fathers of the ſociety in *Canton* read of five martyrs, who ſuffer'd in the iſland of *Salſete*, and one of them died for having overthrown an idol temple. I doubt not but ſome would deſpiſe this action in another, and call it imprudent. The emperor *Xin Zung*, as ſoon as he was crown'd, aſk'd a counſellor, which was the firſt thing appertaining to the government? He anſwer'd, To eſtabliſh good laws. He aſk'd again, Are ſuch an emperor's laws good? The other reply'd, Sir, do not imitate that emperor, who had no virtue, but rather the emperors *Jao* and *Xun*, whoſe laws and lives were both good. The council was good too, but had been better if he had ſaid, that the love, fear, and dread of God was the firſt thing. Had the counſellor known God, I doubt not but he would have ſaid it. *S. Cyril Alexandrinus de recta fide, That a glorious piety towards* God *is the ground-work of regal honour; and that princes addicted to piety, overcome and ſubdue their adverſaries without any labour.*

Remitted taxes in a famine. 3. The ſeventh year of this empire was a great dearth, a terrible famine and mortality enſued. An eunuch who govern'd ſome provinces caus'd the miſeries and calamities of the people to be painted, and ſent the piece to the emperor, writing along with it to this effect; Sir, be pleas'd to look upon that picture, and by it you will underſtand the condition of your ſubjects:

jects: if your majesty applies some remedy, heaven will soon send rain; if not, my head shall pay for it. The emperor lamented the misfortune of his people, slept not that night, the next day took off all taxes and duties. At these news the people took heart, and to make their joy the fuller, there fell so much rain, that the land was glutted, and the scarcity ceas'd.

Intelligence. 4. The viceroys and governors in *China* take special care to acquaint the emperor with all that happens within their governments, whether good or bad. If there happens a famine, dearth, floods, *&c.* presently word is sent to the emperor. Thus he hears of all the misfortunes of his subjects, and the news is sent from court throughout all the empire. In the year 68 there were *Earthquake.* mighty earthquakes in the province of *Xan Tung*; advice was sent to court, and soon *1668.* after the news came from thence to *Canton.*

Peace. 5. The emperor *Xao Zung* was once ask'd, When the empire would enjoy peace and quietness? he answer'd, When the *mandarines* pencils are clean, and when military officers don't fear death. He spoke discreetly, and like a man of sense in both particulars. There they write with pencils as we do with pens; the peace and tranquillity of the publick depends much upon magistrates carrying their pens fair, and taking no bribes. The second point is of no less consequence. It is well known the northern people fear death less than the southern; the reason of it is, because they are more sanguine, and therefore fitter for war. *Epaminondas* said, *death in war is most glorious.* This emperor ask'd *Chao Siuen* the general of his forces, What rules *Soldiers.* do you prescribe to your soldiers to make them always victorious in battle, as you ever are? My rules, sir, said he, are piety, fidelity, prudence, courage, and severity, these virtues make soldiers invincible. He gave them good weapons. *Brasidas* requires three things in a soldier, *will*, *fear* and *obedience:* Three other things in a commander, *wisdom*, *valour* and *watchfulness*. *Aratus* was wont to say, *it was the part of a soldier not to value his life.* Read *Liv. Dec.* 1. and *Cæsar apud Valer. l.* II. *c.* 8.

Presents. 6. The emperor *Tai Zung* refus'd to accept of some very curious mats certain peasants presented him. In the *Philippine* islands, *Japan*, *China*, *Camboxa*, and other *Mats.* places, especially in *Ceylon*, there are some so fine, so curious and delicate, that they may well be presented as a rarity to the greatest princes in *Europe*. The treasurer told him that was a mere trifle, that he need make no scruple of accepting them. But the emperor who was wise and nothing covetous, answer'd, How shall he have the command of himself in great temptations, who cannot overcome the small? an excellent expression. The saying hits well in this place, *trust not a dog with meat, that uses to lick ashes.* There was a strange example of this sort at *Manila*, the man got the name of the *just judge*, his memory will be lasting in that island, his name was *Major Andrew Perez Navarro*, he was my great friend, and would not accept of so much as a little fruit for all the world. But *Tai Zung* certainly outdoes all men living, or that ever will be; for he being supreme lord was above his own and his predecessors laws, and accountable to no man, which are the considerations that often restrain inferiors from holding out their hands to receive. NAVARETTE.

7. This emperor went out into the fields, took the prince with him, and seeing the husbandmen busy at their labour, said to him, Son, take notice how much pains these poor men take all the year about to maintian you and me. This is the reason I always have been careful to favour these people, because without their labour and sweat, you nor I should have no kingdom nor empire. This saying deserv'd to be extoll'd, had it come from the mouth of any *European* prince. Another time seeing the storks and other birds building their nests, and looking to their young ones, he said to the prince, Don't you mind with how much tenderness and affection these birds bring up and feed their young ones? do you take example by them, and be careful to assist those that gave you your being. *Husbandmen.*

8. In the third year of his empire there was an extraordinary dearth. The emperor cloth'd himself in sackcloth, put on straw buskins, went to a temple, where sacrifices were offer'd to the mountains and streams of rivers; in the day time he stood in the sun without any shelter, at night he lay upon the bare ground. After three days the history tells it rain'd plentifully. It is likely GOD look'd upon the compassion the emperor shew'd for his people.

9. Writing of buskins, I bethought my self of what I have often seen in *China*, which is, that on the roads, at a league or two, or sometimes less distance, there are men who weave buskins for the people that travel afoot; so that those who come to these places, if their buskins are torn or out of order, change them, or buy new ones, and need not carry more than they have on. Hundreds of them may be bought by the way at four-pence half-penny the pair. *Buskins*

10. The emperor *V Zung* design'd a progress into the northern provinces: a counsellor whose name was *Mao Ki*, oppos'd it, saying, it was not convenient. The emperor in a passion laid hold on his sabre, and said, Pass the order for my journey im- *Steadiness of a counsellor.*

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NAVARRETTE. mediately, or you ſhall die. *Mao* without the leaſt concern took off his *mandarin*'s cap and robe, and kneeling ſaid, Your majeſty may ſtrike, for I cannot do that which is not for the good of the empire. The emperor reflected on the anſwer, check'd himſelf and let alone the journey. Where ſhall we find out one *Mao* in our times? *Plato ad Diod. prop. Epiſt. 8. If the king or kingdom be in danger, then let no peril withhold the counſellor from crying out aloud.*

11. To take off the *mandarin*'s cap and robe before the emperor or his miniſters, is as much as to own himſelf worthy of death.

12. I forgot in the foregoing paragraph to obſerve, that according to *Cornelius à Lapide* and *Menochius*, the cuſtom of putting on ſackcloth upon publick calamities, is of great antiquity. The firſt, ſay they, that us'd it, was *Jacob* upon the imagin'd death of his ſon *Joſeph*. It is an ancient practice in *China*, and frequent in holy writ, where we find many kings us'd it in the publick neceſſities.

CHAP. XVIII.

Other Paſſages like to thoſe we have already mention'd.

Xi Zung's *liberality in a famine.*

1. IN the reign of the emperor *Xi Zung*, there was ſo great a famine in the northern provinces, that men eat one another. The emperor reliev'd his people with a great ſum of money; the effect of his compaſſionate heart, ſaid *St. Gregory*; *for never does he who is truly compaſſionate, deny his neighbour that which is neceſſary.* There is the ſame difference, ſays *S. Thomas*, *lib.* I. *de reg. princ.* betwixt a legal king and a tyrant, as is between the ſhepherd and the hireling; read more of it there. *Xi Zung* acted like a good king, a good father, and a good ſhepherd, laying open his bowels to maintain his people.

Vuen Ti's *preference of the people.*

2. The emperor *Vuen Ti* was no leſs compaſſionate; he underſtanding that the ſacrifices offer'd to heaven, earth, and ſpirits, were only to aſk bleſſings and proſperity for him, put out an edict, commanding they ſhould firſt beg his ſubjects happineſs, and his afterwards. The governor of *Manila* was not ſo humble, for he us'd his utmoſt endeavours to have ſpecial mention made of him in the collect, *& famulos tuos*, which is ſung in the maſs. The caſe was bandy'd backwards, and forwards, not without ſome diſtaſte. This happen'd before I came to the iſlands. This *Husbandry.* emperor was a great lover of huſbandmen, and of thoſe that broke up ground to ſow; he forgave all taxes for the firſt years, and then made the duties eaſy. A good proviſion and form of government, to make proviſions plentiful. Read *S. Thomas* on the firſt to *Hebr. Lect.* 4. where there is much to this purpoſe. It would be an excellent method for converting of thouſands Mindoro. of heathens that live in the iſland of *Mindoro*, near to that of *Manila*, to forgive them ſome years taxes, and eaſe them of their perſonal duties. Theſe burdens withhold them, and delay their converſion. *S. Gregory* the pope us'd the ſame method with heathens, and Jews, as I ſhall obſerve in the ſecond *tome*. It is pity, that tho' it lies ſo conveniently, no care is taken of a thing that ſo much concerns the ſervice of GOD and the king. *I have heard poſitive orders have been given to this effect*; I know not why they are not put in execution. Some reaſons were brought for not practiſing this method with the *Chineſe* infidels of *Manila*, but they will not hold in reſpect of the *Indians*.

3. The emperor *Vu Ti* being left very young, two counſellors govern'd for him. The hiſtory tells us that one of them, whoſe name was *Ho Kuang*, going conſtantly into the inward part of the palace, talking and diſcourſing with the empreſs and ladies, on account of his employment, for the ſpace of twenty years; yet the leaſt objection could not be made againſt his carriage, nor was there ever any ground for jealouſy of him as to the women. *A thing to be admir'd, not only in a heathen, but in any very good Chriſtian.* Concerning *Je Tan*, who was the other counſellor, the hiſtory ſays, that during ten years he continued in the ſame employment, he never lifted up his eyes from the ground, or look'd the empreſs, or any lady in the face. When he was upon buſineſs, he never ſtood near the empreſs or ladies, but at the greateſt diſtance he could, hearing very ſedately what they had to ſay. This it is the *Chineſe* heathens did, whom among us they look upon as barbarians; perhaps ſome wicked perverſe wretch may call this modeſty and reſervedneſs, barbarity. The legend admires in *S. Lewis Gonzaga*, and with good reaſon, that he never look'd the empreſs in the face, tho' he ſerv'd her two years. No doubt it was great modeſty; yet comparing all circumſtances, and the profeſſions of both of them, it plainly appears it cannot compare with *Je Tan*'s modeſty, without reckoning upon the principles from which they proceeded. No leſs reſervedneſs is requiſite to come off clear and untainted from ſuch converſation. *Modeſty.*

Read

Read *Albert. Mag.* 3. *Ethic. Tract.* 2. *c.* 11. *in fine*, where he brings the ſtory of *Helen.* That of *Perſeus* in *Ovid* is very good. See *Oleaſter* in vi. Gen. *The ſons of* GOD *ſaw*, &c. Theſe are dangerous encounters, the way to come off victorious is to fly and keep far from them, *A Lapid.* in *Gen.* xxxix. ℣. 12. Theſe two counſellors deſerve great commendations. What *S. Gregory* admires in *Job*, *There was a man in the land of Uz*, might be apply'd to the two heathens we ſpeak of. *S. Thomas* his obſervation on *Rev.* ii. is not amiſs here: *I know where thou dwelleſt, where the ſeat of Satan is.* Nor that of *Job c.* xxx. *I was the brother of dragons.* And it might be ſaid to them with *S. Paul, Phil.* ii. ℣. 25. *In the midſt of a deprav'd nation*, &c. Let the reader turn to *S. Jer. in Flor. Verb. Malum*, and to S. *Bernard, Ep.* 24. *ad Hugonem.*

4. The emperor *Kuang Vu* going out a hunting, was ſo intent on his ſport, that when he return'd to court the gates were ſhut. The officer that commanded at one of them was call'd upon, and anſwer'd, according to the duty of my office I cannot open the gate at this time. The emperor hearing the anſwer, went away to another, which was open'd to him without any difficulty. The next day he that refus'd to open preſented a memorial to the emperor, to this effect. The great emperor *Vuen Vuang* (they all look upon him as a great man and a ſaint) ſpent not his time in hunting and ſports, being always employ'd in the affairs of the government. Your majeſty employs not only the day, but a great part of the night in hunting, that is not the way to preſerve the empire, and anſwer the buſineſs your ſubjects come to court about.

Reproof given to Kuang Vu.

5. The emperor received the memorial, and perceiv'd he reprov'd him for coming ſo late, being the cauſe that out of reſpect to him the gate was open'd, which according to the inviolable practice ought not to have been done at that time of night. He thank'd him for his advice and reproof, and order'd him a hundred pieces of cotton as a reward for not opening the gate; then puniſh'd him that did open, turning him down to a meaner employment. This action was approv'd of by all the court, as was the memorial, and they all applauded his courage and reſolution that preſented it. The very preachers will not dare to ſay ſo much in *Europe.*

Meekneſs of Kuang Vu.

6. This emperor taking his progreſs through the ſouthern provinces, remitted a year's taxes to the inhabitants of the town of *Nan Meu*; the inhabitants thank'd him for the favour and grace, and pray'd him to continue it for ten years longer. The people were no fools. The emperor anſwer'd: The life of man is like an earthen veſſel that is not durable, or firm, to day he is well and in good health, and to morrow is diſſolv'd to nothing; how can I remit ten years taxes when I don't know whether I have one to live? The truth of the matter is, ſaid the clowns ſpeaking like themſelves, that your majeſty does not care to loſe the taxes this town is to pay for ten years, and therefore you put us off with the uncertainty of your life. The emperor laugh'd, and remitted another year. A notable calmneſs and affability in a heathen emperor. *S. Thomas opuſc.* 17. *cap.* 13. ſays, that meekneſs, affability and bounty win the hearts of men. *There are four ſorts of men who eaſily gain friendſhip, the bountiful, the powerful, the meek, and the affable.* Affability and meekneſs, though but counterfeit, work the ſame effect. Holy writ tells us, 2 *Sam. cap.* xv. ℣. 7. that *Abſalom* us'd thoſe endearments to the people, that *he endeavour'd to win the hearts of the children of Iſrael.* Another verſion has it, *he ſtole the hearts*, &c. To ſignify that by his counterfeit endearments, and affected kindneſs he ſtole and made himſelf maſter of all their hearts. It cannot be deny'd but theſe virtues are more viſible in ſuperiors. What was it but meekneſs and a mild government that gain'd ſuch renown to *Moſes* that great leader of GOD's people, and the pattern and mirrour of all princes that ever were or ſhall be? And what is it Chriſt propoſes to us in order to imitate him? not his mighty power, not the wonders he wrought, not the prodigies he ſhew'd, not his long faſting, and continual prayer, not the poverty and want of all things he endur'd in this world; he only requires of us that we imitate his temper and meekneſs. *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart.*

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7. One of the emperor *Ming Ti*'s brothers was a petty king, who came to court to kiſs his hand. The emperor lodg'd him in his palace, and in diſcourſe aſk'd him; what is it you moſt delight in at court? the petty king anſwer'd, my greateſt delight and paſtime is, to act rightly; virtue is the thing I take the greateſt pleaſure and ſatisfaction in. The emperor was well pleas'd at his anſwer, and favour'd him highly. One heathen made this anſwer to another, 'tis fit it be known to the whole world, and that we Chriſtians be confounded at it. The petty king valu'd not himſelf upon ſpending his time in play, muſick, hunting, ſports, *&c.* his only care was to act uprightly, this was all his diverſion.

8. In the reign of the emperor *Vuen Ti*, a *mandarin* was condemn'd to death, and he was guilty enough to deſerve it. A daughter he had preſented a memorial to the emperor, offering up her ſelf for a ſlave in

Piety.

NAVARETTE.

in the palace to save his life. The emperor was mov'd to compassion, pardon'd the father, and left his daughter free. He also enacted a law, forbidding the punishment of castrating, to which the *mandarin* was also adjudg'd, to be never after inflicted.

Castration

9. Any body that had not known these emperors were heathens, would certainly by their actions have taken them for good Christians. We may learn compassion from the emperor *Vuen Ti*, tho' a heathen. *Lælius* said, *We ourselves understand, that a sense of affection is bred in us by nature.* It is natural to man to love others, and to pity their misfortunes. The daughter's love for her father is very well worth observing, and more remarkable in *China*, where there is more indifferency betwixt fathers and daughters than in any other country.

CHAP. XIX.

More remarkable Passages of the same nature.

1. IN the reign of the emperor *Ching Tang*, there was no rain for seven years together. According to computation this happen'd in *China*, at the same time that the seven years famine was in *Egypt*, which the Scripture speaks of *Gen.* xli. ℣. 54. *And the famine prevail'd all over the earth*, 1131 years after the flood, and above a thousand after the founding of the *Chinese* monarchy. The diviners advis'd to mix human blood in the sacrifices that were offer'd to heaven and earth. The emperor answer'd, I ask water of heaven that my people may live; if I kill men for the sacrifices, it is contradicting my self, killing those for whose lives I pray. A very good answer. The emperor fasted, cut his hair and nails (the *Chineses* put great value upon them both) he put his chariot into mourning, and clothed himself in white lambskins. Thus he went out into the field with a devout, penitent, and serious countenance. Then fixing his eyes on heaven, he ask'd six questions of it. *First*, Whether there was any miscarriage in his government? *Secondly*, Whether his people and subjects did not perform their duty? *Thirdly*, Whether due decency and modesty was not observ'd within the palace? *Fourthly*, Whether there was any extravagancy in apparel? *Fifthly*, Whether there was any frauds in buying and selling? *Sixthly*, Whether the dances and sports were unseemly? If there be any thing in these particulars, or any other, said he, which is a crime against heaven, I take it upon my self, here I am, and here I offer myself up to heaven to punish me, so my people may live. It looks as if he had acted king *David*, when he saw the angel with the sword in his hand. Having perform'd this famous and compassionate action, not heaven, but the Creator of all things sent him abundant rain. The action was strange, and the event yet stranger.

Per. Jul. 3002.

Sacrificing of men.

Hair and nails.

2. *Chang Ngo* a great *mandarin*, as an acknowledgment because the emperor *Cheu* had given him a considerable employment, offer'd him a very beautiful and modest woman: she would not consent to actions that were against the course of nature, for which the wicked emperor caus'd her to be kill'd. *Chang Ngo* did not approve of the action, but it cost him his head, which was order'd to be struck off immediately. *Cheu* was one of the two cruel and wicked emperors there have been in *China*; and it is strange that in so many thousands of years those infidels should make mention but of these two. Nor is the bravery of that woman to be little admir'd, since she durst withstand the will of a cruel, wicked, and heathen emperor. It is a very common thing in *China* to make presents of women, especially to persons of note, and great *mandarines*.

Resolution of a mandarin.

3. A subject of good note, whose name was *Pi Kan*, mov'd by his zeal for the publick good, argued thus with himself; It is want of loyalty, when the emperor is cruel and a tyrant, that no body should reprove him. It is want of courage to be silent for fear of death when the emperor is faulty; and it is the part of a brave soul to tell him his faults. If he is told, and will not give ear, it is he is to blame. It is the greatest loyalty to tell the truth, and to die for it. Upon this he resolv'd to go into the palace, and having found his opportunity, said to the emperor we speak of, heaven will deprive your majesty of the crown it has given you, if you do not mend your life. It is fit your majesty cleanse your heart of so much filth, leave off your cruelty, and change your behaviour. Your majesty wants to restore that decency to your family, which you have banish'd from it; if you do so, heaven will be appeas'd. A noble, resolute, and courageous speech of a subject to a cruel and tyrannical emperor: this may compare, *servatis servandis*, with what S. *John* said to *Herod*. The emperor grew enrag'd like a tiger, and said to those about him, This *Pi Kan* takes himself for a saint; I have heard say, the saints have seven holes in their heart, I am resolv'd to see whether it be so or not. He commanded him to be immediately cut open, and his

his heart taken out. The emperor acted cruelly, but his ſucceſſor highly extoll'd *Pi Kan*'s zeal, and for his ſake honour'd his family. Had he been a Chriſtian, that might well have fitted him, which *Eccleſ.* xlviii. ſays of *Elias*, *In his days he fear'd not the prince*, and that in his life he did wonderful things.

4. The emperor *Vu Vuang* being ſick, prince *Cheu Kung* made a ſolemn ſacrifice to the ſouls of his forefathers, and to that of the emperor *Vuen Vuang*, whom he inform'd and gave to underſtand, that he offer'd up his own life that the emperor might live. This prince is much applauded among the *Chineſes*, and highly commended by *Confucius*. He found out in theſe parts the uſe of the loadſtone in ſailing, and liv'd about the year 1919 after the flood. It ſeems the uſe of the ſailing compaſs is very ancient there. *It is not ſo among us*; *Monardes* in a dialogue upon iron, *fol.* 133. ſays, That a ſailor born in the city *Melfi* in *Italy* was the inventor of it.

Per. Jul. 4339.

Loadſtone.

Sacrifice to their anceſtors.

5. But obſerve how very ancient a cuſtom it is for the *Chineſes* to ſacrifice to their anceſtors departed, and that in temples, as *Cheu Kung* did. F. *Gouvea* in his hiſtory, and F. *Intorceta* in *Sapientia Sinica*, mention what I have here writ; I will ſet down their words in another place.

Rules to men in power.

6. *Cheu Kung* ſending his ſon *Pe Kin* as a petty king into the kingdom *Lu*, aſk'd him what he deſign'd to do there? He anſwer'd, He chiefly intended three things; 1. To be very careful to obſerve himſelf. 2. To be diligent and vigilant in performing his duty to the ſubjects. 3. To be very reſolute and bold. The father approv'd of what he ſaid, and added, a vigilant care and circumſpection is an eaſe to him that governs, and his diligence ſecures the ſubjects eaſe, and they being ſatisfy'd, think not of rebelling. To keep a watchful eye over himſelf, is, when a ruler is fearful, and does not ſuffer himſelf to be puffed up, apprehending that fortune may change. Therefore he uſes his ſubjects well, and the greater his moderation and care of government is, the more they love him. When wicked men rail, it is beſt to make a virtue of it, correcting what is amiſs, and bearing with their tongues till the people are convinced by experience: this is to have a reſolute and ſtout heart. In ſhort, ſon, govern yourſelf well, and you cannot govern your ſubjects amiſs, all depends on the firſt part.

7. There are four ſorts of perſons, ſays S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 71. *cap.* 3. that ought to be very cautious and careful: a prieſt in penance, a judge in giving ſentence, a phyſician in looking to his patient, and a rich man of his treaſure. The ſaint ſpeaks well. The *Chineſes* are very careful in examining and calling to account thoſe that have been publick miniſters. The method many of their viſitors have taken, is well worth obſerving and imitating. They go to the province they are ſent to, and there travel *incognito* from one city to another, enquiring and prying into the manner of the government. Being well inform'd, on a ſudden they make themſelves known at the metropolis, where they perform the duty of their office uprightly, and without corruption. It is plain, that thoſe who proclaim their buſineſs all the way they go, ſeek and covet what the *Chineſes* are ſo fond of, which is gold and ſilver.

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8. I knew an officer that had no regard to his duty, who was us'd to ſay, I fear no body, whoſoever comes, I'll lay him over the face with two hundred thouſand pieces of eight. But in truth he was deceiv'd, and miſtook his reckoning, for he died in a dungeon, yet after receiving the ſacraments, for he was a Chriſtian.

9. The emperor *Ching Vuang* aſk'd of one of his wiſe men, What virtue it was that oblig'd the ſubjects to love their emperor? He anſwer'd, It was love and confidence in them. The words of *Chryſoſt. hom.* 13. *ad populum*, ſuit well in this place. *Would you be prais'd? Praiſe another. Would you be lov'd? Love. Would you have precedence given you? Give it firſt to another.* The wiſe counſellor ſaid further, That the imperial edicts ſhould be conſider'd and look'd over before they were made publick, with as much care as he would do if he were to go over a frozen river. How cautiouſly and circumſpectly does a man ſet down his feet? How regularly does he tread on ſuch a place? The ſame care your majeſty is to uſe in enacting laws. The emperor lik'd the advice, and ſo do I. The *Tartars* themſelves, tho' they have the *Chineſes* under, do not practiſe the ſaying, *Sic volo ſic jubeo*; on the contrary, whatſoever they order, is firſt conſider'd in ſeveral courts, and ſo they ſtop the mouths of the ſubjects.

Laws.

Reproof to the empe-ror.

10. The emperor *Siven Vuang* grew lewd. The empreſs throwing off her jewels and rich clothes, ſaid, Your majeſty gives yourſelf up to vice, and forgets virtue; forſakes the ſtaidneſs and ſtate which belongs to the crown, and indulges your ſelf in feaſts and paſtimes. Your majeſty muſt underſtand that theſe are the grounds of rebellions and inſurrections. Vice is a venomous ſpring and lake, whence the poiſon of treaſon flows. The emperor gave ear to her, and the hiſtory ſays, he mended upon it, and made an abſolute reformation in his life. She ſpoke more than could be expected from a heathen woman, and

NAVARETTE. deſerves any commendation. Certain it is they can do much upon ſuch occaſions. Queens and great ladies are more favourably heard than other perſons; and what they ſay is better taken, becauſe it is manifeſt it proceeds from love, and not from any private intereſt. The emperor *Theodorick*'s wife acted her part well with him; *You are to conſider, huſband,* ſaid ſhe, *who you were, and who you now are; for taking this often into conſideration. you will not prove ungrateful to your benefactor, and you will both legally govern the empire you have received, and worſhip him that gave it you.* Thus *Bernulaus.*

Ingratitude. 11. In the reign of the emperor *Siang Vuang*, prince *Tung Ul*, by reaſon of ſome troubles, retir'd to a neighbouring kingdom, and continu'd in baniſhment for ſome time. Afterwards returning towards the court, he found himſelf ſo ſpent that he was ready to die with hunger. *Kao Zu Chui*, one of the five ſervants he had, cut off a piece of fleſh from his own arm, and gave it him to eat; by which means he recover'd ſtrength and reach'd the court. When he was ſettled and in proſperity, he rewarded the four ſervants, but not *Kao Zu* whoſe fleſh had ſav'd his life. Strange forgetfulneſs and neglect in a prince! *Diogenes* being aſk'd, *What it was that ſooneſt grew antiquated amongſt men?* Anſwer'd, *A good turn.* See *Corn. à Lapide* in *Num.* xx. ℣. 3. *Kao* with good reaſon reſenting this wrong, paſted up a paper in the palace, containing theſe words. *A ſtately dragon quitted his den, and went into far countries; five ſnakes follow'd him. After ſome time he was at the point of dying for hunger, one of the ſnakes reliev'd him, giving him a part of his body to eat. The dragon recover'd ſtrength, which brought him back to his firſt den. Being there at his eaſe and pleaſure, he gave the four ſnakes places where they might live comfortably, only the ſnake that had fed him with her fleſh was left without a den hiſſing in the wide deſart.* The middle was read, the prince preſently underſtood it, and being much concern'd that he was ſo much to blame, order'd *Kao Zu* to be brought to his preſence, with a deſign to beſtow ſomething conſiderable on him. But *Kao* fearing the prince would be inrag'd at what he had writ, abſconded, and was never heard of. In this part he was unfortunate: he ingeniouſly made the prince ſenſible of his overſight; but becauſe there is no man loves to be told of his faults, eſpecially the great ones, he wiſely fear'd, and ſo ſhun'd the danger that might have threatned him. The dragon is the arms and device of the *Chineſe* emperors, which is the reaſon *Kao Zu* made uſe of that emblem. The counſellor *Vuen Heu* told *Ngoei Su*, that he was a good king. How do you know it, ſaid the *roytelet?* He anſwer'd, When a king is good and virtuous, his ſubjects are loyal and true. The words the counſellor *Lin Cho* ſpoke to your highneſs are honeſt and ſincere, therefore your highneſs is a good king. The petty king was convinc'd by the argument, but not puffed up, or vain. *A good king.*

12. The petty king *Vu Heu* having taken a view of his dominions, found them all well fortify'd, at which he was very well pleas'd. *Cai Te* his counſellor told him, Let not your highneſs rely upon that; for the ſtrength of kingdoms conſiſts in the virtue of thoſe that govern them, and not in the walls or ditches that ſurround them: he prov'd it to him by many examples, whereof there are but too many in *Europe.* *Strength of kingdoms.*

13. *Ageſilaus* being aſk'd, why the city *Sparta* had no walls? anſwer'd, Cities muſt not be ſecur'd with timber and ſtones, but by the valour of the inhabitants. The walls, and ſeven thouſand pieces of cannon that lay on them, did not ſave the city *Peking* from being plunder'd by the robber, and afterwards taken by the *Tartar.* We may apply to the *Chineſes* thoſe words the ſame *Ageſilaus* ſpoke, when they ſhew'd him ſome mighty walls; *'Tis very well, but fit for women, not for men to live within. Ages* ſeeing the high and ſtrong walls of *Corinth* ſaid, *What women live within this incloſure?*

14. King *Hang Ju* took the mother of *Vuang Ling* a great commander, but a rebel to his ſovereign; he ſent meſſengers with her, thinking by her means to draw the ſon to his party; ſhe calling aſide the ſoldiers that conducted her with tears in her eyes ſaid, bid my ſon not to ſwerve a jot from the loyalty he owes his prince; and that he may not be perplext about me, and become a double dealer through the love he bears me, to his own and my diſcredit, I will be my own executioner: then ſhe took a ſword from one of thoſe that ſtood about her, and kill'd herſelf before it was poſſible to prevent her. They all admir'd ſo heroick an action, and the cauſe that mov'd her to do it. *An heroick woman.*

15. The emperor *Kao Zu* was very familiar, he went out once to meet his officers who were diſcourſing together, and lovingly aſk'd them, What is it you talk of? A petty king among them anſwer'd; We were ſaying, that tho' your majeſty was rais'd from an ordinary degree to be emperor, by the valour of your ſoldiers, yet we now find that none but your kindred and friends are preferr'd, which if you continue to do, the crown cannot ſit faſt. What remedy do you preſcribe then, ſaid the emperor? Who is your majeſty's greateſt enemy, ſaid the petty king? *Ung Chi*, re- *Prefer enemies.*

ply'd the emperor. Then, ſir, quoth the others, make him great, and raiſe him to the degree of a petty king; for when once it is known throughout the monarchy, that your majeſty not only lays aſide all animoſity and hatred, but that you honour greateſt enemy, all men will rejoice, and reſt ſatisfy'd they ſhall not be puniſh'd for being diſaffected to the family *Han*, but on the contrary, they will hope that ſince your majeſty preferr'd and honour'd *Ung Chi*, you will not take revenge on them for what is paſt, which will cauſe them all to love and ſubmit to your majeſty. The emperor did as he was advis'd, to the great ſatisfaction of all men, and with good ſucceſs for ſecuring the crown to his family: his progeny held it above five hundred years.

16. The petty king's contrivance and advice was excellent, but it was moſt rare that an emperor ſhould practiſe it upon his greateſt enemy. We might ſay of this infidel as *Rupertus* ſaid of *Joſeph*, *lib.* VIII. *in pentat. cap.* 40. *Modeſty and an humble mind continues in the victor and triumpher together with the height of honour and glory.* Beſides, what *Joſeph* did was to his own brothers, the heathen emperor to his greateſt enemy. To love an enemy is the utmoſt extent of love, ſays S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 61. The heathen ſeems to have endeavour'd to out-do this, ſince he added honours and preferments. He did what is ſaid in the fifteenth chapter of *Proverbs*; *But in ſo doing, thou wilt heap burning coals upon his head.* A mighty method to purchaſe friends. *Alonſo* king of *Aragon* us'd to ſay, *Juſtice makes friends of good men, mercy of the wicked.* Being aſk'd another time, What it was that beſt brought an enemy under? he anſwer'd, *The reputation of meekneſs, and being eaſily appeas'd*; ſee *Corn. à Lapide* in *Gen.* l. ℣. 21.

Succeſſion. 17. This emperor earneſtly deſir'd to leave the crown to a ſon by his ſecond wife, his ſubjects oppos'd it as much as in them was. Four counſellors of ſtate, every one eighty two years of age, went in to ſpeak to the emperor, carrying the ſon of the firſt wife along with them; they all went in a very grave and ſolemn manner. The emperor was ſurpriz'd at it, and aſk'd them their meaning: they began to repeat their ſervices, and ſhew their gray hairs. The emperor underſtood what they aim'd at, and was in a paſſion. They ſaid, your majeſty refuſes to give ear to your miniſters, it is a ſign the empire is near expiring; to lay aſide the prince that is rightful heir for the ſake of a ſon by the ſecond wife, is contrary to the laws of the empire, all that ever did it were ruin'd; we beſeech your majeſty to take our lives in token of our loyalty. The emperor perceiving how reſolute and upright his miniſters were, alter'd his reſolution, and ſpoke no more of that matter. The power of reaſon is great, it overcomes even the moſt paſſionate. NAVARETTE.

18. The counſellor *Siao Vu* preſented a memorial, ſhewing reaſons for eaſing the people of ſome impoſts. The emperor took it ill, and commanded him to be thrown into priſon. A petty king repeating what ſervices *Siao* had done, told the emperor, that what he did was deſign'd for the publick good, and not for any private ends, and therefore he rather deſerv'd a reward for that action. The emperor immediately commanded *Siao* to be brought before him; and being come, ſaid, I acted like a tyrant, who kills thoſe ſubjects that acquaint him with the miſcarriages there are in the government; when I refus'd your prudent advice, you ſhew'd your zeal, loyalty and wiſdom; I will have the fault I committed in impriſoning you be made known to all the world, that my guilt and your innocence may appear. I know not whether this emperor can be parallel'd in this particular. No man loſes his credit or reputation by owning his fault or overſight; they are accidents great and ſmall, nobles and commoners are ſubject to. *Senec. ad Lucil.* ſays, *As I am a man, I think myſelf exempt from nothing that is human.* The words of *Innocent* the third, *in cap. qualiter & quando de accuſationibus*, are very proper to the ſubject, confeſſing of faults and correcting them, they are theſe; *Be not aſham'd to rectify your miſtakes, ye that are appointed to correct the faults of others; for the ſame meaſure ye meaſure to others ſhall be meaſur'd to you by the upright judge.* *Emperor acknowledges his fault.*

19. When *Kuang Vu* had taken poſſeſſion of the empire, he bethought himſelf of a ſchool-fellow of his, whoſe name was *Hien Kuang*, and caus'd diligent ſearch to be made after him in order to give him ſome conſiderable employment: they found him not, but diſcover'd a man clad in lambſkins angling by a river ſide: the emperor fancied it might be he, ſent a coach with much attendance and equipage to bring him to court; and tho' the man did all he could to avoid it, there was no diſobeying the emperor's order. He came to the ſuburbs of the imperial city, expecting till next day to make his entry. The emperor hearing of it, roſe betimes and went to meet him at his lodging. *Hien Kuang* was then aſleep in his bed: the emperor came in ſmiling, and ſaid, Riſe friend, for it is not fit that he who is to receive ſuch favours at my hands ſhould ſleep ſo much. He roſe very leiſurely and calmly, and ſpoke thus, The holy emperor *Jao* could *Contempt of the world.*

NAVARETTE. could not perſuade his philoſopher *Chao Fu* to ſucceed him in the throne; to what purpoſe is it to put a man ſo reſerv'd, that he looks after nothing but virtue, into employments and command?

20. Notwithſtanding his excuſe, he offer'd him the greateſt employments about the court, but he rejected them all, and begg'd leave to return to his village, where he ſpent the reſt of his life angling with his rod. This heathen left us a great example of the contempt of worldly honours, which others ſo hotly purſue. His memory is preſerv'd till this day, for the people of his village erected a tower in honour of him in that place; giving it the name of *Tiao Tai*, that is, the angler's tower. I paſs'd by the place, and ſaw it. The officers who had me in cuſtody told me the ſtory, and afterwards I read it myſelf. There are examples peculiar for all purpoſes in *China*. This we have ſpoken of is ſingular for that nation, where ambition and avarice are more predominant than in others. *Hian Kuang* might ſay with *S. Peter* and his companions, *We have left all things*; but he wanted the beſt and chiefeſt part, which is, *We have follow'd thee*. *Crates* and others were deficient in the ſame, as S. *Jerome* ſays, *lib.* III. in *Mat.* xix. But we may apply to him what the ſame ſaint writ *ad Paulin. præf. de inſtit. monach. That* Socrates *the* Theban, *a mighty rich man, when he went to play the philoſopher at* Athens, *threw away a great maſs of gold, thinking he could not poſſeſs virtue and riches at the ſame time*. That ſuits yet better which paſs'd betwixt *Diogenes* and *Alexander*, *Albertus Mag.* mentions it, *politic. cap.* 1. Alexander *offering* Diogenes *great things if he would return with him to court, whereas he was in a deſart, and obſerv'd the courſe of the ſtars*; *he anſwer'd, he could offer nothing like the delight of philoſophy*. The words of *Elianus* are good; *Alcibiades* ſhew'd his liberality in giving, *Socrates* in not receiving.

21. It is well worth obſerving, that *Kuang Vu* when rais'd to the imperial throne, ſhould remember his friend, this is not uſual with men who are lifted up to high places. *Cajetan* comments upon thoſe words of our Saviour ſpoken to S. *Mary Magdalen*, S. *John* xx. *Go to my brethren*, &c. He ſays thus, *That by his example we may learn to be more loving to our friends when we are prefer'd to ſome higher ſtation*. *Kuang* did ſo. And tho' *honours change manners*, yet it ſeems ſo great a poſt and ſo noble a crown made no alteration in him; he ſtill preſerv'd his former affability and plainneſs. S. *Bern. lib. de conſid.* ſays, *There is no jewel higher than courteouſneſs, to wit, in all the pope's ornaments; for the higher he is above the reſt, the more glorious he looks even above himſelf by humility*. Some men think humility, affability, and ſweet temper are incompatible with high dignities; but it were well they would conſider that without it all honour is fading, and only more or leſs of vanity. When *Otho* the third roſe on a ſudden to be the firſt of the electors, *Villegius*, that he might not give way to vainglory, us'd to ſay to him, *Mind what you are, remember what you were*. It is humility that ſecures, eſtabliſhes, and ſupports high dignities. The ſame *Otho* was wont to ſay, *I am a man, I think myſelf exempt from nothing that is human*. *Gilimor* being a priſoner, laugh'd and ſaid, *I ſee the uncertainty of fortune, in that I who but now was a king, am now a ſlave*. King *Francis* of *France* being *Charles* the fifth's priſoner, us'd to ſay, *'Tis my turn to day, to morrow it will be thine*. This conſideration is a great help towards bearing the viciſſitudes of this world with a manly reſolution.

22. Another notable paſſage happened between *Hien* and the emperor, which was, that being ſo very familiar, the emperor would needs they ſhould lie together as they had done in their youth: when in bed they would call to mind things paſt, which diverted them, tho' *Hien* ever paid all due reſpect to his ſovereign. It fell out that he accidentally ſet his foot upon the emperor's, juſt at the ſame time, ſays the hiſtory, that the aſtrologer who watch'd on the mathematical tower obſerv'd that the ſtar they call *ke*, that is, the gueſt, removed from its place, and ſtood over that they call *ju zo*, which ſignifies imperial throne. *Aſtrology.* Next day the aſtrologer gave an account of it: the emperor reflected on what had happen'd, and ſmiling diſcover'd what had paſs'd between his friend and him; adding, There is nothing to fear, for between us all is friendſhip. I write what is in the hiſtory, whether true or falſe.

CHAP. XX.

Other Chineſe *Examples, and the End of this Book.*

Mutual love betwixt Jao *and his people.*

1. THE hiſtory tells us, that the emperor *Jao*, who is one of the ancienteſt and moſt renowned of the *Chineſes* (I thought it not neceſſary to be regular in ſpeaking of them) when he ſaw any ſubject in want would ſay, he was the cauſe of that misfortune. If any man was cold for want of clothes, he blam'd himſelf.

The

The hiſtory adds, that the people ſupply'd and ſerv'd him in all things without any pay, and did their duty in all reſpects without any puniſhment inflicted, which proceeded from the tender love they all bore him. He behav'd himſelf towards his people as a loving father does towards his children, and the people towards him as dutiful children towards a parent. A good emperor and good ſubjects. O that we might ſee the ſame at this time throughout all *Europe*. We ſee in ſome places the kings are fathers, who love, honour, and raiſe to high poſts ſome ſubjects their children; and theſe ungrateful, baſe and diſloyal men, oppoſe, and draw their ſwords againſt their lawful lords and ſovereign maſters. Alas, if the rebellions and inſurrections of *Europe* were known in *China*, what would thoſe infidels ſay?

2. We may ſay of *Jao*'s ſubjects, what *Pliny* did of *Trajan*'s; *They lov'd him as if they had not fear'd, and they fear'd as if they had not lov'd him.* This love oblig'd the ſubjects to attend the emperor's ſervice; where love is wanting, all is wanting. *Things croſs and difficult ſeem eaſy to him that loves*, ſays S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 7.

3. Certain peaſants ſaluted him, ſaying, Heaven grant your majeſty much riches, many children, and a long life. He anſwer'd very unconcern'd, What is it you wiſh me? to wiſh me much riches is to wiſh me much care; many children is much to fear; a long life is much trouble, and many diſeaſes.

Compaſſion 4. They write of the emperor *Ju*, that he would weep and be very much troubled, when he was to ſign any dead warrant. Thoſe about him would ſay, If he is wicked and deſerves the puniſhment, why is your majeſty concern'd? He anſwer'd, My heart is my ſubjects, theirs is mine; I am their father, they my children; how then can I chuſe but be troubled at their misfortunes, tho' they deſerve them for their offences? A very tender and compaſſionate anſwer. *Ju* ſaid further, To live in this world is being as it were lent out, or left in truſt; when a man dies, he returns to his firſt being. A good expreſſion, had he not err'd as to the principle, beginning, or firſt being to which man returns, which in his opinion was nothing.

Miniſters. 5. *Cheu King* favourite to *Ching Vuang* ſaid to him, Your majeſty will do well to ſtick cloſe to your ſubjects, to ſhun flatterers, follow virtue and juſtice, employ virtuous men in the government, and then you'll be a good emperor. He ſaid all that was requiſite in theſe few words: *Tai Kung* ſaid to *Cheu Kung*, The government will be as it ſhould be, if virtuous men are honour'd, and thoſe that deſerve well rewarded. Another time he ſaid, Though all the people be good, yet if he that is next the prince is bad, your majeſty may conclude all is loſt. An excellent expreſſion! this doctrine is not unlike to that of *Boetius*, cited by S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 3. §. *ſexta petitio, No plague more likely to do harm than a familiar friend.* What elſe is an ill miniſter and wicked favourite, but a ſort of venom and plague that infects the whole kingdom, and the greateſt monarchy? NAVARETTE.

6. The emperor *Kang Vuang* was wont to ſay, To fatigue the people and ſubjects, to ſave the emperor's taking the trouble upon him, is contrary to the practice of the great emperor *Vuen Vuang*. This propoſition is not a little myſtical. Dignities, honours, crowns, ſcepters, *&c.* are a heavy burden; if the ſovereign lays the weight upon his ſubjects, and takes to himſelf the honour, glory, and ſatisfaction of that life, he does not diſcharge the truſt repos'd in him. *It is natural, that he who receives the benefit, bear the burden*, ſays the rule 55. *in ſexto.* They are deceiv'd who imagine they enter upon a place of truſt to give themſelves up to pleaſure and paſtime. Let them read the third chapter of *Exod.* and they will find it.

Friend to right. 7. *Jueng Hiang* puniſh'd a miniſter of ſtate ſeverely; a friend of that miniſter reprov'd the emperor, who anſwer'd, Do you forſake the emperor, and ſide with your friend? He reply'd, If my friend does not obey the emperor, I will quit my friend, and follow the emperor. If the emperor acts contrary to juſtice, reaſon and law, I will follow my friend and oppoſe the emperor. Boldly ſaid. The emperor was more provok'd at the anſwer, and ſaid to him, Unſay what you have ſaid, and you ſhall live, elſe I will immediately order you to be put to death. *Fu*, that was his name, ſaid, A juſt and upright man is not to flinch for fear of death. A counſellor may inform, reprove and direct his emperor. *Tu Pe* (that was the name of him that had ſuffer'd) committed no fault, why then did your majeſty order him to be kill'd? The emperor was ſtruck dumb, ſeeing ſo much reſolution.

Trajan did better when he deliver'd a ſword to his firſt miniſter, ſaying, Make uſe of that for me, as long as I give juſt commands, and againſt me when I order that which is wicked.

8. *Kin Vuang* puniſh'd one for being diſobedient to his parents, and ſaid, It was a principal point in a kingdom that children ſhould be obedient to their parents; and by inflicting that puniſhment, he taught all children to be obſervant of that virtue. The *Chineſe* maſter ſigh'd, and ſaid, It is not reaſonable, that the ſuperior who is void of virtue, ſhould puniſh the inferior for wanting of it. The greateſt juſtice is to teach obedience, by giving a good example, not by puniſhing. When the ſuperior does not inſtruct by his example, the fault committed is his, and not the inferiors. This good method the philoſopher took to tell *Kin Vuang* he ought to be obedient to his parents; he was guilty of diſobedi-

Obedience to parents.

Navarette. ence, and *Confucius* and others had taken notice of it. The *Chineſes* have very notable written examples of childrens duty to their parents; we miſſioners need not preach upon this ſubject, or give them any inſtances of ours. Among the reſt there is one that tells us, that becauſe a ſon was obedient, the wild cattel in the mountains would come and plow the fields where his parents ſet him to work, and the birds of the air would come down to rake them with their bills. They write of another who going to fetch water for his mother from a pond, fell into it through mere wearineſs, and ſlept a long time on the water without ſinking. That nation looks upon theſe, and many more ſtories of this nature, to be as certainly true, as we do thoſe which God wrought for S. *Iſidorus*, S. *Maurus*, &c.

Refuſal of the crown. 9. *King Kiu Zo* appointed his ſon *Xo Zi* his heir. The father dying, he would not admit of the inheritance, but generouſly reſign'd it to his elder brother *Pe Y*. This brother refus'd it, ſaying, They ought to ſtand to what their father had order'd. The younger alledg'd that tho' his father had appointed him heir to the crown, yet it was but reaſonable his elder brother, whoſe birthright it was, ſhould enjoy it. *Pe Y* urg'd, It was unreaſonable to contradict their father's orders. *Zi* anſwer'd, There was as little reaſon to oppoſe the decrees of heaven; and ſince heaven had made *Pe Y* the elder brother, it was juſtice he ſhould ſucceed his father in the throne. He reply'd again, That obedience to parents was a natural duty, and as ſuch ought to be obſerv'd. The younger rejoin'd, That heaven ought to be obey'd in the firſt place as being the ſupreme father. Thus the two good brothers argued, not to poſſeſs, but to yield up the kingdom one to the other; and at laſt to reconcile this difference between them, they both agreed to reſign to another younger brother, there being no other way to reconcile that difference.

10. The heathens of *China* have furniſh'd us with an anſwer to S. *Ambroſe* his queſtion, *lib.* V. *cap.* xv. *Exod. What man can you find, who will voluntarily lay down his command, quit the enſigns of his dignity, and of his own free will of the firſt become the laſt?* Here are two heathens, holy ſaint, who of their own free will perform'd what you thought ſo difficult. Such an action would be much look'd upon among Chriſtians, as it was in S. *Celeſtine* to reſign the papacy. The magnanimity of the invincible *Charles* the fifth, in voluntarily abdicating two of the greateſt monarchies of the world, will be in like manner ever applauded. But the circumſtances we have mention'd make our example ſingular. It was afterwards aſk'd of the *Chineſe* maſter, What ſort of men theſe brothers were before they reſign'd he kingdom to one another, and whether when they had both given up their right to the other brother, they had not repented of what they had done? He anſwer'd, They were good and virtuous men both before and after, and that the virtue of piety mov'd them to do that action. The elder would ſhew himſelf obedient to his father, and the younger to heaven. This was the reaſon they never repented, becauſe the motive they had being good and virtuous, there could never be place for repentance, which can only proceed from ſomething that is a fault.

11. It is alſo written of theſe two brothers, that they earneſtly deſir'd all men ſhould be good and virtuous; and that if they ſaw any wicked vicious man, they hated his crimes, but not his perſon; for they ſaid, that man might mend and be good another day. When a wicked man amended his life, they thought no more of his paſt crimes, nor threw them in his face, but only look'd upon what was preſent.

12. The names *ceremony*, *deacon*, *feria*, *faſti*, and many others, the church took from the Gentiles. See *Micheli Marquez*. Deacon ſignifies miniſter. *Mercury* was ſo call'd, as being the miniſter of the gods; and it is the ſame thing the *Chineſes* call *Zi Fu*; that is, he who attends and adminiſters to him that ſacrifices to the dead. The *martyrology* us'd in the church was taken from the heathen *faſti*, as *Baronius* obſerv'd. It were endleſs to write all that may be ſaid to this point.

13. I will conclude this book with a ſtrange and odd paſſage the *Chineſe* hiſtory makes mention of, which is thus: In the province of *Xan Tung* there was a *mandarin*, ſo upright, juſt and uncorrupted, and ſo loving and kind to the people, that he took care of them as if they had been his own children; for this reaſon he was belov'd, ſerv'd, and obey'd by them with ſingular affection and readineſs. This produced an extraordinary and reciprocal confidence betwixt them, and a mighty reſpect and ſubmiſſion of the people to their head and ruler. It fell out of courſe, that according to the duty of his office he puniſh'd ſome, and impriſon'd others. Thoſe that were impriſon'd could not follow their huſbandry, ſo that they neither ſow'd nor reap'd. The *mandarin* was concern'd at the misfortune of thoſe poor men, and bearing them great affection, he reſolv'd to give them the liberty of going out to ſow, upon condition they ſhould return to goal as ſoon as they had done their work. They went out, plow'd and ſow'd, and all of them to a man return'd to priſon the ſame day. The ſame thing they did at harveſt-time. He continu'd to do the ſame thing every year, as long as he continu'd in his employment, and not a man ever fail'd of returning to priſon. I am of opinion the like has not happen'd in the world. *Fidelity.*

BOOK III.

Containing ſome political and moral Sentences of the Philoſopher *Kung Fu Zu*, or *Confucius*.

S. *Antonius*, 4. *p. tit.* 11. *cap.* 4. ſufficiently proves, that the morals of the ancient philoſophers and *Chineſes* were very imperfect and defective, and that the authors thereof were not ſound and true. All the five paragraphs he writes in the place above-cited, are very well worth reading, for the multiplicity of learning he inſerts, and for the light he gives the reader and miſſioners to prevent their being led away by outward appearances, and the eloquence of the heathen books. In this place the ſaint explains the three ſorts of philoſophy, whereof mention ſhall be made in another place. And in *Sect.* 5. he ſays with S. *Auguſtin*, with whom cardinal *John Dominick* agrees, that the prophets were before the philoſophers, from the firſt of whom the latter took what they writ, that has any relation to our religion. And he explains how we ought to underſtand the words of *Triſmegiſtus*, *Monas genuit monadem*, &c. And thoſe of *Virgil*, *jam nova progenies cælo dimittitur alto*. And below that again he ſays, *ſo many things are to be found in* Plato's *books ſpoken concerning the word of* GOD, *but not in that ſenſe the true faith acknowledges.* All this is very material to what ſhall be written in the ſixth book. The fifth chapter following, in which he treats of the origin of idolatry, and the multiplicity of gods the *Gentiles* worſhipp'd, is proper for the ſame purpoſe, and not a little uſeful to miſſioners, when they read heathen books, in which there is uſually danger, as the ſaint ſays he found himſelf. *Origin* ſpeaks to this point, *Sect.* 4. *cap.* 4. above-cited, where he quotes the proverb, *A great philoſopher is ſeldom a good catholick.* This ſubject has been handled in the nineteenth chapter of the ſecond book. NAVARETTE.

It is to be obſerv'd concerning the philoſopher *Confucius*, that tho' he was not the founder or inventer of the learned ſect; yet becauſe he explain'd, made it more intelligible by his doctrine, and explicated it, they gave him the title of their *head and lawgiver*. So writes F. *Anthony de ſancta Maria*, a Franciſcan miſſioner, in a manuſcript of his. In the ſame manner, as the angelical doctor S. *Thomas* has gain'd renown above all divines, and obtain'd the name of *prince*, and *angel of the ſchools*, for having explain'd, digeſted, and divided divinity into parts, matters, queſtions, and articles; for the ſame reaſons the learned *Chineſes* have given their philoſopher *Confucius* the title of their *prince and maſter*. Confucius.

CHAP. I.

Of the Birth and Life of this Philoſopher.

Confucius. 1. K*Ung Fu Zu*, whom in our parts we vulgarly call *Confucius*, is the greateſt oracle in *China*, and more celebrated and applauded there, than S. *Paul* is in the church. In order to give ſome account of him, I will here ſet down the principal paſſages of a book there is in that nation, intituled, *A deſcription of the wonders and miracles of* Confucius. The book is full of cuts, with the expoſition and account of every one of them. F. *Trigautius*, *lib.* I. *cap.* 5. aſſigns the birth of this man to be five hundred fifty one years before the incarnation of the Son of GOD. Others of his ſociety, whoſe opinion I follow, affirm, that he was ſix hundred forty five years before the coming of our Redeemer. So that this preſent year 1675 is 2320 years ſince his time. And tho' ſuch diſtant antiquity buries the greateſt things in oblivion, yet this philoſopher lives at this time as freſh in memory of the *Chineſes*, as if he had been born but yeſterday. Per. Jul. 4067. 1675.

2. The firſt cut in the book is a large, beautiful, and ſtately tree, whoſe branches ſtretch out largely on all ſides, hanging thick with ſtars inſtead of leaves: under the ſhade, and at the foot of this tree, ſtands the philoſopher *Confucius*; his hands are on his breaſt, and on his head a ſwelling or bunch ſomewhat large, the inſcription runs thus; elogies of the moſt holy

NAVARRETTE. maſter our predeceſſor, whoſe virtues were ſufficient to bring to light the ancient doctrines concerning heaven and earth, well purg'd, explain'd and purify'd. A doctrine that honours and crowns the ancients and moderns, who gave laws to future ages.

3. The ſecond cut repreſents an ancient countrywoman, under another ſtarry tree of the ſame ſhape and form as the laſt was deſcrib'd. Her employment is to offer perfumes in a fire on an altar. There is alſo the figure of a maid-ſervant, and two little boys attending her. The inſcription is thus; A deſcription of the prayer on the mountain, call'd *Ni*. It is explain'd in this manner: The holy mother whoſe name was *Jen Xi*, offer'd her vows, and pray'd on the mount *Ni Kin*. When ſhe went up to the mount, the leaves of the trees lifted and curl'd themſelves up; when ſhe went down, they bow'd to the ground. The firſt they did in token of joy and ſatisfaction, the latter ſignify'd ſubmiſſion and reſpect. She conceiv'd, and went with child eleven months. (S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 28. *art.* 4. about the end, ſays, he ſaw a woman, who was deliver'd of a great boy the eleventh month of her going with child. *Ariſtotle* ſays he ſaw one who was brought to bed the fourteenth month. Thus it appears, *Confucius* might well be eleven months in his mother's womb.) *Confucius* was born of her; on his head he brought into the world with him a bunch, or ſwelling, in the ſhape of that mountain, and this is the reaſon why he had the name of that mountain, which is *Ni Kin*, given him for his ſirname. They very often call him ſo in the *Chineſe* books.

4. The third cut repreſents an unicorn, caſting a book out of his mouth in the preſence of a woman. The inſcription explicates it thus: A little before the philoſopher *Confucius* was born there appeared to his mother a wonderful and extraordinary unicorn, which caſt before her a ſmall book, as it were of alabaſter, in which were theſe characters; *Son of purity and rare perfection, who coming of a mean race, will come to be a wonderful man and moſt religious prince.* His holy mother *Jen Xi* (the *Chineſes* write holy mother, with theſe two characters, *Xing Mu*; ſo they call this woman we ſpeak of, a great idol, that was an emperor's concubine, and the empreſs dowager. The ancient miſſioners took thoſe two letters to expreſs the bleſſed virgin *Mary*, which their ſucceſſors and all Chriſtians had follow'd) was ſurpriz'd at the viſion; the unicorn let fall from his horn a piece of ſtuff of moſt beautiful colours, and dropping it upon her hands, vaniſh'd.

5. The fourth cut contains two wonderful ſerpents, and four venerable old men. The inſcription is *Confucius* was born after night fall, and at the time of his birth two prodigious ſnakes were ſeen in his mother's chamber; five venerable old men deſcended from above, who were five bright ſhining ſtars.

6. The fifth cut is of heavenly muſicians. The inſcription contains: In the room where *Confucius* was born, ſweet harmony was heard, and heavenly ſinging in the air, the voices expreſſing, That heaven it ſelf congratulated and rejoiced at the birth of a holy ſon, and therefore celebrated his nativity with muſick come from above. It adds, that after the child was born, ſtrange things were ſeen in the room; and on his breaſt were five characters ſignifying, This child ſhall give peace to the earth, by the good laws he ſhall preſcribe and eſtabliſh on it.

7. The ſixth cut is of his infancy, and expreſſes, that he being but ſix years of age, carry'd himſelf among other children with ſuch modeſty and gravity, as if he had been ſixty; and that whilſt they were employ'd in ſports ſuitable to their age, he with a religious countenance was buſy in making little altars. As to this man's ſtature and ſhape, they ſay, he was tall and brawny, of a grave countenance, and very humble of heart, and in his words and actions: His eyes ſharp, and ſo bright, that they look'd like two ſtars; and he ſo diſcreet in his actions, that he ſeem'd to know all things. Being ſixty years of age, after he had govern'd ſome provinces very prudently and uprightly, forſaking all employments, becauſe he found the government was wicked, poor, and contemptible, he travel'd throughout the empire, preaching virtue and natural juſtice to all men. In ſome places they affronted, in others they beat him, all which he bore with meekneſs, and an even temper: And they ſay of him further, that he was merrieſt when moſt deſpiſed; and when they turn'd him out of any town, he would place himſelf under a tree with a ſmiling countenance, and play on a little guitar he carry'd about with him.

8. One of the laſt cuts tells us, that when he was ſeventy one years of age, having by that time made out and explain'd the *Chineſe* doctrine, he retir'd home to his houſe, where he liv'd in the exerciſe of prayer, faſting, and alms-giving. As he was kneeling once, with his face lifted up to heaven towards the north, he ſaw a rainbow deſcend from above, which put a writing into his hands, carv'd on a ſubſtance, which look'd like the pureſt gold, and very tranſparent, but does not declare what was written. He receiv'd it, and dy'd at the age of ſeventy three. He is

bury'd in a ſtately ſepulchre in the ſame town where he was born. When we were carry'd priſoners to court, we paſs'd within four leagues of it: F. *Francis de Sancta Maria*, a Franciſcan had been there before and ſeen it. Among other trees, he ſaid, he ſaw one without any bark or branches, wall'd in with brick and lime half way; there is a tradition that *Confucius* when he was a youth us'd to ſtudy in the ſhade of that tree.

Per. Jul. 3695. 9. The hiſtories of *China* tell us, that the emperor *Cin Xi Hoang* (he reign'd three hundred years after the death of this philoſopher) who was a mortal enemy to the ſect of the learned, caus'd many ſcholars to be burnt alive; and the ſame he did by all the books of *Confucius*, and other maſters, which treated of moral virtues. He alſo attempted to deſtroy the ſepulchre we have ſpoken of, caus'd the one half of it to be ruin'd, and they ſay there was a ſtone found with theſe words on it: The emperor endeavours to deſtroy my ſepulchre, and annihilate my aſhes, but he ſhall not compaſs it, for he ſhall very ſoon end his life. So they affirm it fell out. This emperor was to the ſect of the learned, as *Diocleſian* was to the church. The lineage of *Confucius*, by one only ſon he left, has been propagated and continued to this very day in the direct male line, without any failure in ſo many ages: And tho' there have been wars, rebellions and tumults, which utterly overthrew vaſt numbers of cities towns, and other places, yet *Confucius* his town, his houſe and family have ever continued. He that liv'd in the year 1668. was the three hundred and third grandſon. They ever enjoy'd the privilege of nobility and revenues, they have been ever honour'd and reſpected by all men, they are lords of their country. When we came away baniſh'd from court, we were told that the *Tartar* had either taken away, or retrench'd the revenue of him that was then living. He is no great lover of learning, or learned men. I know not whether there be many families in the world ancienter than this.

10. The *Chineſes* make the ſame account of this philoſopher's doctrine, as we do of the goſpel. Some attribute to him a knowledge infus'd, but he himſelf confeſſes he had none but what is acquir'd. I have heard learned Chriſtians ſay, that no beaſt, bird, or inſect, ever came within the incloſure of this tomb, which takes up a large ſpace of ground, nor was there ever found any excrement, or other filthy thing within that place. I diſcours'd concerning this ſubject with ſome miſſioners, who do not agree to it, nor did F. *Antony* take notice of this particularity; but by this it appears that the ſcholars, tho' they become Chriſtians, have ſtill their maſter in their very bones, which is not at all to be doubted. However all agree that no man came near this man for elegancy, ſharpneſs, and brevity of ſtile. NAVARETTE.

11. Some miſſioners there are who make a prophet of this man, and this is printed in Latin; but others more ancient of the ſame ſociety, laugh at and condemn this notion. Even as in our parts there are *Thomiſts*, *Scotiſts*, &c. ſo in *China* among the miſſioners in one and the ſame order there are *Confucians*, and *Anticonfucians*. The elogies, encomiums, and praiſes, with which the *Chineſes* extol and magnify their maſter, are beyond expreſſion. The ſame Chriſt ſaid of the *Baptiſt*, *Among the children of women there has not been a greater than* John, *&c.* the *Chineſes* ſay of their philoſopher which is as much as can be ſaid. I ſhall treat at large of the worſhip and veneration they pay him in the ſecond tome, where it ſhall alſo be prov'd that he was an abſolute atheiſt.

12. Here I will only obſerve two things. The firſt, that in order to prove his atheiſm, an unanſwerable argument is made of the doctrine of S. *Thomas*, *Lect.* 6. in *cap.* x. *Joan.* upon the words, *believe my works.* The ſaint forms this argument; *For there can be no ſuch convincing proof of the nature of any thing, as that which is taken from its actions, therefore it may be plainly known and believ'd of Chriſt that he is* GOD, *foraſmuch as he performs the works of* GOD. Then I argue thus; *Therefore it evidently appears that* Confucius *was an atheiſt, foraſmuch as he taught the works of atheiſts:* Since as even thoſe of the contrary opinion allow, he knew nothing of an immortal ſoul, or a reward or puniſhment in another life, and much leſs of GOD according to the opinion of his own diſciples. The ſecond is, That *Confucius* us'd the ſame expreſſion which *Lactantius* relates, *Lib.* III. *de falſ. relig. cap.* 20. Socrates *made uſe of this famous proverb*; *What is above us is nothing to us. But this is not to be taken notice of in religion.* F. *Longobardus* the jeſuit moſt learnedly makes his obſervations on this particular, and more ſhall be ſaid to it in the ſixth book. Confucius *an atheiſt.*

13. Who would imagine but that the *Chineſes* ſeeing ſo many wonders as concurr'd in the conception, birth, and life of their moſt loving maſter, and all thoſe circumſtances we have mention'd, would not lift up their thoughts or heart to conſider there was ſome great Deity that caus'd and directed them? They are ſo far from it, that they perſiſt in aſſerting that all things came to paſs naturally and accidentally, and nothing can perſuade them to the contrary.

Navarette. It is hard to ſay in *China*, that all we have mention'd above is mere fiction, for then they anſwer, It is likely all we write is ſo too. In theſe our parts it is very rational to think all thoſe ſtories falſe and mere invention.

Rodriguez 14. I cannot agree to what F. *John Rodriguez* ſays in his art of the *Japoneſes* language, *lib.* III. *p.* 234. *viz.* that *Confucius* was deſcended from ſome of the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, which *Shalmaneſer* carry'd into captivity, and placed among the *Medes* and *Syrians*. F. *James Fabre*, contrary to the opinion of others of his ſociety, denies to this day that ever any *Jews* reach'd *China*. I gave an account before in a foregoing book, how *China* was ancienter than the captivity of the ten tribes.

15. It cannot be denied but *Confucius* had his failings and ſins, which the *Chineſes* are ſenſible of. Read F. *Morales*, *fol.* 215. Morales. where it is plainly own'd both by his people, and very learned men.

16. What has been writ above, is only a repetition of what the *Chineſes* have printed; and ſince they believe it as they do, I know not why they ſhould not look upon their maſter *Confucius* as a ſaint, and the greateſt of ſaints: it were a madneſs rather, when they confeſs the firſt part, to deny the ſecond. It cannot be denied but that he writ very good things, as will appear by the account ſhall be given of him.

CHAP. II.

Some Sayings of Confucius.

1. A Great deal of what this maſter writ is already tranſlated into *Latin* by F. *Proſper Intorceta*; but ſeveral of his ſociety like not the firſt volume. F. *Antony Gouvea*, ſuperior of their miſſion, told me, that their fathers reſiding in the northern provinces, would not give it their approbation; and tho' I did, ſaid he, it was with reluctancy and againſt my will, for I am of another opinion contrary to what is there written. Theſe are the very words of that grave and antient father.

2. As I was talking in *Canton* concerning ſome opinions printed in that book, which are oppoſite to the ancient and modern miſſioners of that ſociety, F. *Fabre*, ſuperior of that miſſion, ſaid to the author; father *Intorceta*, I did not read that book when I gave leave to print it; but had I known it contain'd what has been ſaid here, I would not on any account have ſuffer'd it to be publiſh'd.

3. This is the reaſon why they would give the *Franciſcans* and us the ſecond volume to read, which F. *Intorceta*, and three others of his ſtanding had tranſlated, tho' they had ſaid before, we ſhould all give our opinions of it; but I had ſufficient intimation, that their own body did not at all approve of it, and F. *Gouvea* and F. *Emanuel George* utterly condemn'd it. As to the firſt volume, the tranſlator is not ſo much to be blam'd, for he did it the firſt year he entred upon the miſſion; it was too much precipitancy, to take upon him ſo ſoon to tranſlate a language ſo difficult and ſtrange to *Europeans*. True it is, another had done the moſt conſiderable part before.

4. In the firſt book, whoſe title is, *great ſcience or wiſdom*. *Confucius* ſays, the wiſdom of great men conſiſts in cultivating the inward faculties, in making as it were a new people by their example and exhortations, and in following the rule of reaſon in all things.

M. This is as much as to ſay, that the ſpeculative part is not ſufficient to render man perfect, but it is requiſite the practice go along with it, and that virtue be made known by actions: it alſo imports, as may be gather'd by the meaning and connexion, that he who has the charge of ſouls committed to him, muſt firſt take care of his own, and then of thoſe of others.

5. *M.* In all buſineſs and affairs there is the firſt and principal part, and another which is ſecondary, and leſs conſiderable: as in a tree, the root and ſtock are look'd upon as the prime part, the branches and leaves as of leſs moment. To be virtuous, and endeavour to advance, and attain to perfection in virtue, is the prime and principal part of man; to labour that others may be good, is the ſecondary and leſs conſiderable part.

6. *M.* The emperor, and all his ſubjects, even to the meaneſt commoner, are bound, ſays *Confucius*, to adorn themſelves with virtues, and to live holily and virtuouſly.

7. *M.* If the prime and principal part, ſays he, be amiſs, how can that which is but ſecondary, *viz.* the government of the ſubjects, be right? if he takes no care of his own perſon, which is the firſt thing he ought to look to, and bends his thoughts upon that which is of an inferior quality, *viz.* the government of others, it will be abſolute inverting all good order.

8. He goes on. *M.* The Emperor *Tang* had theſe words carv'd on the veſſel in which he bath'd himſelf: *Let thy perpetual*

and continual ſtudy be to renew thy ſelf inwardly; each day thou art to renew thy ſelf, and ever to endeavour this renewing by the practice of virtue.

The comment expounds, that the ſaid words include the time paſt and to come, and that it implies he muſt repent of crimes committed, and have a full purpoſe and reſolution not to fall into them again. That this emperor continually did ſo, and that he might not omit it whilſt he was bathing, he had the words abovemention'd carv'd upon the bathing veſſel, which put him in mind of this commendable exerciſe. This heathen was moſt ſingularly virtuous; had he attained any knowledge of GOD, he might vie with the beſt in *Europe*. *Confucius* and others write of one of his diſciples, that he never committed the ſame ſin twice. A bold ſaying of a heathen: he ſo heartily deteſted it, that he utterly forgot it, and only was careful to avoid it for the future.

9. The book entitled, *Kang Kao*, ſays, (*Confucius* proceeds) Take great care to renew the people, and break your reſt that they may live well and uprightly. This is what follows after a man has renew'd himſelf.

10. The comment expounding this renewing, ſays, it conſiſts in wiping off the ſtains of ſin, and returning to the ſame ſtate as before committing it; as when a cloth is waſh'd, the ſpots are taken out, and it becomes white and clean as it was at firſt.

11. The emperor *Vuen Vuang*, ſays he, attain'd to the higheſt pitch of perfection. As emperor, he reach'd the top of piety; as a magiſtrate, the ſupreme degree of obſervance; as a ſon, the furtheſt extent of obedience to his parents; as a father, the greateſt love and affection to his children, and the utmoſt point of fidelity and ſincerity towards his neighbour.

12. He propoſes this emperor as a mirror and pattern of virtue: the whole empire gives him great praiſe and commendation; and certainly, according to their hiſtories, he was ſingular, and liv'd up ſtrictly to the rules of right reaſon. It cannot be denied, but by that nation he is look'd upon as a very holy man.

13. *I* can hear and decide law-ſuits (ſays *Confucius*) as well as any other; but what moſt concerns us is, to order it ſo that there may be no ſuits. If it was as practicable as it is convenient, the courts would be ſhut up, and pens would take up ſome other employment.

14. *Zeng Zu*, *Confucius* his diſciple, ſays to this purpoſe: wicked men cannot determine, or put an end to their law-ſuits, therefore it is convenient to ſubdue the hearts of the people, as well by puniſhment, as good turns and inſtructions, exhorting them to mutual love and concord, which they that govern are oblig'd to do. NAVARETTE.

15. *Zeng Zu* will have theſe two methods obſerv'd towards the ſubjects, that they may live lovingly together, and have no ſuits nor controverſies. That of puniſhing the *Chineſes* ſufficiently make uſe of towards their people, this is the cauſe they ſtand in ſuch awe of the *mandarines*, and that they have no quarrels or fallings out, not that they want courage, or inclination; this ſufficiently proves the aſſertion. The *Tartar* takes the beſt courſe, he pardons no man that is faulty. See *A Lapide* in *Exod.* iv.

The ſame author proceeds:

16. Wicked men when they are at liberty act wickedly, and there is no crime they will not attempt; when they ſee virtuous men they conceal their evil inclination, and feign themſelves ſaints: but men know them, as if they ſaw into them. What then does their diſſembling avail them? Therefore it is ſaid, that ſuch as a man is inwardly, ſuch he will appear outwardly; and this is the reaſon why a virtuous man takes ſuch care of his interior part.

17. *Zeng* ſays further on: If the interior part be diſturb'd by any paſſion, when a man looks he does not ſee, when he hears he does not underſtand, when he eats he does not reliſh his meat: therefore the proverb ſays, men blinded with affection, are not ſenſible of the vices of their children; and blinded by avarice, they know not the greatneſs of their riches. It cannot be denied but that paſſion blinds men: therefore it was *Publius Æmilius* ſaid, *It is hardly allow'd the powers above to love and be wiſe.* It takes away the uſe of reaſon, and even diſtracts: there are examples enough of it in all parts.

18. He goes on. As a mother embraces and lovingly hugs a new-born ſon in her arms, and eagerly ſatisfies her deſires, made known only by looks and tears; even ſo is a king to behave himſelf towards his ſubjects, relieving their wants tho' they make them not known by words.

19. Many have written that the king is to be the father of his kingdom, but it is certainly much more, that he muſt behave himſelf towards it like a mother, and be a loving and compaſſionate mother to his ſubjects. If the king, ſays he, is covetous, it is certain the whole kingdom will be diſturb'd, which will be becauſe all men will follow the example of the head. *Bias* called avarice the metropolis of vice. He that would be acquainted with its deformity, may read *Corn. à Lapide* in 6. 1. *prim. ad Tim.* ℣. 9, 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Containing other Sayings and Sentences of Confucius.

NAVARETTE.

1. THE emperors *Jas* and *Xun* governed with piety and affection, ſays he, and the ſubjects imitated them in thoſe virtues. The emperors *Kie* and *Cheu* govern'd tyrannically, and the ſubjects imitated their wickedneſs; for inferiors are not ſo ſtrict in following the laws, as the example given them: therefore if the emperor have virtue in him, he may require it of the reſt; but if there be none in him, how can he blame his inferiors for being without it?

2. If the emperor (ſays the book of verſes) does the duty of a father in his palace towards his children, of a ſon towards his parents, and of a brother towards his brothers, he will give example to all the empire, and all the ſubjects will imitate him.

3. Do not that to your inferiors which you diſlike in your ſuperiors; and what you blame in your inferiors, do it not to your ſuperiors: what you abhor in your predeceſſors, leave not as an example to your ſucceſſors; and what you deteſt in them that are gone, ſet it not as a precedent to them that are to come: what you judge ill in thoſe that are on your right-hand, offer not to thoſe on your left, nor *è contra*. And to ſay it in a word, do not that to another which you would not have done to yourſelf. This is call'd a good rule of government.

4. He is in the right in all he ſays: what is good is to be imitated in any man; what is evil is to be hated in all men. Obſerve whether ſuch a one, or ſuch a one did well in ſuch or ſuch an action; if he did well, let him be brought as an inſtance to be imitated; if ill, let him be an example to ſhun the like. The verſes ſay, a kind and affable king is a father and mother to his ſubjects.

Phineas, *S.* Peter, *S.* Paul, *and others had holy anger.*

5. This is a good propoſition, but it is to be obſerv'd, to be angry upon a juſt occaſion is no breach of meekneſs. Some men would have ſuperiors mere ſtocks. S. *Thomas* on *Rev.* ii. *Many evils ſpring from too much meekneſs and forbearance.* S. *Gregory*, *Let there be love, but not to fondneſs; let there be piety, but not more than is requiſite; let him that is ſparing of both be commended for one of them, ſo that ſeverity may not be too rigid, nor meekneſs vicious.* *Seneca* quoted by *Hugo* in *Gen.* i. *Be kind to all men, remiſs to none, familiar with a few, juſt to all.*

6. He goes on. If the emperor has the love of his ſubjects, he is an emperor, and has an empire; if he loſes this love, he loſes his crown: ſo that his firſt duty is to be watchful to acquire virtue; when he has that, he will poſſeſs the affection of his inferiors; when theſe are for him, he will enjoy lands; when he enjoys lands, he will be rich; and being rich, will have all that is neceſſary for his private uſe, and to ſecure his crown. Virtue is the prime foundation, riches are but the ſuperſtructure. If the emperor makes riches his chief aim, he will move the people to rebellion, and make way for theft and rapine. Therefore to heap riches unjuſtly, is to deſtroy and ruin the ſubjects. On the contrary, to diſtribute riches with diſcretion, is gaining of the people. It is certain ill-gotten wealth never comes to any thing.

7. *The aforeſaid book goes on thus.* An author ſays, that only empire is not laſting or permanent, becauſe it fails when there is no virtue in the head of it. Hence it follows that a virtuous emperor perpetuates his crown, and a wicked one loſes it. This doctrine is very agreeable to holy writ, *Eccluſ.* viii. ℣. 10. ſays, *The kingdom ſhall be transferr'd from nation to nation, becauſe of injuſtice, wrongs, ſlanders and deceits.* The Scripture is full of inſtances of this truth.

8. *Kuei Fan*, a petty king, was wont to ſay, I prize or value nothing in this world but my duty to my parents, and love and meekneſs towards my ſubjects. *Mo Kung*, who was king of *Cin*, was wont to ſay, (all this is doctrine taken out of the book *Ta Hio*) If I had an upright and ſincere counſellor, open hearted and peaceable, free from the deſtructive vice of flattery, who would love men of worth and parts, and would heartily reſpect men of learning and wiſdom, I ſhould think I had enough to defend my kingdom, and perpetuate my crown. O what mighty advantages my kingdom and ſubjects would reap by ſuch a man! On the other ſide; if my favourite, or prime miniſter is envious, and does not beſtow preferments on wiſe and virtuous men, nor make uſe of them, he may ruin all. O what mighty miſchief ſuch a man would cauſe in my kingdom! I would remove him as far as poſſibly I could from me, and not ſuffer him to live within my dominions. Therefore it is *Confucius* ſays, that only a wiſe and pious king knows how to love men, and how to hate them: to love the good, and hate the wicked.

9. He wrongs a good and virtuous man, who ſees and does not prefer him, and when he has done it, is not ſorry that he did it no ſooner. He ſins and does ill, who ſee-

ing a wicked man in high place, does not pull him down, and when down remove him at a diſtance.

10. It is not agreeable to human reaſon to love that which all men hate, or to hate that which all men love. It is always ſuppos'd that what all men do is good and real, tho' it is no infallible rule. In the firſt chapter ℣. 5. of *Tobias*, *When they all went to the golden calves, this man alone ſhun'd their company.* All men paid religious worſhip to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s ſtatue, but the three youths would not conſent to follow the example. *There is an infinite number of fools.* For the moſt part the feweſt in number are in the right, therefore it is the apoſtle adviſes us, not to ſuit our ſelves to the world, and particularly to the unruly multitude.

11. He goes on. If a man plac'd in a high poſt endeavours to be an example of virtue to his inferiors, he will ſecure his dignity; but if he proudly deſpiſe others, he will loſe it. A ſtrange example of what I now write was ſeen in my time at *Manila*.

12. The miniſter that is compaſſionate, and a lover of his people, makes himſelf reſpected, and is beloved of all men for the riches he diſpenſes among them: but the wicked ill man who oppreſſes his people, lives and dies hated by them all. It is ever found experimentally true, that when the king is compaſſionate, and a lover of his people, they make a ſuitable return of love, and are faithful to him, being truly loyal to their king; the buſineſs of the crown is done to content, and takes its due courſe. The people that love their king, in time of peace preſerve his treaſure, and in time of war defend it, as if it were their own.

13. *Sardanapalus* left forty millions of gold, *Tiberius* ſixty ſeven, *David* one hundred and twenty: and the author of the holy court, *tom.* IV. *p.* 79. ſpeaking of him, ſays, he offer'd to the building of the temple two thouſand one hundred and twenty three millions, a ſum to all appearance incredible. *Solomon* gather'd very much, and very much is implied by the words in *Eccleſiaſtes* ii. ℣. 8. *I gather'd me alſo ſilver and gold*, &c. The *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* took the ſame care. So do the *Tartars* and *Chineſes*. The preſent emperor's father, two years before he died, ſent an alms of thirty thouſand ducats to ſome places, where the harveſt had prov'd bad. His grand-mother was more liberal, for ſhe ſent one hundred and fifty thouſand. It is not beſtowing charity, or relieving of ſubjects, that runs kings into debt; for the ſubjects once oblig'd, upon occaſion will give their hearts blood to ſupport their ſovereign. This is it the *Chineſe* maſter means, when he ſays, That in peace the ſubjects keep the royal treaſure, and in war defend it as their own. S. *Thomas*, *lib.* I. *cap.* 10. *opuſc. ut ſupra*, ſays the ſame: *When the government of kings is pleaſing to the people, all the ſubjects are as guards to ſupport it, and he needs not be at any charge with them; but ſometimes in caſes of neceſſity they give kings more of their own accord, than tyrants could have forced from them.* This verifies that of *Solomon*, Prov. xi. *There are (viz.* kings, ſays S. *Thomas) that ſcatter their own* (doing good to their ſubjects) *and yet grow richer. And there are* (to wit, tyrants) *who take what is not theirs, and are always in poverty.* An excellent expreſſion. NAVARETTE.

14. A great *mandarin* of the kingdom of *Lu* us'd to ſay, Thoſe who maintain coach and war-horſes, do not deal in poultry and ſwine; and if they do ſo, they hinder the people of their profit, to whom that trade belongs.

15. There were ſome great men, who through covetouſneſs would ſtoop to mean and ſcandalous trades. This doctrine is very fit for governours, magiſtrates, commanders, officers and others, who monopolize in their provinces and circuits, wine, oil, vinegar, *Indian* wheat, and all other mean commodities; and by ſo doing, beſides the breach of the king's orders, they taint and vilify their blood, which they ſo much glory in, and boaſt of; taking upon them, without any ſcruple, all the miſchiefs they bring upon the poor people. It happened at *Mexico*, not long before I came to that city, that ſome gentlemen and merchants meeting on account of a brotherhood, a gentleman ſtept out, and very proudly ſaid, It was not proper that the gentlemen ſhould walk indifferently among the merchants in the proceſſion, but that each rank ſhould go by itſelf diſtinct from the reſt. A merchant ſtood up and ſaid: I like what Mr. *N.* has propos'd, for it is not proper that the merchants who deal in velvet, rich ſilks, cloth of gold, *&c.* ſhould mix with the gentlemen, who trade in *Indian* wheat, roots, long pepper, and ſuch like things. This was all true, and they were fain to take it for their pains. All the world grows more deprav'd every day. The learned men of *China* look'd upon merchandizing as a ſhame and diſhonour; yet of late years even the great *mandarines* are fallen into it. They are in ſome meaſure excuſable, becauſe having no other eſtates or revenues but the emperor's allowance, which is ſmall, and their expences great, they muſt of neceſſity find ſome other ſupport, which is by trading, not in oil, vinegar, and ſuch like things, but in ſilks

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ſilks and precious wares. But why ſhould they who have but too much pay, income, and eſtate of their own, foul their hands with thoſe things that do not belong to their profeſſion? The merchants in *France* told me, trade was much exalted in that kingdom, for even the king himſelf was concern'd in it. I do not ſpeak of churchmen in this place, for there are an hundred impediments that render them incapable of this buſineſs. Beſides the bull of *Urban* the eighth, there are three others of *Alexander* the ſeventh, *Clement* the ninth, and *Clement* the tenth.

16. Sovereigns, ſays the *Chineſe*, do not harbour in their houſes, or protect wicked tax-gatherers; if any one does, let him underſtand it is better to harbour and entertain a thief, than ſuch a one. A thief wrongs a few, but a wicked receiver wrongs all. A certain perſon ſaid, kings did not advance their kingdoms by their perſonal intereſt or profit, but by their goodneſs and love to their people, and the loyalty of their ſubjects. If a king employs himſelf in gathering riches, this doubtleſs proceeds from the iniquity of his miniſters. If it happen that ſuch as theſe govern the kingdom of heaven, and of men, great troubles and calamities will enſue. And granting there be ſome good miniſters, yet how can they hinder the ill government of the bad?

17. The deſign of *Confucius*, and the ſcope of all his doctrine, tends to make a good ruler; and his principle is, that he who knows how to govern himſelf, will govern his family well; he that can govern his family, will know how to govern a kingdom; he that governs a kingdom well, will know how to maintain and keep an empire in peace. On the other hand, he that cannot govern himſelf is good for nothing. So ſays S. *Greg. lib.* IV. *moral. cap.* 20. *For it is hard that he who knows not how to order his own life, ſhould judge of another man's.* And *Cato, That he is a bad prince, who knows not how to govern himſelf.* And St. *Paul*, 1 Tim. iii. *He that knows not how to rule his houſe*, &c. Read S. *Thomas* and *Cajetan* to this purpoſe. It appears by this and other books, that his aim is to have men live well, love virtue, and hate vice. *Pythagoras* his deſign was the ſame, and he according to chronology was contemporary with *Confucius*. For *Pythagoras* according to S. *Thomas*, *lib.* IV. *de reg. princ.* liv'd two ages before *Ariſtotle*. And *Confucius*, according to the fathers of the ſociety, liv'd a hundred and ſixty years before *Ariſtotle*; ſo that the difference is but ſmall. S. *Thomas*, *lib.* IV. *cap.* 21. ſays of *Pythagoras* out of *Juſtin*, that, *He daily prais'd virtue and run down vice, and reckoned up the diſaſters of cities that had been ruin'd by this plague; and he perſuaded the multitude into ſo earneſt a deſire of frugal learning, that it ſeem'd incredible that any of them had been given to luxury. At one time he taught ſome of them* (the youth) *Continency, then others modeſty, and application to learning.* Then after much more to the purpoſe, he concludes: *By which it appears, that in his polity all his deſigns and endeavours tended to draw men to live virtuouſly; which* Ariſtotle *alſo teaches in his politicks. Nay and all true policy is deſtroy'd if once we ſwerve from this end. Confucius* practis'd and aim'd at the ſame thing.

CHAP. IV.

Other Sentences of the ſame Author, ſet down in his Book call'd Lun Ju.

1. IN this book, which is divided into treatiſes, there are ſome ſayings of *Confucius*, and of his ſcholars, all tending to the ſame end we ſpoke of above. I will here inſert thoſe I think moſt to the purpoſe. The maſters I will diſtinguiſh by the letter *M*, and thoſe of his diſciples by the letter *D*, which will prevent any miſtake in the reader.

2. *M.* It is incredible that a man ſhould be obedient to his parents within doors, and not be ſo abroad to his ſuperiors and magiſtrates. It is ſo too, that he who oppoſes his ſuperiors, ſhall not be a lover of broils and tumults.

3. *D.* I examine my heart every day, ſays *Meug Zu*, to three points. Firſt, whether in tranſacting any buſineſs for the advantage of my neighbour, I did it with all poſſible care, and a ſincere mind. Secondly, whether when I converſe with my friends and companions, I behave my ſelf with fidelity and truth. Thirdly, whether I benefit or not by what my maſter teaches me.

4. Moſt excellent doctrine! there have been other ancients who were careful of examining their conſciences. *Seneca* writes of *Xiſtus* the ſtoick, that at night he retir'd to his cloſet, and acting the ſevere judge over himſelf, took a ſtrict account of all he had done that day. Anſwer for thy ſelf man, ſaid he, what vices haſt thou corrected in thy ſelf this day? what is it thou haſt mended thy life in? how haſt thou fought againſt ſin? how haſt thou employ'd thy time? Certain it is, ſays *Seneca*, that the conſideration of the account man is to call himſelf to, regulates and moderates his

actions. What did *Seneca?* he tells us, At ſun-ſetting I retire to diſcourſe with my ſelf concerning my own affairs: *I ſearch over the whole day by my ſelf, and weigh over my ſayings; I hide nothing from my ſelf, I paſs over nothing:* I let nothing eſcape me, I forgive my ſelf nothing. *Cicero* ſays of himſelf, that he every night call'd to mind three things: *What I thought in the day, what I ſaid, what I did.* He examin'd his thoughts, words and deeds. *Virgil* in *Epigram.* owns he did the ſame.

5. *M.* It is requiſite for the good governing of a kingdom, that the king underhand and by the by look into all buſineſs. It is his duty to be faithful and juſt in diſtributing rewards and puniſhments. He is to be modeſt and ſtay'd in his words. That he may abound in riches, let him love his ſubjects, as a father loves his children; and if he muſt employ his people, let it be at a time that may not obſtruct their tilling.

6. Faithful in keeping his word with his ſubjects, this is contrary to the doctrine cardinal *Richlieu* would have eſtabliſhed in *France*; I was told it by grave fathers of the ſociety, and *Frenchmen* of great reputation, ſo that he would not have the king oblig'd to keep his word with his ſubjects and inferiors.

7. *M.* If a man loves wiſe and learned perſons, as precious things are lov'd; if he uſes his utmoſt edeavours to ſerve his parents, and ventures his life in the ſervice of his prince, and is juſt and faithful in his dealings and converſation with his friends; tho' all the world ſhould ſay of him that he has not ſtudy'd, I will always defend and maintain that he has been converſant enough in the ſchools.

8. *M.* If a man want ſtayedneſs and gravity, he will have no authority over others. And tho' outward modeſty and gravity be very requiſite in a publick perſon, yet the main ſtreſs lies upon that which is within him, that is, upon his ſincerity and the fairneſs of his carriage.

9. *M.* Have you ſin'd? mend then, be not daunted at the difficulties that appear in forſaking vice, it behoves you manfully to oppoſe them all.

10. *M.* If ſuperiors and governors exactly obſerve the funeral ceremonies at the interment of their dead, and appear careful in ſacrificing to them, the virtue of piety will advance and increaſe in the ſubjects and meaner ſort.

11. *M.* Affability is much look'd upon in converſing and dealing among men. The firſt emperors were poſſeſs'd of this virtue, and it help'd them to compaſs all their affairs whether great or ſmall.

12. *D.* If the engagement made be agreeable to reaſon, it ought to be fulfill'd; if the ſervice done to another is conformable to the law, and the honour given him is due, it ought all to be perform'd, and no other motives ought to obſtruct it. NAVARETTE.

13. *D.* The man that endeavours to follow the dictates of reaſon, does not ſeek ſatiety in meat, eats to preſerve life, and ſo makes uſe of food as it were of a medicine. He ſeeks not his own eaſe and conveniency in this life, he is diligent in buſineſs, ſincere in words, he does not rely on his own judgment, but rather humbly deſires learned men to govern and direct him. He that acts after this manner, may ſafely be call'd a lover of virtue.

14. *M.* Be not concern'd for that you are not known by men, be troubled becauſe thou haſt not known men. The curious reader may ſee *S. Auguſt. Conf.* 8. *cap.* 19.

15. *M.* The king that governs his kingdom virtuouſly and juſtly, is like the north-ſtar, which being fix'd it ſelf, is the rule the reſt go by.

16. *M.* If the king governs only by the laws, and only inflicts puniſhments and penalties, it will follow that the people will be obedient to him for fear; but this government is not laſting of it ſelf. If he governs virtuouſly and lovingly, it will follow the ſubjects will be obedient to him through affection, and will be aſham'd to do amiſs.

17. *M.* If you deſire to know a man, examine three things in him. Firſt, what it is he does. Secondly, to what end he does it. Thirdly, what it is he fixes his heart and mind upon.

18. *M.* The king that is void of virtue, and yet conceited, will eaſily incline to vice, and by that means will endanger loſing his crown. If a king of great wiſdom and abilities, thinks himſelf ignorant; if being virtuous and deſerving, yields to others, thinking better of them; and if being ſtrong and powerful, he judges himſelf weak and low; then will he ſecure his crown, and preſerve his parts and good qualities.

19. *M.* The perfect man loves all men, he is not govern'd by private affection or intereſt, but only regards the publick good, and right reaſon. The wicked man on the contrary loves if you give, and likes if you commend him.

20. There are too many in the world who act and are govern'd by paſſion, and private affection. We were confin'd in the metropolis of *Canton*, four years the Chriſtians had been deſtitute of prieſts, thoſe of the metropolis of *Fo Kien* ſent for one of thoſe fathers that abſconded, he heard their confeſſions, preach'd to, encourag'd them,

reduced

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CHAP. V.

Other Documents of the ſame nature.

1. *M.* He that ſtudies, and does not meditate, ruminate and reflect, muſt needs forget and remain as ignorant as at firſt. He that meditates and conſiders, if he does not ſtudy, and labour that his ſtudy may be agreeable to good and wholeſome doctrine, will always continue full of doubts, and be ſubject to many errors.

2. *M.* He that governs himſelf, and guides others by ill doctrines, forſaking thoſe of holy men, is the cauſe of much miſchief.

3. It is the doctrine of his ancient emperors he calls the doctrine of holy men, or ſaints; this name they beſtow on them, and look upon them as ſuch. All others but theſe are look'd upon by their learned men as heretical. More ſhall be ſaid to this purpoſe in another place.

4. *M.* It is true knowledge for a man to affirm he knows what he knows, and flatly to declare he is ignorant of that he knows not.

5. This anſwer the maſter gave a conceited diſciple of his own, who aſk'd him concerning this point, and it is much the ſame as the *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, in the goſpel, without uſing any double meanings or equivocations. Which is agreeable to what S. *Auguſtin* teaches *tom.* III. in *Inchir. cap.* 57. ſee more there.

6. *M.* If when you hear ſeveral things you doubt of ſome of them, do not make known your doubt, but keep it in your heart, that by ſtudy you may dive into the truth. In other reſpects talk cautiouſly and conſiderately, and by that means few faults will be found in your words. If you obſerve, in what you ſee in the world, that ſomething is not ſuitable to your inclination, do it not, and be diligent and careful in all your actions, and in ſo doing you will have but little to repent of; and if your words do not offend others, and you have nothing to repent of in your actions, high places and preferments will drop into your hands, and there will be no need of your ſeeking after, or making court for them. He deduces a conſequence ſuitable to the principles of his policy.

7. *M.* A petty king aſk'd him, What he muſt do to keep his ſubjects under? He anſwer'd, Put good and virtuous men into imployments, and turn out the wicked.

8. *M.* A governor aſk'd him, What means ſhall I uſe, that the people may honour, reſpect, and not defraud me, or contemn my orders, and that they may love one another, and addict themſelves to virtue? He anſwer'd, If you manage your people's concerns with gravity and modeſty, they will honour and reſpect you; if you are obedient to your parent, and bountiful and compaſſionate to all men, your people will be faithful and obedient to you; if you reward good men, and give a good example in your behaviour, you will bring your people to live in peace.

9. *M.* If you offer ſacrifice to a ſpirit to whom ſacrifice is not due from you, it is acting the flatterer.

The literal ſenſe of this doctrine ſhall be handled in another place. Here we muſt obſerve the words of the commentator *Chang Ko Lao*, which are, that *Confucius* his deſign is to teach us, that no man ought to meddle in that which does not belong to him, nor muſt he dive into that which is above his condition and capacity.

10. *M.* If you perceive or underſtand that a thing is good, juſt, and holy, and that in reaſon it ought to be done, and yet you will not do it, either for fear, or any other human motive, you are not brave, nor a man of courage.

11. *M.* In that great ſacrifice which only the emperors offer every five years in the temples of their predeceſſors departed; I own, that tho' I like the firſt ceremonies, for which reaſon I am preſent at them with ſatisfaction; yet from the time they begin the ceremony of pouring the wine on the ground, with all that follows till the end, I have not the face to look on them, tho' I be preſent, becauſe it is all done with little reverence.

12. This ſeems to have been a pontifical ſacrifice, for the emperors play'd the prieſts; wine was offer'd nine times, and it was pour'd on the ground as often. The deſign

ſign of this ceremony was, to invite the ſouls of the dead to be preſent at the ſacrifice. They practiſe the ſame to this day, which ſome miſſioners call *policy*. Of this in its proper place. Here we only obſerve the reverence *Confucius* himſelf had, and required in others that aſſiſted at thoſe ſacrifices. This is good for us that ſay and hear maſs.

13. *D.* The diſciples report that *Confucius* ſacrificed to his friends departed, with as much gravity, ſtayedneſs and reverence, as if they had been there really preſent.

All theſe ſacrifices only reſpected the airy ſouls which the living imagin'd met in the temples. Notwithſtanding this was ſo groſs an error, yet that man was ſo modeſt and full of reſpect in that place.

14. *M.* When I do not behave my ſelf with reverence and devotion at ſacrificing, *it is the ſame thing as if I did not ſacrifice.*

15. What was ſaid before, anſwers the deſign of this ſentence, and hits them, who when they hear maſs are prating and obſerving all that comes into the church, with leſs reſpect than when they are talking to a man of any worth. Theſe are very criminal overſights. We find that new converts outdo the old Chriſtians in this and many other particulars. The *Indians* in the *Philippine* iſlands, and the converts in *China*, hear two, three, or four maſſes, if there are ſo many, with all imaginable reſpect and modeſty, and both knees on the ground. *Solomon* put both his knees to the ground, 3 *Kings*, cap. x. ℣. 54.

16. *D.* Whenſoever *Confucius* enter'd into the great temple dedicated to prince *Cheu Kung*, where he was to offer ſacrifice by the duty of his place, he enquir'd into, and inform'd himſelf particularly concerning all the ceremonies, that he might not err in the ſacrifice, which he ſaid was moſt agreeable to reaſon.

17. I have ſeveral times obſerv'd, that ſome churchmen make it a piece of policy not to regard ceremonies. They are exact in learning the *Chineſe* compliments, which are many and troubleſome, and yet they look upon it as a matter of leſs moment to acquaint themſelves with thoſe that belong to their profeſſion. *Oleaſter, in num.* handles this ſubject.

18. *M.* If ſuperiors are affable to thoſe under their charge; if they are too ſtately in their behaviour, and if they do not ſhew ſorrow and concern at their death, how will it appear that they are wiſe and virtuous?

19. *M.* The prudent and perfect man has regard only to reaſon and juſtice; if a thing is juſt, he infallibly puts it in execution; if unreaſonable, he forbears to do it. He is not fond of his own opinion and conceit. NAVARETTE.

20. *M.* A virtuous man thinks on nothing but what is good; he that is vicious and wicked, is wholly taken up with earthly things. A good man, in his bodily affairs, has regard to the laws, which he does not break for his own private advantage. A wicked man only regards his intereſt, without taking notice of the laws. He that only regards his own profit, and acts for his advantage, muſt of neceſſity find enemies.

21. *M.* A virtuous man is not troubled becauſe he wants an employment, or preferment, he is concern'd that he has not the parts requiſite for an employment. He is not ſorry that he is not known by men, but becauſe he is not ſo qualify'd as to be known by all.

22. *M.* A good man, when he ſees any virtuous perſon, immediately endeavours to imitate him; if he ſees a wicked one, he examines himſelf whether he is guilty of that failing, and labours to correct it.

23. *M.* Children ought to reprove their parents faults with affection: if they take not the reproof, let them repeat it with reſpect and reverence; if they find they take it ill, let them bear it patiently, without being offended at them.

24. Brotherly reproof, either among equals, or to ſuperiors, or inferiors, is much applauded in *China*. *Confucius* makes it a duty towards parents, in which caſe there is no doubt much prudence and caution muſt be us'd, becauſe it being a ſpiritual alms, muſt be ſo beſtow'd that it may profit, and not do harm. If a father be ſomewhat haughty, all is loſt.

25. *M.* Ill men cannot hold out long in poverty, for through impatience they fall into thefts and robberies. Nor is their joy and ſatisfaction laſting, for their crimes are diſcover'd, and they receive due puniſhment. But good men patiently and quietly perſevere in virtue, in which they place their confidence, and not on riches.

26. *M.* If a man ſeriouſly and ſolidly embraces virtue, it is certain he will not ſin.

27. *M.* A perfect man does not only patiently bear with poverty, and a mean condition, but he never ſwerves from virtue. In adverſity he always values himſelf upon being near to that which is good, and not ſeparated from it.

28. *M.* That learned man who aims at perfection, and is aſham'd to wear mean clothes, and feed on coarſe diet, does not deſerve I ſhould diſcourſe with him concerning perfection and virtue.

29. S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 19. *c.* 8. fully proves the duty of wearing mean apparel,

NAVARRETTE. especially in thoſe who preach up humility, mortification and penance; which ought to be done by all that get into the pulpit, after the example of CHRIST our Lord, S. *John Baptiſt*, *Elias*, &c. All the difficulty is, whether this doctrine binds the miſſioners in *China*, or not. Some, and chiefly the modern divines, affirm the negative; they poſitively maintain that country requires we ſhould clothe our ſelves like gentlemen, and behave our ſelves like marquiſſes, according to the opinion of F. *Augeri*. Yet others, and they ancienter, of the ſame family, hold the contrary opinion; and even among the younger there are ſome, as the fathers *Lubeli* and *Torrente*, who abhor the firſt opinion; they ſeveral times told me ſo. Certain it is, the two laſt preachers in the world ſhall be cloth'd, as S. *John* ſays, *Rev.* xi. *I will give to my two witneſſes*, &c. *clothed in ſackcloth*. The comment ſays, *preaching penance, and teaching it by their example*. And another; *and according to their example muſt ye preach*. And what is yet more, it is certain they will not change their apparel tho' they go into *China*. Read *Humbertus*, c. 1. p. 3. *erudit. relig.*

30. *M.* The ancients were very brief in words; they were aſham'd their words ſhould go beyond their actions. All their care was how to act, not how to ſpeak. A virtuous man muſt be ſlow in words, but diligent in actions.

CHAP. VI.

Other Sentences and Sayings of the third Treatiſe of the Book Lun Ju.

1. M. *Nang Jung* my diſciple is ſuch a man, that when the kingdom is in peace, he preſerves his poſt; and when the kingdom is in an uproar, he is ſo diſcreet and of ſuch ſweet behaviour, that he always comes off free and in peace with all men.

2. It was no ſmall diſcretion to know how to ſave himſelf in time of war or peace. *Confucius* lik'd this man ſo well, that he gave him his daughter to wife. He fulfill'd that of *Eccl.* vii. ℣. 27. *Give her to a wiſe man.*

3. *M.* A certain governor of the kingdom *Lu*, was ſo circumſpect in his duty, and did all things ſo conſiderately, that before he would put any matter in execution, he would weigh it within himſelf three times, or oftner. *Confucius* told him, it was enough to pauſe upon buſineſs once or twice, and that would make it more eaſy.

4. *M.* He tells of another governor, who in time of peace govern'd very diſcreetly; and when any uproars were, feign'd himſelf a fool and mad; yet in private he gave the king good advice, to reduce the people, and bring them under.

5. *M.* They aſk'd him, what it was he wiſh'd and deſir'd? He anſwer'd, That all ancient men enjoy peace and quietneſs; and want neither food nor raiment; that there be no breach of truſt, but fair dealing among friends; that youth be well taught and inſtructed; and whatſoever men wiſh themſelves, I wiſh they may obtain. This is what I covet, wiſh and deſire.

6. *M.* It is a great misfortune, that I have not yet known any man who truly is ſenſible of his faults, and heartily repents of them.

7. *M.* Thoſe ought to look upon themſelves as weak men, who tho' they make uſe of all their ſtrength, cannot go through with what they have begun.

8. *M.* A virtuous and perfect man does not ſtudy to gain renown and grow rich; a baſe and ungenerous perſon does.

9. Few virtuous men will be found at preſent in *China*, or the reſt of the world. Sciences are now become arts to get bread, and grow famous by. And GOD grant preachers do not caſt an eye this way, which will be intolerable.

10. *M.* Who can go in or out of the houſe, but at the door? why then don't men endeavour to do their buſineſs by the way of the door, which is reaſon and juſtice?

11. The *Tartars*, *Chineſes*, and *Moguls*, are very circumſpect in not carrying women to the war, not to avoid the ſin, but becauſe they are ſenſible how oppoſite ſenſuality is to the end of war. I was told at *Suratte*, that the *Subagi Mogul* was extraordinary careful that no woman ſhould be in his army; and if he happened to find one, he immediately turn'd her out, firſt cutting off her hair and ears.

12. *M.* If the ſincerity and plainneſs of the heart exceeds the outward ornament, a man will appear ignorant and ſavage. If the exterior ornament and polite converſation exceeds the candor of the mind, a man will be like an orator, whoſe whole care is on his words, and not on the ſubſtance of the matter. But if the outſide and ſincerity of the mind be equal, then will a man be perfect.

13. I believe the outward ornament is not taken care of ſo much in any part of the world as in *China*. Whatſoever they do or ſay, is ſo contriv'd, that it may have a good appearance, pleaſe all, and offend none.

none. Doubtleſs that nation outdoes all others in modeſty, gravity, good words, courteſy, civility, behaviour and good converſation; would to GOD their inſide were as good.

14. *M.* All men naturally are upright, and are born adorn'd with a light, which teaches them to follow good, and eſchew evil; but if ſinning, they darken this light and live, it is a great happineſs to eſcape death. NAVARETTE.

15. *M.* Thoſe who only know the value of virtue, are not to be compar'd with thoſe that love it; nor thoſe who only love it, with thoſe that practiſe it.

CHAP. VII.

Of Confucius *his Doctrine contain'd in the fifth Treatiſe of the Book* Lun Ju.

1. *M.* I am a publiſher, not the inventer of the doctrine I preach and teach the world. I love and honour the doctrine of the ancients, in which I reſemble, tho' unworthily, the venerable *Pung*, upon being whoſe diſciple I value my ſelf.

2. The author *Pung* liv'd almoſt a thouſand years before *Confucius*, who valu'd himſelf very much upon being reckoned diſciple to him, and others of the ancients. *Confucius* obſerv'd what *Eccleſ.* teaches, *cap.* viii. ℣. 9, 11, & 12. and therefore ſaid, his doctrine was not his own. He hated novelty, and only look'd upon what was ancient as true and ſolid.

3. *M.* It is the part of a maſter to read ſilently, and meditate over and over on what he has read, and never to be weary of ſtudying and teaching all men, without exception of perſons. This being ſo as it is, how can I preſume to ſay, I am qualify'd for the degree of a maſter?

4. *Confucius* confeſſes himſelf unworthy of being a maſter; in this he expreſſes ſome humility, his diſciples do not follow his example. There is an infinite number of maſters and doctors in *China*; it is true, their examinations are ſevere, and that they are moſt mighty careful and circumſpect in this particular: were it ſo in all the univerſities in the world, there is no doubt there would be a leſs number of graduates. In order to give their degree to fifty or ſixty maſters, there uſually meet ſix or ſeven thouſand bachelors, choſen out of many more. Degrees are the reward of thoſe that ſtudy.

5. *M.* That I have not employ'd my ſelf in acquiring virtue; that I have not employ'd my ſelf in aſking, and in diſcourſing upon what I have ſtudy'd; that I have not obſerv'd the good things I have heard; that I have not amended my faults, is the cauſe of my ſorrow and trouble.

6. *M.* He ſays, his diſciple *Jen Jung* is ſuch a man, that if kings put him into any employment, he accepts of it without the leaſt reluctancy, and does his beſt in it to the utmoſt. If they ſlight and turn him out of his place, he goes home without any concern, and lives there quietly and peaceably. I and my diſciple have this good quality.

7. *D.* The diſciples ſay, *Confucius* their maſter was very circumſpect about three particulars. 1. Of the faſts he kept to ſacrifice to his dead anceſtors. 2. In war, when he ſerv'd there, or his advice was aſk'd about military affairs. 3. In ſickneſs; when well, he took great care of his health; but when ſick, his care was extraordinary.

8. *D.* They alſo tell us of *Confucius*, that he was ſo eager at ſtudy, that he forgot his meat; and when he was ſatisfy'd about ſome difficult point, he was ſo overjoy'd, that he forgot all his troubles. He was ſo beſides himſelf, with the exerciſes of learning and virtue, that he did not reflect, or conſider on his great age.

9. It is no difficult matter to make out this truth, ſo that it is no wonder *Confucius* ſhould be ſo much beſides himſelf on account of his ſtudy. Of my ſelf I muſt own, that when in *China* I apply'd my ſelf to learn the *mandarin* language, I did it with ſo much application, that I ſometimes went to bed with my ſpectacles on my noſe, and the beſt of it was, that the next day I could not find them till after dinner, tho' I ſought about for them very carefully: At another time I was a quarter of an hour looking for my ſpectacles, and had them all the while on my noſe; I was a little impatient, my companion came to me, and I complaining that I could not find them, he very pleaſantly took them off my noſe and gave them me.

10. *D.* They alſo ſay he was a mighty lover of muſick, at the hearing whereof he would be in a rapture and beſides himſelf.

11. The muſical inſtruments in *China* are neither ſo various, nor ſo good as ours: They have no organs, nor any knowledge of them; they who have ſeen them at *Macao* admire them very much; in my time a little one was carry'd to the emperor: F. *Matthew Riccius* preſented another in his time. *Spondanus* ſays, the firſt that ever was in *Europe*, was preſented to the emperor *Pepin* in the year 766.

NAVARRETTE. 12. *M.* I am not wiſe, ſays he, from my birth, but becauſe I ever lov'd and honour'd the doctrine of the ancients, and becauſe from my infancy I apply'd my ſelf to the ſtudy of it, that is the reaſon I attain'd it.

13. This point has been touch'd upon above: By this it appears that *Confucius* his being born learned is falſe, tho' all the learned men affirm it; obſerve the reaſon he gives of his attaining to learning.

14. *M.* Some ſaid virtue was very difficult, and requir'd much labour to attain it. *Confucius* anſwer'd, It is near and eaſy enough for thoſe that have a mind to it.

15. *M.* Once when they rail'd at him he ſaid, I am happy and fortunate; for if I happen to commit a fault, there is preſently ſome body to proclaim my crime, ſo they help me to amend it.

16. *M.* A perfect man is not diſturb'd or perplex'd at the changes of this world; a ſinner and wicked perſon is ever reſtleſs.

17. *M. Tai Pe*, ſays *Confucius*, may be call'd a man of extraordinary virtue; there was nothing wanting that might make him ſo, nor could he receive any addition; he generouſly reſign'd the crown, and that ſo privately, that his people knew nothing of his deſign, to give him the praiſes due to ſuch an action.

18. King *Tai Vuang*, who lived ſeven hundred years before *Confucius*, had three ſons; *Tai Pe* was the eldeſt, *Cung Jung* the ſecond, and *Ki Lie* the third. The father attempted to uſurp the empire; his eldeſt ſon oppos'd him, becauſe he would not be diſloyal to the emperor (a right noble ſon.) For this reaſon, and for that *Tai Vuang* had a great affection for his youngeſt ſon, the firſt and ſecond met and agreed to leave the world, and privately retire into ſome remote region. They did ſo, and went away to the country call'd *King Man*, where they liv'd the reſt of their days poorly and meanly. The *Chineſe* maſter highly commends the elder for this action, and the ſecond brother who bore him company deſerves no leſs praiſe. The two youths were well convinc'd of the inſtability of worldly affairs. What wars and tumults would this have caus'd in another place? GOD forbid ſuch a thing ſhould happen in *Europe*.

19. *M.* If a man ſerves and does not do it as he ought, he brings himſelf into trouble, and is uneaſy to him he ſerves. If a ſtout man wants diſcretion, he will cauſe tumults and diſcord: If a juſt and upright man is not prudent, he will prove harſh and ſevere.

20. The *Chineſe* maſter treats of the obedience due to parents, which tho' it be the moſt remarkable thing in *China*, yet ſome are faulty in this reſpect, eſpecially when parents in their life-time divide their ſubſtance among their children, and leave themſelves to their mercy. S. *Thomas opuſc. 7. Præcept.* 4. §. 2. condemns this manner of proceeding, and urges againſt it the words of *Eccluſ.* c. vi. *Give not thy ſon, thy wife, thy brother, and thy friend power over thee in thy life-time; and give them not thy poſſeſſion in thy life-time, leſt thou repent thee.* Many *Chineſes* at this time repent them of what they did for their ſons, being experimentally made ſenſible of their ingratitude, and the ill return they make to thoſe that gave them their being. This is ſeldom ſeen in our parts; in the *Speculum Exemp.* there is one much to the purpoſe, *John Baſilius Sanctorus* brings it.

21. *D.* He that is qualified to be tutor to a young king, and his parts fit to be intruſted with the government of a kingdom, and behaves himſelf faithfully and loyally in both reſpects, without being diſcourag'd or diſmay'd tho' there happen to be tumults and rebellions; he, I ſay, may juſtly be term'd a generous and perfect man.

22. Some examples of this ſort have been written already. S. *Thomas opuſc.* 61. *c.* 1. §. *de prudentia*, ſays, four things muſt concur to make a man ſtedfaſt in any thing; *a baſhful fear, fear of puniſhment, hope of praiſe, and hope of profit:* And there are four things that make a man perfect; *to worſhip* GOD, *to love his neighbour, to do as he would be done by, and not to do that to another which he would not have done to himſelf.* The perfection the *Chineſe* ſpeaks of wants the firſt of theſe qualifications, which is the chiefeſt.

23. *D.* Thoſe who have the power of government ought to be magnanimous and patient.

24. He is much in the right. I will here ſet down thoſe four particulars S. *Thomas* mentions *opuſc.* 61. *c.* 2. as requiſite for a king to govern well; *To govern his ſubjects with fatherly rule, to purchaſe friends by merit, to ſhew himſelf placable or affable to any that ſue to him, to execute juſtice on delinquents with mercy.* He aſſigns four other circumſtances for the government of prelates, *aſſiduity in duties of their office, decency in their actions, exactneſs in their government, meekneſs in reproof.* The ſaint goes on diſcourſing curiouſly on what is requiſite to every employment.

25. *M.* It is not eaſy to find any in this world that will labour and ſtudy eagerly many years, and not regard any thing that is temporal,

CHAP. VIII.

Other Sayings of Confucius *and his Diſciples.*

1. MO how great was the virtue of the emperors *Xun* and *Ju!* they rul'd this world, and thought not themſelves great; they only priz'd virtue, and only valu'd themſelves upon loving their ſubjects!

2. The emperor *Jao* excluded his ſon *Tan* from the ſucceſſion, and left the crown to *Xun*; this man was a peaſant on the mountains call'd *Lie Xan*; he fled from honours and preferments, and they purſu'd him. He wept much, becauſe with all his endeavours he could not gain the love of his parents, of a ſiſter-in-law, and a younger brother: His ſiſter-in-law, attempted to kill him, and tho' he knew of it, he never complain'd of her. Being made emperor, he quite forgot that and other wrongs he had receiv'd. An excellent temper, good nature, and rare inclination! but it was a mighty pity he ſhould want the knowledge of GOD.

3. *Confucius* proſecutes his praiſes, and ſays, he was a father and mother to his ſubjects, reign'd ſixty years, and dy'd aged a hundred and ten, after he had taken a progreſs throughout the whole empire. He was the eighth emperor.

4. Their hiſtories tell us great matters concerning *Ju:* The greateſt action he did was to drain the land: all the plains were overflow'd, either with the waters of the univerſal deluge, or ſome other particular inundation that happen'd in that country, as well as in other places. About the year 2258 there was one in *Achaia* call'd *Ogygeum*; about 2550 was that of *Deucalion*, which drowned *Theſſaly*; ſuch another might happen in *China:* However it happen'd the good emperor *Ju* made drains and trenches to carry off that water into the ſea, which render'd the country habitable. Concerning this emperor *Confucius* ſays,

The firſt was about the year 88. *of* Jacob. ALapide *in* Gen. xlvii. ver. 27. *The ſecond in the ſixty ſeventh year of* Moſes.

5. *M.* I find nothing that deſerves blame in the emperor *Ju*, he was ſparing in diet, very religious in his ſacrifices to the heavenly and earthly ſpirits, his apparel mean, but rich when he offer'd ſacrifices, his palace moderate; but he was very careful in digging ponds and trenches to hold water that might be uſeful in time of drought, and to carry it away when there were floods. He was a true deſpiſer of himſelf, and a ſincere lover of his people.

6. The emperor *Xun* paſſing by his ſon *Xang* unregarded, left the empire to *Ju*; *Ke* hearing what employment was deſign'd him, fled and hid himſelf, but being diſcover'd and found out by the king, was placed on the throne (this is like what happen'd to S. *Gregory* the great.) Among his other good qualities one has been mention'd in another place, which was, his care and eaſe in hearing all men. That all men who had any buſineſs to communicate to him might have an opportunity, he caus'd a vaſt drum to be made and placed in the porch of the palace, ordering thoſe that had occaſion to beat it, and as ſoon as any did he immediately came out to hear him. One day it was beaten ten times whilſt he was at dinner, and he roſe from table as often to hear what they had to ſay; a ſtrange action, and great diſreſpect of thoſe men of buſineſs! Another day when he was in the bath, they beat the drum three times, and he as often put on his clothes and went out to anſwer thoſe that beat it. This is not to be parallel'd in the world. He forbid the uſe of wine under ſevere penalties, and baniſh'd the inventer of it. His reign was fortunate and happy. The hiſtories tell us it rain'd gold three days together in his reign; I ſuppoſe the *Chineſes* thus expreſs the plenty and riches of that age.

NAVARETTE.

Read Oleaſt. *in* Exod. xviii. *concerning* Moſes, *to the ſame purpoſe.*

7. Tho' ſo many ages are paſt, the cuſtom of having a drum in the palace is ſtill kept up, but it is not to be beaten ſo eaſily as we have ſpoken of: He that preſumes to beat it is to receive forty laſhes, that no man may dare come near it unleſs his buſineſs be of great conſequence. And becauſe ſome die of the forty laſhes or *Baſtinadoes*, he that intends to beat it often carries his coffin with him. The *Chineſe* who rais'd the perſecution againſt us beat it, but they forgave him the laſhes for the great ſervice he did. Many of that nation value themſelves ſo much upon being accounted true and loyal ſubjects, that notwithſtanding the penalty they expoſe themſelves, that they may give notice of ſomething that is conſiderable, and if they die in the undertaking they are very well pleas'd, becauſe they carry that honour along with them to hell. What was ſaid above, that thoſe who are rais'd from mean place to authority grow proud, is diſprov'd by theſe two emperors. There is no general rule without ſome exception.

8. *Ju* had another quality, which was his religious zeal, tho' unlawful, towards ſpirits (theſe belong to the learned Sect) *Val. Max.* quoted by S. *Thomas*, *lib.* I. *c.* 14. ſays, *Our city ever thought all things ought to give precedence to religion, even in thoſe things*

Navarette. *things wherein it would exert the greateſt ſhew of majeſty.*

9. *D.* They ſay the maſter had remov'd four things from himſelf. 1. His own will, for he was not govern'd by affection, or private inclination. 2. The love of his own profit, therefore he was always indifferent to all things that might happen to him. 3. Being fond of and poſitive in his own opinion. 4. Self-love.

10. Theſe are good qualities for religious men. Thoſe who are poſitive in their opinions have cold brains, ſays the trial of wits, a quality the *Sicilians* are much addicted to, as I have been told, and found by experience. That *Confucius* did love himſelf, I make no great doubt; elſe why ſo much care of his health, in curing his diſeaſes, in not eating any thing ill dreſs'd or tainted, and not drinking wine ſold in taverns, becauſe it is commonly naught? The philoſopher *Ethic* 4. ſays, *A virtuous man loves his life ſo much the more, by how much the better he knows it to be.* This love is ſo natural, that S. *Auguſtin* ſaid of S. *Peter*, *old age took not from* Peter *the love of life.*

11. *D.* There was one who would commend *Confucius* his doctrine, and ſighing, ſaid, My maſter's doctrine daily appears to me more admirable and myſterious; I uſe all endeavours to dive into it, and it daily ſeems to me more profound; I think to take a full view of it, and it is ſo ſpiritual that it immediately vaniſhes. He is ſingular in all reſpects, in teaching he is methodical, in perſuading to virtue he ſweetly prevails; his method makes me exerciſe all virtues, and his brevity makes me practiſe all I have learn'd that is good. I am ſo taken with his doctrine, that tho' I would I cannot lay aſide my books; and tho' I have employ'd all my wit to attain it, I cannot find out how to comprehend it.

12. The diſciple commends his maſter too much, tho' he has left us little or nothing to benefit by in natural philoſophy, and leſs in what relates to God; in which particulars the diſciples have been as faulty as their maſter, without advancing the leaſt ſtep forwards, wherein they nothing reſemble other ancients. *For from the beginning*, ſays S. *Thomas* in prolog. ſuper Job, *they reach'd ſome ſmall matter of truth, but afterwards as it were ſtep by ſtep they came to ſome fuller knowledge of the truth.* The *Chineſes* are at this day as blind and ignorant as they were above two thouſand years ago, nay rather more, ſince, according to the opinion of very grave miſſioners (but not according to mine) thoſe very ancient ones had knowledge of God, and ſome inſight into eternity, all which thoſe that have ſucceeded till this time have been deſtitute of.

13. *M.* He makes uſe of this ſimile to prove, that we muſt hold on to the end in the way of virtue. If I had a mind to raiſe a mount, and ſhould leave off after much labour, when I only wanted one baſket of earth to finiſh all, it is a plain caſe all my toil would be vain and fruitleſs. And if I deſign to raiſe a mount on a plain, tho' it riſe but little every day, if I perſevere, it will certainly be finiſh'd; if I give over, the work will remain imperfect.

14. The *Chineſes* uſe many ſimilies and parables, as the people of *Paleſtine* did. It is a very convenient method to explain ones meaning, ſays S. *Thomas*, and he proves it *opuſc.* 60. *art.* 14. where he has excellent doctrine to the purpoſe.

15. *M.* Honour and reſpect is due to young men, becauſe they may come to be holy and learned; but if when they come to forty years of age, they are neither wiſe nor learned, there is little hope they will prove ſo afterwards.

16. *M.* May reproof, tho' it be harſh, be rejected? It is very reaſonable to correct thoſe faults we are told of. Can that reproof which is given in a florid rhetorical ſtile fail of pleaſing? If a man is reprov'd and does not mend his faults, the fault will be his own, not his who admoniſhes and reproves.

17. We miſſioners in *China* are put to no trouble to perſuade the *Chineſes* to brotherly reproof, it is well eſtabliſh'd among them, and they are ſatisfy'd it is a duty.

18. *M.* He that is free from covetouſneſs and envy, may live in any part of the world, and ſerve any employment.

19. *M.* A prudent man is not ſurpriz'd at any accident, becauſe he provides for them; the perfect man is troubled at nothing, becauſe he is conformable to heaven in all things. The reſolute and valorous man fears not, tho' he ſee death before his face.

20. The reſt contain'd in this and the following treatiſes, all of it almoſt tends to the ſame end as has been ſeen; its ſcope is to diſpoſe and order thoſe five ranks or ſtates, which the *Chineſe* maſter aſſigns to a kingdom, and which are, king and ſubjects, parents and children, huſband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and friends. Its drift is alſo to direct the learned, the huſbandmen, traders and mechanicks, to live in peace and unity.

21. I obſerv'd in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book, that tho' all nations in the world make ſpecial account of their ſoldiery in all their books of politicks, yet the *Chineſes* do not mention them in theirs, tho' they have made uſe of them for ſome thouſands of years. *Plato* and *Socrates* divide the commonwealth into five ranks of people,

people, *viz.* princes, counſellors, ſoldiers, handicrafts, and huſbandmen; *Romulus* into ſenators, ſoldiers and commons. See *S. Thomas*, *lib.* IV. *de reg. princ. cap.* 11, & 14. In the fifteenth he ſays, *All polities make mention of warriors, becauſe all cities and countries are preſerv'd in their ſplendor by warriors, and the commonwealth decays for want of the uſe of war*, &c.

22. I know not what reaſon the *Chineſes* had, when they treated ſo much about the eſtabliſhing of their monarchy, to omit and make no mention of a thing ſo material. The art of war is much improv'd in that kingdom at preſent; the *Tartar* holds it in eſteem, but it is not to compare with the military art in *Europe*. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. IX.

Of ſome Sentences taken from the Doctrine call'd Xu King.

1. *XU King* ſignifies a law, or written doctrine, it is a book of vaſt antiquity, is explain'd in the fifth of this volume, and contains ſeveral ſayings of ancient emperors, I will here ſet down ſome of them.

2. " He that comforts, makes much of, " cheriſhes and maintains me, is my king " and lord; he that hurts and wrongs me " is my mortal enemy.

3. By this he explains the duty of kings and ſuperiors towards their ſubjects; and it implies, that then a man deſerves the name and title of king, when he cheriſhes and makes much of his ſubjects, and that of a tyrant and enemy when he treats them ill. S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 71. *cap.* 6. ſays, four faults attend a tyrant, *He breeds diviſion among neighbours, oppreſſes the wiſe, drains the rich, and beats down the mighty.* See *Oleaſter* in *Gen.* xli. *She cry'd to the king for bread.*

4. " He that is very virtuous, neither " jeſts, nor is unmannerly, no man dares " play upon, nor be diſreſpectful to him. " His modeſty, ſteadineſs and gravity, " does not allow of the firſt, nor give way " to the latter.

5. " Do not oppoſe the emperor *Xun*, ſays one, nor truth nor virtue for a vain- " glorious end; and do not contradict " what all men do, to follow your own " opinion and fancy.

6. Some men have the ſpirit of contradiction, and look upon it as unbecoming them if they do not oppoſe all the world; the beautiful ſun-beams cannot eſcape their reflexions and arguments. The emperor *Xun* was the ſame to the *Chineſes* as St. *Paul* is to us. His ſayings are oracles, and great patterns of virtue; they will have all his actions honour'd, and no way cavil'd at. To this purpoſe you may read S. *Thomas* at the end of the ſixth chapter of *Job*.

7. " Whether you meditate, talk, pray, " or do any other thing whatſoever, ſays " one, you ought to be very attentive and " careful, without admitting any diſtrac- " tion.

8. " Be not ſparing or niggardly in " correcting thy faults, ſaid an emperor; " be generous in eſchewing vice, and for- " giving thy enemies. Be compaſſionate " towards all men, and love them from " thy heart. Let all this come from thy " ſelf, do not expect to be pray'd or " ſued to.

9. " He that looks for a proſperous " event, muſt find out and make uſe of " lawful means: he that would follow " reaſon and the laws, muſt not put off " the repentance of his faults till the end " of his life.

Both theſe hints are very good and holy.

10. " The emperor *Tang* was wont to " ſay, I am the cauſe of all the ſins of my " people.

11. This was a very humble and compaſſionate emperor, he attributed the faults of all the limbs to the head. Others might ſay ſo with more reaſon, and it is true, that *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.* Read *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xliv. ℣. 16. who has much very good to this purpoſe. *It has been obſerv'd already, that holy men attribute the misfortunes of others to their own failings.*

12. " Virtue, ſays one, has no peculiar " place, a man may be every where good " and holy. Entertain no foul thoughts, " and you will not ſmell their ſtink.

13. " He that leads his life carefully " and watchfully, will have no troubles " in this, or the life to come.

14. " He that is without a great ſin will " live free from many ſins.

15. " Let the miniſter (ſays an emperor) " who attends a king help him to be virtu- " ous, he muſt not neglect this a moment.

Chriſtians may obſerve this heathen's doctrine.

16. " Another tells us, kings are oblig'd " to honour virtue, and virtuous men; they " ought rather to loſe their kingdom and " life than fail in this particular.

17. " That king who becomes a mir- " ror and pattern of virtue in his kingdom, " has a right and title to aſk aſſiſtance and " long life of heaven.

Plato ſaid, kings committed more ſin by their ill example than by the faults they were guilty of.

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18. " Do not aſpire (ſays one) to appear wiſe and learned, forſaking the ancient and ſound doctrine of the firſt kings.

19. Whenſoever the *Chineſes* fall upon this ſubject, they inſiſt much upon this point; to which purpoſe the reader will find choice materials in *Arriaga, tom.* II.

20. " He that governs, let him govern before the kingdom is in an uproar; once in rebellion it is hard to govern. He that governs the commonwealth, let him do it before the danger comes, when once it comes there is much difficulty in applying a remedy.

Oleaſter teaches the ſame divinely in *Num.* xi, and xiv. Read it there.

21. " The prince's favourite, ſays one, preſently grows proud, it will be convenient for him to think what a fall he may have.

22. " Three ſins, ſays the *Chineſe*, will not admit of any diminution by circumſtances, and do not deſerve pardon. The firſt is, to make the people mutiny. The ſecond to deſtroy the ancient doctrine of the ſaints. The third, to make any innovation in ancient cuſtoms and manners.

23. " We muſt bear with our neighbours failings, ſays the *Chineſe*. This is the ſeventh work of mercy.

24. " He that has patience, and will attend, will finiſh his buſineſs." Very well ſaid. Read *Cajetan* in *Luke* xxi. and *Syl. tom.* VI. *p.* 510. *q.* 8.

25. " Let him that governs be conſtant; he that writes brief and ſincere." Read *M. Arriaga, tom.* II. *lib.* II. *c.* 1. §. 1. concerning brevity in writing. *Apollonius* was aſk'd, *Who are the beſt of men?* He anſwer'd, *They who are briefeſt in diſcourſe.*

26. " What doctrine is that which does not deſcend from the ancients, or why has it the name or title of doctrine?

27. " Superiors ought to be merciful, and to take compaſſion on the misfortunes of their inferiors, relieving them in their diſtreſs.

Much has been writ upon this ſubject, and very much is ſaid to it by our *B. Humbert. de erud. relig.*

28. *Chineſes* began betimes, and were ſome ages before us in teaching the truth of what is daily preach'd among us, and printed by caſuiſts and divines.

29. " They write of a counſellor that was always in fear, and full of doubts and ſcruples on account of his employment, and that he uſed to riſe out of his bed at mid-night to conſider how he ſhould diſcharge his duty.

30. By what has been ſaid we may gather and make out how ancient the knowledge of the light of reaſon is in *China*, and how ſtrictly many of that nation have liv'd up to it.

CHAP. X.

Of other Sayings and Sentences which I read and took notice of in China.

1. TReating of thoſe who addict themſelves to virtue, a certain book has theſe words: " *If* they open their mouth " to ſpeak, devotion evaporates, and the " ſpirit flies away; if they move their " tongues, they fall into cenſuring, or at " leaſt idle words follow.

2. The *Chineſes* call man a tree with the wrong end upwards. Others have ſaid the ſame thing, ſo did *Socrates, homo arbor inverſa.* A certain token he was created for heaven and not for earth. S. *Auguſtin ſerm.* 55. *ad frat.* writes the anſwer *Ovid* gave the tyrant, *Met. lib.* I. when he aſk'd him, *Why did* GOD *make you?* He anſwer'd, *That I may contemplate on heaven, and the Deity of heaven. For man is made on earth, not for the earth, but for heaven; and he was made of earth, nor for the ſake of the earth, but for the ſake of heaven.* Here the ſaint exclaims: *Who among the faithful, brethren, could have ſaid more, or upon better grounds? I know not.*

The *Chineſes* confeſs ſomething of this nature. The brutes, they ſay, look to the earth, and therefore their face is turn'd that way, but man looks towards heaven, and therefore was created upright, as tending thither.

3. " Few in number do not overcome many, nor the weak the ſtrong, ſays the *Chineſe.*

4. " When many are overcome by a few, it is either the work of heaven, or want of courage, or treachery.

5. " The counſellor's heart is by the emperor's ſide, in the ſame manner as a ſheep ſtands by a tiger.

This ſentence is much celebrated among the *Chineſes*, and ſufficiently verify'd among them, eſpecially ſince the *Tartar* government. They further add to enforce it, that when the dragon, that is the emperor, is angry, there is no place for a ſubject to hide himſelf in. This is ſomething like that of holy *Job, The lion roars, who will not fear?* And that of *Eccluſ.* xvi. ℣. 14. *The anger of the king is the meſſenger of death.* The ſame is in *Prov.* xix. *As the roaring of the lion, ſo is the anger of the king.*

6. " The

6. " The lamb kneels down when he " ſucks, thanking the dam for the ſuſte- " nance he receives from her. For the " ſame reaſon the crow maintains his pa- " rents when they are old. If man is not " grateful to his benefactors, he is worſe " than the brute beaſts. *Enquire of the " beaſts and birds*, ſays the holy Ghoſt, " that you may learn of them.

The *Chineſes* make great account of this ſentence, to recommend gratitude to thoſe who do us kindneſſes and good turns; that nation loudly condemns the vice of ingratitude.

7. *Meng Zu* the ſecond maſter of *China* ſays; Tho' there are bad and ſinful men, if they faſt and mend, they will come to be good.

8. " Time paſſes away more ſwift than " an arrow flies when ſent from a ſtrong " bow; it haſtens on years, and ſpurs on " death." S. *Ambroſe* in *Pſalms*, *Thou ſleepeſt, and thy time walks, nay it flies.*

Wicked falſe doctrine cannot overcome that which is good and true.

9. They report of one *Lu Pan*, who is now the patron of carpenters, to whom they ſacrifice when they begin a building; that he was rare and ingenious in architecture, and that he made birds that flew, and horſes that ran.

10. They tell of an ancient petty king, who was ſo brave, that he would fight hand to hand with a tiger, and kill him.

11. One man receiv'd a great kindneſs of another, and the benefactor going to the houſe of him that had been oblig'd, who was an inn-keeper; he to be grateful for the benefit receiv'd, after entertaining him well in his houſe, when it was time to go to bed, put his own wife into the room to him. She was twice diſmiſs'd, and he put her in the third time, and ſhut the door on the outſide: A baſe and ungenerous way of requiting kindneſſes! The gueſt perceiving how it was, deſir'd her to go to bed and ſleep; he ſat up all night ſtudying and writing verſes, without ſpeaking a word to her, or once looking her in the face. Among other verſes he made after their faſhion, ſome were to this effect: this man knows not me, nor do I know his wife. If I be not true to my wife, ſhe will not be ſo to me. If I tranſgreſs with my neighbour's wife, my neighbour will tranſgreſs with mine. In the morning, when the chamber door was open'd, he watch'd his opportunity, and faſtning the verſes to the door, ſtole away privately, without being ſeen by any body. This agrees with what I quoted out of S. *Auguſtin*, *The pagans are become teachers of the faithful.* What Chriſtian would not be applauded for ſuch an action?

12. " They ſay flatterers carry honey " in their mouth, and a ſword in their " heart; their mouth is ſweet, and their " inſide bitter; they have liquorice in their " mouth, and wormwood in their bowels." It all imports as much as, *Wolves in ſheeps clothing.* *Pliny* the younger ſays, *When a wicked man feigns himſelf good, he is worſt of all.* NAVARETTE.

13. " They report *Confucius* was wont " to ſay, Is there any that exhorts others " to the practice of virtue? If there be, " the beſt method is, to give a good ex- " ample: he that uſes ſuch exhortation is " ſure of his reward; he that does the con- " trary, is ſure of puniſhment.

14. " The ſecond tyrant is worſe than " the firſt, and the third more cruel than " the ſecond.

15. " The *Chineſes* have that rule of *Se- " neca*, *He that will be belov'd, muſt rule " with an eaſy hand.* And that of *Ammia- " nus*, *He that rules, muſt ſhun all things " that are too hard, as he would dangerous " rocks.*

16. " And that of S. *Chryſoſtom*; *As to be " always learning, is a token that no progreſs " can be made; ſo always to ſeek a proof, is " a ſign of a reſolution never to believe.*

17. " He that gives, ought in reaſon to " give according to his quality and place.

18. " A ſlave muſt not be too tenderly " kept.

19. " Women are not to manage buſi- " neſs.

S. *Thomas* ſays the ſame, *lib.* IV. *de reg. princ. cap.* 5. & 6. *The maſter of the family minds buſineſs abroad, women attend the affairs at home.* No nation in the world obſerves this ſo ſtrictly as the *Chineſes.* No woman is employ'd upon buſineſs out of doors upon any account whatſoever; nor does it appear whether there is any woman, or women in the houſe. They are abſolutely incapable of inheriting, or any ſort of trade or dealings.

20. " They who teach, and as maſters " impart their learning to others, muſt be " humble.

21. The *Chineſe* has that propoſition of ſome authors, *Faſc. temp. fol.* 31. *pag.* 2. " *There is a ſort of miſerable victory, which " is when the conqueror comes off with few " or no ſoldiers; ſo that boldneſs is very hurt- " ful when it is not govern'd by foreſight.*

22. " As alſo that of *Varro*; He will " teach nothing that is great, who has learnt " nothing of himſelf.

23. " And that of *Auguſtus*; It is a great " extravagancy to catch fiſh with a gold " hook; for the loſs of the hook cannot " be repair'd by any ſucceſs in fiſhing.

24. Concerning changing or continuing of governors, they ſay the ſame that *Tibe-*

NAVARETTE. *rius* did upon the ſame account; "*I ſaw a man driving away the flies that were upon a ſick man's ſores; and the ſick man rebuk'd him, ſaying, ſome that are thirſty will come and ſuck, now theſe that are full fill up the place.*" The ſick man was much in the right; but it is true too, that there are ſome ſo covetous that they will always ſuck, without ever being ſatisfy'd, or ſatiating the helliſh appetite of avarice.

25. *Hecaton* the ſtoick ſaid, *All that is good is difficult*; a common propoſition among the *Chineſes*. All we *Europeans* have obſerv'd, what a general conſent and agreement there is among all the learned *Chineſes* in the doctrine of their ſect; which ought to be obſerv'd in all places, eſpecially in morality, and thoſe things that relate to the ſoul.

CHAP. XI.

In which ſome Hieroglyphicks of the Chineſe *Characters are expounded.*

THE firſt *Chineſe* letters or characters began by painting of things; in proceſs of time they ſhortned it, leaving only a part of the thing to ſignify the whole. The letters or characters now in uſe were invented whilſt the family *Han* poſſeſs'd the empire, at which time the Son of GOD became man. The number of letters they uſe is exceſſive. The dictionary I had, and loſt in my travels, which was that commonly us'd, contain'd thirty three thouſand three hundred and ſeventy five letters. There is another ancienter and fuller, which contains ſeventy thouſand. It is a diſmal thing for us that ſtudy there, to think on this vaſt multitude of characters, it quite diſheartens a man, did not our LORD on the other ſide encourage us. It is true, that he who can make good uſe of twenty thouſand is a good ſcholar. I, whilſt I was in *China*, through GOD's mercy, attain'd to the knowledge of above ten thouſand, which inabled me without much difficulty to compoſe five volumes concerning our holy faith; whereof, according to the letters that came in the year 1674, four are printed by this time. Every letter or character is ingenious and artificial; for the better conceiving whereof, I will in this chapter expound the meaning of ſome of them.

1. The word to expreſs ancient and antiquity, is *Kieu*; this is writ with the ſame character as the mouth, and over it the letter that ſtands for ten, which implies, it is a thing that has been deliver'd down by ten ſeveral mouths ſucceſſively, which is a ſufficient antiquity.

To expreſs a mouthing bawling man, they write the letter that ſtands for nine, and under it that which is for the mouth, to ſignify he talks and roars as if he had nine mouths. They alſo write the letter that ſerves for the mouth, and under that which ſignifies great, to expreſs he has a great mouth in a figurative ſenſe, that is, he talks much.

Happineſs and felicity is expreſs'd by the ſame letter as the mouth, with the letter that ſtands for maſter over it; for, ſay they, what greater happineſs can there be than the mouth of a learned maſter? We might here apply that of *Prov.* x. ℣. 13. *In the lips of a wiſe man*, &c. And that of the fourteenth chapter, *He ſhall be filled with good things of the fruit of his mouth.* Which is happineſs enough.

Among the characters that ſignify a king, one is compos'd of that which ſerves for the mouth, and over it that which is for guiding, directing, and putting into the way: which imports, that kings are to guide the people by their example, and to rule and direct it by their words and laws; but the example muſt be firſt, and next the words muſt follow, which is the reaſon the mouth is plac'd below.

The moveables and goods of a houſe are expreſs'd by the letter of the mouth four times repeated, and that of the dog in the middle of them; they ſay, dogs guard them, barking and biting, that is, the houſhold-ſtuff.

A ſquare with the letter of the mouth, and that of arms in the middle of it, ſtands for a kingdom. This denotes that it muſt be fortify'd on all ſides, and maintain'd and defended by arms and good councils.

To live in ſome particular place, is writ with a hand on one ſide, and the earth on the other; which implies, that he holds faſt by that earth.

Sitting is ſignify'd by the letter that ſignifies the earth, and over it that which ſtands for ſtopping or ſtaying; that is, a man ſtays upon the earth.

2. Walls are expreſs'd by the letter of earth, then that of ſtrength or valour, and that of arms: this imports, that earth, valour, and weapons, defend the city.

To write weeping, they make the letter for eyes, and that for water, which is very plain.

The ſea, they write with the letter for water, and that for mother, that is, mother of the waters. It is alſo call'd the pool of heaven, to which all rivers flow.

To ſignify what is plain and viſible, or to explain and make eaſy, &c. they write the letters of the ſun and moon.

Companions

Companions and ſchool-fellows are expreſs'd by two moons of an equal growth.

3. Money is expreſs'd by the letter of metal on the ſide, and that of arms twice one over another. An author ſays, I have often conſider'd upon this letter, it has double arms, which are weapons to take away the life of man; ſo that it is money which kills us; but raſh men, without taking notice of this danger, run all after it.

Fidelity is written with the letter man, and words, or a mouth by his ſide, to imply that man is known by his mouth and words, and that he who keeps not his word is no man.

They have many letters that ſignify to give, the moſt uſual is a hand buſied about a man.

Inconſtancy and lightneſs is expreſs'd by the letter man upon mountains, vainly aiming to get into the clouds.

To ſignify ſun-riſing, they make the letter tree, and ſun over it, becauſe when he riſes he is firſt ſeen upon the trees. For his ſetting, they invert it, that is, hide him under the tree.

For a bargain or contract, they make the letter nail, and that of words by it, to denote, that the word is as faſt as if it were nail'd.

4. For black, they write the letter fire, and ſmoke above; for white, the letter of the ſun, and a point over it, which ſignifies brightneſs.

A priſon and dungeon they expreſs by the letter man between four walls.

Theft is written with the letter deſire, and that of houſhold goods. To deſire what is in another man's houſe belongs to theft, adding the letter hand, the meaning is plain.

Arrows they write with the letter for body, and the arrow by it; this means, that the body caſts the arrow.

Prayer is ſignify'd by the letter *Xi*, which imports to make known, by that of man, and that of mouth; this they explain thus, that man's mouth, by what it ſays, makes known to the departed ſpirits what he deſires or aims at. Others ſay it is not a mouth that is placed next to the letter man, but the character of rejoicing (theſe two are very much alike) and it imports, that prayer rejoices the ſpirits.

The oppoſition of the moon is repreſented by a counſellor looking at the emperor, and bowing to him. The emperor is the ſun, the counſellor the moon.

A magiſtrate, gentleman, or nobleman, that ſerves the emperor, is ſignify'd by the letter to drag, and a heart; this implies, that kings and emperors drag men, bringing them to their beck.

5. Night they expreſs by the letter to leave, becauſe the labour of the day is left off, and the body takes reſt. They ſay a virtuous man has four times, the morning to hear good doctrine and inſtructions; noon, to aſk and enquire into what is neceſſary; the afternoon to retire, and think of perfecting his life; night to reſt his body. Another book expounding the ſame letter ſays, That we muſt not ſtay till evening, much leſs till night, to ſerve a great lord, but muſt begin in the morning. NAVARETTE.

To expreſs death, they have a letter compos'd of entring and hiding; he that dies, enters, *I enter the way of all fleſh.* And he remains hid and conceal'd to this world. It may have another meaning, *viz.* That man enters into this life, and in a ſhort time is hid in the next: As *Seneca* ſaid, *I enter'd upon condition that I ſhould go out.* I was born, and came into the world under an obligation of going out, and being hid.

A barren woman is written with a letter of a ſtone and a woman by it; that is, a woman of ſtone, barren, that does not break.

To ſignify counterfeiting, or falſhood, they write three women; well expreſs'd.

To quarrel, is ſignify'd by the letter that ſtands for nails and hands, and a ſtroke from top to bottom, which imports to put out; becauſe quarrelling is only putting out the hands, and making uſe of them and the nails againſt another.

6. Woman is written with the letter of ſubmiſſion or ſubjection, and the word is joined to that of man; it is pronounc'd *fu jin*, to denote ſhe is to be ſubject to man, whom ſhe is to ſerve; and by the letter for woman, is that of broom, ſignifying that the wife muſt work in the houſe, even to cleaning and ſweeping of it. That the wife may be the more ſubject, they brought up the cuſtom that the huſband ſhould pay the portion. The people of *Crete* ſeem to have aim'd at the ſame thing, according to *Lycurgus* his law. S. *Thomas* mentions it, *lib.* IV. *cap.* 18. *He would have maids marry without a portion, that wives might not be choſen for the ſake of money; and men might keep them the better within bounds, being under no obligation of portion.* They took care of all. *Cabaſſucius*, in *not. concil.* writes the ſame. Read *Sylv. tom.* I. *lib.* I. *cap.* 5. *num.* 27.

Learning, wiſdom, and knowledge, is written with the letter mouth, and that of arrow joining to its ſide; which means, that he who pierces into things, and ſharply expounds them them, is wiſe, learned, *&c.*

Mother is written with the ſame letter as ſuckling, and the breaſts but cover'd with a ſtroke

NAVARETTE. a ſtroke acroſs them. This, ſay they, denotes the modeſty and decency women ought to uſe in their apparel, for they muſt not ſhew their breaſts upon any account, which the *Chineſe* and *Tartar* women obſerve very ſtrictly. Would it were ſo in our parts.

We have never a *Pythagoras* in *Europe*, to prevail with the women of our times, to do what he perſuaded them to do in his. S. *Thomas*, *lib.* IV. *cap.* 21. mentions it, *Pythagoras* obtain'd, *That the women ſhould lay aſide garments ſet off with gold and other ornaments ſuitable to their quality, as incentives to luxury, and ſhould carry them all to the temple of* Juno; *where he perſuaded them to offer all to her, affirming, that virtue was the true ornament of ladies.* Leſs would content us at preſent, and we ſhould be ſatisfy'd if the clothes, carriage, and behavionr were like the heathens and idolaters, *Chineſes*, *Tartars*, and other women of thoſe parts of the world; certain it is, ſuch modeſty is not to be found in *Europe*.

7. To uſe and habituate oneſelf, is writ with two wings, and the letter for day under, to imply, that flying every day makes it cuſtomary and habitual.

Among other letters which ſignify to govern, one is *Chung*; it is writ with a mouth and a ſtroke acroſs it, which ſignifies to pierce, and denotes that he who governs muſt pierce and look into the orders he gives. It alſo ſignifies, that he who rules, muſt fix in the center of juſtice, without inclining to one ſide or other.

They alſo ſay, the ſtroke acroſs is a ſword in the mouth, to ſignify, that if the orders he gives are wicked, and his judgment unjuſt, he deſerves a ſword ſhould be thruſt down his mouth and cut his throat.

To conquer, is writ with the letter for a man ſtanding, and by it that of arms, that is, to go with ſword in hand.

A ſoldier on the frontiers, is ſignify'd by the letter for a man ſitting, and that of arms: this means a ſoldier that is ſettled and does not march.

A greedy hungry man, is expreſs'd by the letter of heaven, and a mouth under it, to imply, he would ſwallow and devour heaven.

There is another character for a king, the word is *Vuang*; it conſiſts of three ſtrokes croſs'd by another, which ſignify heaven, earth, and men, to denote that a king is to be like them all; he is to be the common father of all men, to cover and protect them, as heaven does; and to be like the earth, which bears and maintains all men. The king is to do the ſame with his people, as man; he is to look upon himſelf as ſuch, to eſteem all others as his brothers; and to remember the king is to die as well as his ſubject. The *Chineſes* ſay the ſame of the earth that *Pythagoras* did, when he call'd her *A common mother*; *the earth is the mother, and the ſun the father of all that are born on the earth.*

Man who in ſpeaking is call'd *nan*, is written with the letter that ſtands for a plough'd field, and under it that of ſtrength, to ſignify that man was born to labour; *Man is born to labour*, Job v. and to ſeek his ſuſtenance with ſweat and toil; *In the ſweat of thy brow.*

Fear and dread, which they term *ngoei*, in writing is expreſs'd by a tiger's head, and claws under it, which cauſes fear and terror.

Mercy, among them call'd *ven*, is ſignify'd by a man in priſon, and underneath a diſh to eat in; this imports that priſoners muſt have alms given them, and be maintain'd, which is a work of mercy.

The ſilk worm they write, making the letter for heaven, and that for worm under it: that is, calling it a heavenly worm, or worm of heaven; which notably expreſſes how beneficial GOD has made it.

It were eaſy to dilate upon this ſubject, but what has been ſaid may ſuffice to expreſs the inventor's fancy, which was certainly very ſingular.

The End of the Third Book.

BOOK IV.

Of the *Chineſe* Moral Doctrine.

HAVING hitherto, tho' briefly, given an account of what is moſt material in the *Chineſe* empire, and made ſome mention of the remarkable actions and ſayings of emperors and their miniſters, from which the reader may reap any benefit; I reſolv'd in this fourth book to give an account of the *Chineſe* book that nation calls *Ming ſin pao kien*, i. e. the precious mirror of the ſoul; or, the precious mirror that enlightens and diffuſes a brightneſs into the heart, and inward part of man. The ſaid book is made up of ſentences of ſeveral authors, and of ſeveral ſects; the whole ſubject is morals, and I doubt not but any man may find enough in it to make profit of. A very good Chriſtian of ours, and an able ſcholar, whoſe name was *John Mieu*, ſpeaking of this book, ſaid, As S. *Thomas* choſe and gather'd what he lik'd beſt out of holy doctors to compoſe his *Catena Aurea*; ſo the author of this book extracted out of all our authors, what he thought moſt conducing to make known the way of virtue. This was the firſt book I read in that country, and which I took a great fancy to, becauſe of its plainneſs and brevity. In the tranſlation I obſerve the rule of S. *Hierom. ad Pamach. de optimo genere interpretandi*; *That the Septuagint did not tranſlate word for word, but ſentence for ſentence.* The ſaint affirms the ſame thing of *Symmachus* on *Jer.* xxxi. *That he did not render word for word, but ſentence for ſentence, and ſenſe for ſenſe.* S. *Thomas opuſc.* 1. *in principio* obſerves this method, and approves it in theſe following words: *It is the part of a good tranſlator, that in tranſlating thoſe things which belong to the catholick faith, he preſerve the ſentence, but alter the manner of expreſſion, according to the property of the language into which he tranſlates.* I will endeavour to follow this courſe, and truſt to ſo ſure a guide, tho' I am ſatisfied my language will not reach the *Chineſe* propriety of expreſſion, nor their elegancy, which this nation has in an extraordinary meaſure for explaining and delivering their conceits. I will obſerve the author's method, tho' I will not always ſet down the authors he quotes, becauſe it makes nothing to our purpoſe, and to ſave the trouble of words. which are harſh to *Europeans*, and hard to pronounce.

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It cannot be deny'd but that it is commendable in the miſſioners to ſtudy heathen books, ſince the primitive ſaints and fathers did ſo; and ſometimes this employment is abſolutely neceſſary. S. *Thomas* handles this point elegantly upon *Boetius de Trinit.* §. *deinde quæritur, ad* 3. *ſic proceditur, & in opuſc.* 19. *c.* 11, 12. there the reader may ſee this matter prov'd. I will only inſert in this place, what the ſaint takes from the comment on *Dan.* i. S. *Jerom* alſo has it in the place above quoted, *But* Daniel *propoſed in his heart*, &c. *He that will not eat of the king's table leſt he be polluted, would never have learnt the wiſdom and doctrine of the* Egyptians *if it were any ſin: he learnt it, not to follow, but to judge of and diſprove it.* How could we in *China* oppoſe abundance of errors thoſe heathens hold, if we did not read and ſtudy their books and doctrine? It were abſolutely impoſſible. It is alſo uſeful to make our benefit of what truth there is found in them, as ſays S. *Jerom ad Pamach. Monach. If you happen to love a captive woman, to wit ſecular learning*, &c. S. *Thomas* mentions it to this purpoſe in *opuſc.* 19. quoted above. So that after clearing and cleanſing the *Chineſe* doctrine of what is deſtructive in it, we may reap ſome profit and advantage by it. The ſaint to the ſame purpoſe takes the words of S. *Auguſtin* 2. *de doctrin. Chriſ.* where he ſays, *If by chance the philoſophers, eſpecially the* Platoniſts, *happen to ſay any thing that is true and conformable to our faith, it is not only not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them for our uſe, as from thoſe who have ſtood wrongfully poſſeſs'd of it.* Which was ſignified to us by the riches the people of GOD carry'd away from the *Egyptians*, as doctors expound it, and our *Hugo* declares in *Exod.* xi. ℣. 2, 3.

Beſides, there is more in the heathen doctrine, ſays S. *Thomas* in the twelfth chapter quoted above, which is, that it often proves a powerful argument *ad hominem* againſt ſectaries, and ſerves to confound and put catholicks out of countenance. In ſhort, it is a very allowable employment (unleſs the ill end it is directed to corrupt it) if it be deſign'd *for the benefit of the hearers, becauſe by this means ſometimes our adverſaries are more eaſily and more effectually convinced and inſtructed*, &c. The teſtimony of an enemy is of great autho-

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rity, ſays S. *Baſil*, *hom.* 15. *de Chriſt. gener.*

For theſe reaſons I have given, I reſolv'd to tranſlate this little book, which in truth has among the *Gentiles* the ſame place that the devout *à Kempis* has among catholicks. I ſlightly paſs over the dogmatical precepts of ſects, becauſe it is a ſubject that requires to be handled by it ſelf, and the main points of it have been diſcuſs'd in my controverſies, in the ſecond book of this volume, and in the fifth more ſhall be ſaid. In this place I treat only of the morals, to which I will add ſome quotations out of our books relating to the ſame ſubject, to make this the larger and more copious, and that the reader may pick out what he likes beſt.

After having writ and obſerv'd what has been hinted above, I reflected that F. *James de Morales* of the ſociety of *Jeſus*, handles the point at large in his treatiſes. But what I have alledged in this place, with what I write in ſeveral parts of my controverſies, and ſhall urge hereafter, is ſufficient to prove and make good my aſſertion.

CHAP. I.

In which the Heathen endeavours to encourage Man to follow Virtue.

1. HE enters upon his deſign, laying down the reward of labour, an excellent medium to compaſs what he aims at: reward diſpoſes the will, quickens its deſire, ſpurs it on to ſlight dangers, and overcome difficulties, and ſometimes makes impoſſible attempts ſeem eaſy. Read *Sylveir*, *apoc.* 1. ℣. 19. *q.* 34. *num.* 253. But if this encouragement fails, and the hope of reward is taken away, man cannot ſtir one ſtep. Therefore the *Chineſe* ſays, "When "the recompence fails, the heart ſinks, "the gaul is chil'd, the ſtrength decays, "and the ſpirits grow too weak to lift a "hand.

The *Chineſes* obſerve the ſame method *Moſes* did. Our *Hugo* on *Gen.* i. aſks the queſtion, *Why* Moſes *began ſo high? The reaſon is this, That which is difficult, burdenſome and harſh, is hard to be obſerv'd, if no reward is propos'd to him that keeps it*, &c. He propoſes the reward to make the harſhneſs of virtue eaſy, he propoſes the puniſhment to baniſh idleneſs and ſloth.

2. The *Chineſe* philoſopher ſays, "Hea- "ven will reward the virtuous man with "wealth and happineſs, it will chaſtiſe "the wicked with troubles and misfor- "tunes.

3. Another author. "Heaven will ſend "a thouſand bleſſings upon him that acts "well, and a thouſand miſchiefs on him "that does ill.

A thouſand bleſſings and evils imply all bleſſings and evils, the phraſe is our own: *Job* uſes it, *c.* ix. S. *Thomas* expounds it, *lect.* 1. The *Chineſes* uſe the number 100 in the ſame ſenſe.

4. Another. "He that lays up and "heaps virtues, finds and reaps virtues; "he that gathers wickedneſs, will find "and reap wickedneſs.

That is to ſay, whatſoever a man ſows, the ſame he ſhall reap.

5. "It is requiſite and neceſſary to think "well on this, for heaven is not deceiv'd. "Bear in mind, that virtue and vice have "their reward, which no man can eſcape, "tho' he fly high, or into far countries. "You are the beſt witneſs whether you "do well or ill: the beginning of the re- "ward or puniſhment is within you, you "need not aſk it of your neighbour: Do "not doubt of its coming, all the queſtion "is, whether it will be to day or to mor- "row? Withdraw into your chamber, "ſearch your heart, mark out your life, "and ſilently conſider by your ſelf with "care what you have acted. Do not for- "get, that what is good has a good re- "ward, and what is evil a bad one. En- "deavour always to uſe virtuous exerci- "ſes, and heaven will protect you; but "if you are fooliſh and ſtiff-neck'd, you "will receive the puniſhment you deſerve.

6. The *Chineſe* proceeds thus. "Endea- "vour always to go on in the right way, "and to live with an upright and ſincere "heart, and ſo doing you need not doubt "but heaven and earth will be favourable "to you.

7. Another ſays: "That houſe or fa- "mily which gathers virtues, will doubt- "leſs have plenty and even ſuperfluity of "wealth; that which heaps vices will a- "bound in misfortunes and troubles.

8. The emperor *Chao Lie* being at the point of death, ſaid to the prince his ſon, (this was mention'd in another place, but here more exactly) "My ſon, you muſt "not venture to commit a ſin becauſe it "is ſmall, nor omit doing a virtuous ac- "tion becauſe it is inconſiderable." This was as if he had ſaid to him, Lead your life ſo cautiouſly that you may not commit one venial ſin; for if you are not cautious how you fall into leſſer ſins, you will eaſily come to wallow in grievous offences: According to that of *Eccluſ.* xix. ℣. 2. *He that makes no account of ſmall things*,

things, will fall by degrees: And to that which devout *à Kempis* writes, *lib.* I. *de imit. Chriſt. cap.* 11. *If you do not overcome ſmall and light things, when will you conquer thoſe that are harder?* " And do not " forbear any thing that is good, tho' it " ſeem to you but a trifle, ſaid the empe- " ror to his ſon, becauſe when you have " made ſmall things habitual, the greater " will daily grow eaſier to you. In ſhort, " my ſon, you are to underſtand that all " ſin whatſoever is heinous, burthenſome " and hurtful to the ſoul, and any virtu- " ous action is profitable and beneficial." What better advice could S. *Francis* or S. *Dominick* give their children, or what could they ſay beyond this?

9. Another author ſays. " If but one " day paſs away without meditating on " virtue, it is enough to give way for all " vices to ſprout up.

10. A *Chineſe* ſays, " Courage and re- " ſolution is requiſite for the attaining of " virtue, and every day this bravery " muſt be renew'd. Ears that hear good " words avoid falling into three ſorts of " ſins.

The firſt part is not unlike to, *The kingdom of heaven ſuffers violence*, Mat. xi. ℣. 12. that is, thoſe that take up the generous reſolution of walking in the paths of virtue. A learned Chriſtian expounded the ſecond part to me, ſaying, It was meant of ſins of thought, word, and deed. *It is not virtue, unleſs the courage encreaſes with the difficulty*, ſays S. *Bernard* quoted by *Hugo Gen.* xxvi.

11. The ſame *Chineſe* adds, " To do " acts of virtue is like climbing a moun- " tain, to ſin is like coming down from " above." This ſentence is expreſs'd three ſeveral ways in the *Chineſe* books, but they all tend to the ſame, which is, that to act virtuouſly is difficult, and to act viciouſly eaſy. The difficulty lies in hitting the mark, 'tis eaſy to miſs it; this is the opinion of the heathens. *It is princely to labour: to indulge luxury and ſloth is ſervile*, ſaid *Alexander* the great.

It is not much to be wonder'd that virtue ſhould ſeem difficult to thoſe that have liv'd without the knowledge of GOD, without a ſpiritual law, without hopes of a reward, without fear of puniſhment, as the *Chineſes* have done. Original ſin made them and all others ſubject to this misfortune.

12. A grave doctor of theirs ſays, " It " is requiſite that virtue be coveted and " deſir'd, and ſo that no man rejoice at " vice, or delight in it.

The *Chineſe* word *tan* is very comprehenſive, it ſignifies covetouſneſs, to covet, a covetous man, one that thirſts after and is anxious about obtaining any thing, it is to ſeek it with care and anxiety. NAVARETTE.

13. A diſciple of the maſter *Confucius* ſays thus, " Virtue of it ſelf is profitable " and beneficial, vice of itſelf is hurtful: " therefore a good man makes the firſt his " buſineſs, and ſhuns the miſchiefs the lat- " ter cauſes; which he does, not to gain " the fame and reputation of being a good " man, but to avoid the ſhame caus'd by " ſin.

14. " Virtue is to be look'd upon (ſays " another) as if a man hunger'd and thirſt- " ed after it.

A king of *Africk* gave a *Portugueſe* leave to take out of a mine as much gold as he could in a day for himſelf; the man got up early in the morning, and began preſently to labour courageouſly, and with a covetous mind; and tho' the labour and toil was great, he felt nothing conſidering the gold he gather'd. Noon came, and he felt no hunger: a ſervant he had carry'd him his dinner, and he call'd upon his maſter, ſaying, Sir, it is late, come hither and eat a bit: the *Portugueſe* was in a paſſion, and anſwer'd, Thou mad fooliſh fellow, is this a day to eat or drink? the king has given me this time to make my advantage of it, and get riches to ſerve me as long as I live, and would you have me loſe it by going to dinner? ſtand out of my way, and don't talk to me of eating, or any thing elſe. He continu'd his labour till night, and return'd home rich. I was told this ſtory in *India*.

15. The *Chineſe* proceeds: " In hearing " that which is evil you muſt be as if you " were deaf; you muſt be deaf to hearing " of detraction, and ill tongues. Good " doctrine!

16. The ſame author. " Though a man " exerciſe virtue all his life-time, it can- " not be ſaid, he has virtue to ſpare; but " if he ſins only one day, his wickedneſs " and vice will over-abound.

17. Another ſaid: " He that values " himſelf upon being virtuous, muſt not " ſlight the leaſt atom of virtue he ſees, " nor give way to an atom of vice.

18. " It is not profitable (ſays another) " to lay up gold and ſilver to leave to " our ſons and grandſons, becauſe it is not " certain they will know how to keep and " make their benefit of it. To gather " books to leave them by will is uſeleſs, " and to no purpoſe, becauſe you know " not whether they will apply themſelves " to learning. There is nothing ſo ſafe " and good as to lay up a treaſure of vir- " tue, this will be the beſt revenue and in- " heritance you can leave them. If your " heart be upright, you live well and for- " tune favours you; your honour and re-

" putation

NAVARETTE. "putation will be great, and reach you "betimes. If you live well, tho' fortune "ſmile not, you cannot want an honeſt "livelihood: if you have good fortune, "and lead an ill life, it will be hard for "you to be eaſy. An ill life and ill for- "tune bring on troubles, miſeries, and po- "verty even to old age.

The *Chineſes* make great account of fate and fortune. *Joſephus, lib.* III. *antiq. c.* 9. ſays of the *Eſſeni*, *They affirm'd all things were in the power of fate.*

19. The authors of theſe ſentences are not always ſeveral men, many of them belong to the ſame. One of them ſays, "Thoſe children who inherit from their "parents loyalty towards their king, and "deference to their ſuperiors, are rich and "powerful, though they have not bread "to eat. Thoſe who inherit cheats and "tricks ſhall not proſper. He that enters "upon buſineſs, and comes off from it "with humility, is brave. He that ſhields "himſelf with virtue is meek and good. "Where is it he will not live well who is "juſt and free-hearted? Be not an enemy "to any man, for it may fall out you may "meet your enemy on the way, and it will "be hard for you to eſcape him.

He ſeems to have much reaſon in all he ſays. The ſame points come over again hereafter.

20. Another writes: "When any man "does me a good turn, it is fit I ſhould "deal fairly with him, and ſhew my ſelf "grateful: and if any man miſuſes and "hates me, it is fit I uſe him well and "love him. If I love and uſe all men "well, who will hate me? no man.

Excellent inſtructions for loving our enemies! The *Chineſes* write much upon this ſubject.

The ſaint ſays, Virginity is a virtue in common with the infidels, which cannot be deny'd. The *Greeks* and others held it in great eſteem, according to S. *Jerom*, as *Spondanus* writes, *an.* 21. What S. *Auguſtin* writes *ſerm.* 47. *ad frat.* concerning the *Roman Tarpeia* is wonderful: This woman was a heathen, and finding her ſelf tempted to ſenſuality, ſhe put out her eyes that ſhe might live chaſte as ſhe deſir'd, and forſaking all the pleaſures and paſtimes of this life, confin'd her ſelf to live upon bread and water. She did not hope for eternal bliſs, ſays the ſaint, and yet ſhe us'd ſuch rigid means to preſerve the jewel of virginity. This treaſure is not valu'd or preſerv'd in *China*, nor in other countries of that part of the world. But ſtrange things have been done there by married women to preſerve their fidelity to their huſbands. It is but a few years ſince one, to be rid of the importunity of a *mandarin*, cut off her noſe.

21. "A virtuous man, ſays a grave doc- "tor, is maſter and pedagogue to him "that is not ſo. A wicked man furniſhes "a good one with matter of merit.

22. "The ſoft out-does the hard, ſays "the *Chineſe*, the weak the ſtrong; there- "fore the tongue which is ſoft laſts a great "while, and the teeth, tho' hard, break "and fall to pieces.

The meaning of this is, that a good and virtuous man with his patience and forbearance overcomes the obſtinate and harden'd ſinner, and a ſweet and tender heart triumphs over the vanity of the proud. This was viſible in the apoſtles, whom CHRIST ſent as ſheep among wolves, yet they by patience and ſufferings overcame the cruelty of tyrants. *This was a new kind of war, and an unuſual manner of fighting*, ſaid S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Homil.* 34. in *Matth.* The ſame has appear'd in many children and tender virgins, and of late years has been ſeen in *Cochinchina*, and what is yet ſtranger, in *Japan*, though there have been no prieſts in that country of late years; for in the year 1663, on the day of the *Aſcenſion* of our Lord, two hundred and fifty ſuffer'd martyrdom; and every year ſince thirty, or forty, as I am moſt certainly inform'd.

What is there more violent and ſtrong than the paſſion of an angry man? yet one ſweet tender word diſarms and conquers it. *A ſoft anſwer breaks anger.* Who would not imagine that a hard and angry word ſhould check a furious man? yet it is not ſo. *A hard word breeds contention*, *Eccluſ.* xv. And if we ſhould ſay the ſoftneſs of a ſinner's tears ſoftens the anger and wrath of GOD, it were eaſily made out; at preſent let it ſuffice to reflect on thoſe ſhed by S. *Peter*, S. *Mary Magdalen*, and others.

23. Another ſays, "The merciful and "compaſſionate man ſhall live many years, "the cruel and wicked ſhall ſoon end.

24. One of theſe *Chineſe* moraliſts ſaid: "Virtue is compar'd to the nature of wa- "ter; if it be oppreſſed, it riſes; being "convey'd into aqueducts, it runs over "hills, and croſſes mountains; ſometimes "it is ſquare, and ſometimes round; here "it runs ſtreight, and there crooked, it "does the will of him that conveys it in "all reſpects.

25. The *Chineſe* again: "The chief "thing requiſite in children is, that they "be upright and obedient; if they be "good and bountiful to their parents, their "children will be ſo to them. When a man "does good to others, he does it to him- "ſelf. It is requiſite to act well every "day, and it is neceſſary at all times to "expreſs what is within by good works. "To do good is the firſt quality of hea- "venly men.

26. Another *Chineſe:* " Good and evil, " reward and puniſhment, have no peculi- " ar gate or way of their own, man by " his actions draws on the one or the other " of them. If he acts well, he purchaſes " reward and happineſs; if ill, he brings " on himſelf troubles, misfortunes, and " the puniſhment of his ſins. Virtue and " vice have their recompence, which fol- " lows them, as the ſhadow does the bo- " dy. Therefore when any perſon reſolves " to follow virtue, tho' he have not actu- " ally put it in execution, he immediately " is ſenſible of the reward; if he reſolves " to be wicked, he preſently finds the miſ- " chiefs that proceed from vice, tho' he " have not yet practis'd what he reſolv'd. " But if when he has tranſgreſs'd in any " things, he repents him of his fault, he " recovers thoſe advantages which he had " forfeited by ſin. This is according to " the ſaying, That evil is converted into " good.

27. " Another of them ſays, heaven and " earth are juſt, upright, no excepters of " perſons, their ſpirits examine our acti- " ons, nor will they beſtow bleſſings on us " for offering them great ſacrifices, nor will " they puniſh us for omitting them. Who- " ſoever is in high place or dignity, let " him not rely too much upon it. Who- " ſoever is great and rich, let him not " rejoice too much in thoſe goods. Let " no man deſpiſe the poor and needy; " for dignities, preferments, riches and po- " verty, are ever rolling from one to ano- " ther, without being ever fixt or perma- " nent. All dependance is in virtue. He " who is once good, tho' he obtain not " the reward of his good works, yet evil " will fly from him; and he that is once " wicked, tho' the puniſhment of his " crimes do not immediately reach him, " yet all happineſs will preſently leave " him. He that lives well is like the " plants in a garden in ſpring, which im- " perceptibly grow and increaſe every day. " He that lives ill is like a grindſtone, its " decay is not to be diſcern'd, and yet it " hourly grows leſs. To do hurt to ano- " ther for one's proper benefit, muſt be " carefully avoided. Tho' virtue be ne- " ver ſo ſmall, endeavour to advantage ano- " ther by it; tho' ſin be never ſo inconſide- " rable, diſſuade men from committing of " it. Let your meat, drink and cloathing " be ſuitable to your condition and abili- " ty. If you do ſo, you will certainly " live eaſy. Do not go about to be told " your fortune, nor trouble your ſelf with " caſting lots. To do ill to men is ill " fortune; to do them good is good for- " tune. Heaven's net is large, its reward " and puniſhment will come ſpeedily.

This book is made up of authors of all the ſects in *China*; and tho' it is true, they all in the main agree in the ſame principle, yet they differ in ſome meaſure in the manner of delivering themſelves, and exhorting others to virtue. He calls heaven and earth upright, and not guilty of making any exception of perſons; for as we ſay of GOD, *That he cauſes his ſun to riſe upon the juſt and unjuſt*; ſo the *Chineſe* ſays, heaven equally covers all men, and the earth, which they call the common mother, equally maintains all. In the firſt he ſpeaks of the light of nature, which thoſe people ſay, heaven infuſed into man. GOD infuſed it into them and all of us, that we might ſee our actions. *The law is light*, ſays the vi. *Chap.* ℣. 23. of *Prov.* St. *Paul*, *Rom.* i. calls it a witneſs, *Their conſcience bearing witneſs*, &c. Which the *Chineſes* had ſome ſort of knowledge of, for in their philoſophy they ſay, That man has two hearts within him, which meet and fight, becauſe one abhors what the other deſires. This is agreeable to that of the apoſtle: *I find in my body another law oppoſite to the law of my mind.* NAVARETTE.

28. Another ſays: " Thoſe that are " rarely qualify'd, are good without being " taught; thoſe who are indifferent, be- " ing taught, preſently improve, and ea- " ſily apply themſelves to virtue; thoſe " who are dull, tho' they be taught and " inſtructed, are never the better. He " that is taught and does not improve, if " he be not a brute, what is he? To know " good is a great bleſſing and happineſs; " to be wicked is a great misfortune.

The author goes on: " Happineſs con- " ſiſts in the eyes not ſeeing ill things, the " ears not hearing undecent words, the " mouth uttering no bad language, the " feet walking in no unlawful ways, having " no friendſhip with any but virtuous per- " ſons not taking any thing that belongs " to another, flying from wicked men as " we do from ſnakes and vipers. Un- " happineſs conſiſts in ſpeaking deceitful " and falſe words, in ſuffering our ſenſes to " ſtray, in coveting what is not ours, in " diſguiſing evil, in deſiring ſenſuality, " and rejoicing at the harms of others, in " hating good men, and in breaking the " laws with as little regret, as if a man " broke a water-pitcher. To be happy, " is to be virtuous, but one day is not " ſufficient to obtain this. To be unhap- " py is to be wicked and vicious, if a man " is ſo but one day, it is enough for all " the world boldly to call him wicked.

The king of the kingdom *Zu*, which at preſent is the province of *Xan Tung*, was aſk'd what pearls and precious ſtones there were in his kingdom? He anſwer'd, The

NAVARETTE. virtue of my ſubjects is the jewels and precious ſtones of my kingdom, this it is I regard, this I value and prize, not thoſe that are found under ground.

Really this king, tho' a heathen, may be maſter to many catholicks. The commentators write, there were very precious things, and of great value in that kingdom, but that the king minded nothing ſave that his ſubjects ſhould addict themſelves ſincerely to virtue.

29. The great maſter *Confucius* ſays: "Virtue is ſo to be ſeen in another, as we "may believe ours is not equal to it; the "vice and failing of our neighbour is to "be ſeen, as a man would put his hand "into boiling water. A virtuous man muſt "be look'd upon, with a will and deſire "to imitate him. A wicked man muſt be "look'd upon, after examining one's own "heart, and ſeeing whether the fault we "ſpy in our neighbour is not to be found "there.

Excellent doctrine! How carefully will he do it, that is to put his hand into boiling water? if he can avoid it, no doubt but he will, and when in, how haſtily will he draw it out? The ſame rule is to be obſerv'd, not to pry into other mens lives.

As to what has been writ concerning reward and puniſhment, moſt certain it is, the *Chineſe* ſpeaks not of what is in the other life, but of this. That nation never had any knowledge of the other, nor is there any account of it in their books. This point belongs to the controverſies, where it is made out at large, and to the enſuing book. The *Chineſes* hold the ſame opinion with *Job*'s Friends: *S. Thomas Lect.* 2. upon the fourth chapter of it, ſays thus, *Where it is to be obſerv'd that this was the opinion of* Eliphaz, *and the reſt, that misfortunes of this nature do not fall upon any man, but as a puniſhment of ſin, and on the contrary proſperity to be the reward of righteouſneſs.* And this, ſays the *Chineſe*, falls out accidentally or naturally. The ſame ſaint, *Lect.* 3. on *Job* iii. ſays, the *Jews* held the ſame opinion. *Lect.* 1. he ſays after S. *Gregory*, that GOD *ſcourges men five ſeveral ways:* But the *Chineſes* conceive nothing further than that hard fortune naturally attends the wicked, and proſperity the juſt. So that there is no manner of argument to be deduced from their books to convince, or make them own a reward and puniſhment in the other life.

Whilſt I was writing this book in *Canton*, a manuſcript book was brought thither compos'd by a Chriſtan *Chineſe* of the *Literati*, or learn'd; he defends the law of GOD, but proves more than is requir'd of him, and does not make uſe of ſound arguments. I will here ſet down two inſtances. He proves the incarnation of the Son of GOD thus: Two of our emperors, the one call'd *Cie*, the other *Sie*, were conceiv'd without the help of man; then it follows CHRIST might be conceiv'd after the ſame manner. Concerning our bleſſed Lady he argues thus; Our empreſs *Kang Juen* conceiv'd and brought forth without the help of man; even ſo might our bleſſed Lady. Another queen conceiv'd with eating the eggs that dropt from a ſwallow; ſo might our bleſſed Lady without the help of man. This to me ſeems *an ill defence of a good cauſe.* Some would have the *Chineſe* chimera's to be figures of our holy myſteries, but there is no manner of ground for it, eſpecially if we allow of what S. *Auguſtin* teaches, and S. *Thomas* quotes, *Lect.* 2. on *Rom.* i. That the prophecies concerning CHRIST began to be written by *Iſaiah* and *Hoſea*, after *Rome* was in being; *Under whoſe empire* CHRIST *was to be born, and his faith to be preach'd to the Gentiles.* What has been writ of the *Chineſes* was thouſands of years before. I do not treat of this ſubject in this place, but of their morals; which beſides their being very ancient, contain ſome very good things. Concerning the manner of proving matters of faith, read *Cajetan* on *Acts* xvi.

CHAP. II.

Which treats of Reaſon, and the Light of Nature.

1. THE ſecond *Chineſe* philoſopher, of whom I am to ſpeak in this and ſome other chapters, was born three hundred years after *Confucius*. When we were carry'd priſoners to the imperial city, we came to paſs the heat of the afternoon at the place of his birth, which is a village in the province of *Xan Tung*, not far from *Confucius* his native town. We went into his temple, after croſſing a large court or church-yard, ſhaded with beautiful, lofty, and very ancient cypreſs-trees. This ſeems to be one of thoſe the ſcripture calls *groves*, *Deut.* xii. *Oleaſter* and others expound it *ſtreight trees*. The *Chineſes* have much of this, they are ſet regularly, and kept in good order. Within the temple was the ſtatue of this maſter on an altar, after the ſame manner as other idols are. Over him was a large inſcription in ſtately gold letters, to this effect; This is *Meng Zu*, the ſecond man of this empire in ſanctity. His poſterity

terity continues to this day, are lords of that place, and have the title of *mandarines*. He writ much moral philoſophy. All agree he was a man of great parts, but ſomewhat ſharp and cynick. His books are of great authority in that nation, inſomuch that the ſcholars, or learned men are often examin'd by them.

Among other remarkable ſtories they tell of him, take this that follows. The emperor *Leang Vuang* had certain groves and gardens that were a league and a half in compaſs, at which this maſter us'd to rail very much. The emperor came to hear of it, for there is no want of informers in *China*. The emperor ſent for him, and being come into his preſence, put this queſtion to him; worthy and venerable maſter, is it true, that you are concern'd, and find fault with my gardens taking up ſo much ground? It is, ſir, anſwer'd *Meng Zu*. If he had deny'd, and it had been prov'd upon him, he had certainly loſt his head. I know, ſaid the emperor, that my predeceſſor *Vuen Vuang* had gardens three leagues in compaſs, and yet no body rail'd at it. *Meng Zu* reply'd, *Vuen Vuang*'s groves were as large as your majeſty ſpeaks of, and yet they were ſmall; thoſe your majeſty has are but half the compaſs, and yet they are too big; ſo that there is reaſon to rail at and find fault with theſe, and there was none to do ſo by the others. How d'ye make that out? ſaid the emperor. The maſter anſwer'd, Tho' thoſe gardens and groves took up ſo much ground, the gates of them were open and free, and the ſubjects had leave to fiſh in the ponds, cut wood, gather fruit, and make uſe of the game; and the number of ſubjects being ſo great, very many could not come to furniſh themſelves in the imperial groves, therefore I ſay they were too ſmall. Thoſe your majeſty has, tho' they take up leſs ground, are ſhut up, and it is forbid upon pain of death to fiſh, hunt, cut wood, or gather fruit in them; ſo that no ſubject has any benefit of what is within them, therefore, I ſay, they are too big. And ſince your majeſty is the people's father, Why do you lay ſnares againſt your childrens lives? What elſe is it, to make a law that none upon pain of death come in to fiſh, hunt, *&c.* but to lay ſnares to catch your children? The emperor was ſtruck dumb, and had not a word to ſay for himſelf. What anſwer could be made to ſo excellent an argument? *Oleaſter* ſpeaks to this purpoſe on *Deut.* iv. *ad mores in principio*. But nothing prevails on the great men of *Europe*, tho' they value themſelves upon their Chriſtianity; it were well if the keepers they place in their foreſts would not ſtrip paſſengers, as I ſaw them do.

As concerning this philoſopher's religion, I ſuppoſe he was of the ſect of the learned, and as much an atheiſt as the reſt of them; for in his books there is not the leaſt appearance of his having any knowledge of GOD, the immortality of the ſoul, or reward or puniſhment in a future life. Whence it follows that the philoſopher *Confucius* was no leſs ignorant as to theſe points, becauſe *Meng Zu* having ſtudied and learnt his doctrine, it is certain if he had found any thing in it concerning GOD, an immortal ſoul, *&c.* he muſt have mention'd it in his writings. NAVARETTE.

2. We may with good reaſon ſay of this, and the reſt of the *Chineſe* doctors, what S. *Auguſtin* writes, *lib.* III. *quæſt. evang. cap.* 42. *They may therefore not abſurdly be ſuppos'd to be lepers, who being deſtitute of the knowledge of the true faith, profeſs variety of erroneous doctrine, for they do not conceal their ignorance, but expoſe it as great knowledge, and lay it open in haughty diſcourſes. But there is no falſe doctrine without ſome mixture of truth*, &c. This is the ſame *Lactantius* writ, *lib.* VII. *cap.* 7. *de divino præmio*. And we know how much the ancient *Europeans* err'd, and the *Greeks*, who were the wiſe men of the world, from whom wiſdom and knowledge was convey'd to the reſt, as S. *Thomas* aſſerts, *Lect.* 6. in i. *ad Rom.* I know not upon what pretence we ſhould endeavour to clear the *Chineſes* from the ſame failings. S. *Auguſtin*, *de ver. relig. cap.* 2. places *Socrates*, tho' ſo eminent a man, among the idolaters. S. *John Chryſoſtom* does the ſame, in iii. *ad Rom.* S. *Athanaſius*, *orat. cont. idol.* ſays the ſame of *Plato*, who uſurp'd the title of *divine*. Many hold the ſame opinion of *Ariſtotle*, *Seneca*, and *Cicero*; to which purpoſe you may ſee F. *Arias*, *tom.* I. *fol.* 426. What wonder then that the *Chineſes* ſhould fall into the like misfortunes? But farther, you'll ſay, the *Chineſes* have writ incomparably, and are men of great parts. Still, I ſay, they have not writ better, nor ſo well as the others we have ſpoken of, nor are they to compare to them for wit and judgment. And we know S. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, *Good doctrine often comes from an ill man, as a baſe ſoil produces precious gold.* See S. *Thomas*, *Lect.* 2. in iv. *Joan.* and upon *Boetius*, *de Trinit. quæſt.* 3. *art.* 2. And *Corn. à Lapide*, in *Rom.* i. ℣. 27. with what ſhall be ſaid concerning *Xenocrates*.

3. The *Chineſes* hold this man in great veneration; and that they look upon him as a ſaint, appears by their dedicating temples to him; this is an undeniable argument of the godhead they aſſign'd him. S. *Auguſtin*, *ſerm. Arian. cap.* 20. uſes this argument to convince hereticks, that the Holy Ghoſt is GOD. *If the* Arians *did but read*,

NAVARETTE. *read, that the temple of* Solomon *was built of ſtones for the Holy Ghoſt, they would not make any doubt of his being* GOD, *ſince the being of a temple belongs to the ſupreme adoration, call'd* Latria; *how then can they deny the Holy Ghoſt to be* GOD, *ſince he has the nobleſt temple?* S. *Ambroſe, lib.* III. *de Spiritu Sancto, cap.* 13. handles this point at large, and concludes thus; GOD *therefore has a temple, creatures have none. Bede* on 1 *Cor. cap.* vi. deduces the ſame conſequence; *How then can he be no* GOD *who has a temple?* S. *Anſelm* on the ſame; *The Holy Ghoſt is moſt plainly declar'd to be* GOD; *becauſe unleſs he were a* GOD *he would have no temple.* Read S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *quæſt.* 83. *art.* 2. *ad* 3 *&* 1. *p. quæſt.* 27. *art.* 1. where he ſays, *To have a temple belongs only to* GOD. Hence we may infer, that ſince in *China* there are many temples dedicated to *Confucius*, where they alſo worſhip this ſecond maſter, and other doctors, they aſſign them holineſs and a godhead. This and other points of the ſame nature are handled at large in the controverſies.

The firſt propoſition deliver'd by this ſecond maſter in this preſent chapter, is this; "Thoſe who follow the rule of reaſon, and act according to it, will ſecure and perpetuate themſelves; but they that act againſt it, ſhall periſh.

5. There are many things in the *Chineſe* books, which may be eaſily interpreted to our meanings, if we mind the ſound and ſuperficial ſenſe of the words; but it is not convenient to print it in their language. It is but a few years ſince a little book was printed and publiſh'd in that miſſion, which I believe no man but the author lik'd.

6. Another *Chineſe* doctor ſays thus; "He that adheres to the rule of reaſon, does not deſire or expect any profit, and yet every thing is profitable and advantageous to him. He that follows the will and humour of another, ſeeks his intereſt, and aims at advantage, and ſometimes meets with trouble and loſs before he attains it.

7. Another of the *Chineſes* has this ſentence; "To contrive buſineſs is in the power of man; to bring it to a concluſion is the work of heaven. Man deſires this thing, or that; but heaven does not always comply with his deſires.

8. Another: "Heaven hears all; tho' the buſineſs be never ſo private, it will not be conceal'd from heaven. Do not trouble yourſelf to aſk where heaven is; it is neither high nor far off, you have it in your heart, it knows your thoughts tho' never ſo inconſiderable.

9. To the ſame purpoſe another *Chineſe* ſays; "What private diſcourſes paſs between men, heaven hears as plain as if they were thunder; it ſees the hidden wickedneſs of the heart, as if it were as viſible as a flaſh of lightning.

All this is literally meant of the conſcience, and rational inſtinct, whoſe ears and eyes are ſharp and piercing, that it ſees and hears whatſoever man ſays or does, though never ſo private, as plainly as if it were known to all the world. This doctrine alone makes heathens afraid, and forbear committing faults.

10. A grave author ſays; "He that deceives and wrongs his neighbour, deceives and wrongs his own heart; and he that deceives and wrongs his own heart, deceives heaven. Can one's own heart and heaven be deceiv'd? One man ſeeks to deceive another, let him be ſatisfy'd he deceives himſelf. Do not ſay, heaven ſees not; be aſſur'd you cannot deceive it; and that neither you nor any other man can excuſe the faults you commit. Exhort all men to live well, wrong no man. The wicked man impoſes upon, and cheats the good; but heaven is not impos'd upon. Man fears men, but heaven fears no body.

By theſe expreſſions they curb men, and reſtrain them from running into vice; and accordingly we ſee many of them live modeſtly and cautiouſly, and with ſuch circumſpection and fear of falling into any grievous ſin, that one would think they were afraid of being accountable to GOD for their actions. It needs not be made out, that he who defrauds, or wrongs his neighbour, does more wrong his own ſoul; for it is moſt certain the ſin ſticks upon his ſoul, and the miſchief it brings cannot be repair'd by nature, being infinitely greater than any it can cauſe to another man. This heathen aſſerts, there can be no excuſe made for our ſins; S. *Paul, Rom.* ii. teaches the ſame. If the apoſtle cannot convince, let the heathen confound you.

11. Another ſays; "If you act wickedly to purchaſe fame and honour, and men do not puniſh you, be aſſur'd heaven will. He that ſows pompions, reaps pompions; and he that ſows wheat, will reap wheat: heaven's net is very large, and tho' thin, no man can ſlip thro' it. Tho' the huſbandman plow deep and ſow in ſeaſon, that alone will not produce and ripen the corn, heaven muſt help it with ſun-ſhine, rain, and dew.

12. Another author ſays; "To endeavour to benefit oneſelf to the detriment of another, can never go unpuniſh'd.

All gain and advantage muſt be compaſs'd without wronging a third perſon, otherwiſe

otherwiſe it is rather a theft than lawful gain, rather tyranny than conveniency and advantage. S. *Auguſtin*, ſerm. 3. *ad Grat.* ſpeak thus; *It is an exceſs of wickedneſs to endeavour to grow rich out of the ſlender means of the poor and widows: Therefore, brethren, honeſt gains are to be lov'd, but extortion to be abhorr'd.* This is very pat to rich men, who engroſs all commodities, not allowing the poor to lay out their ſmall ſtock to ſupport their families. The *Chineſes* call ſuch men tigers without teeth. The tiger that has teeth, ſay they, eats leiſurely, reliſhing its food; but that which has none, devours and ſwallows all whole: rich men are for ſwallowing all. In other places they call them crocodiles, or alligators; tho' this fierce and bloody creature has too many teeth, yet it wants a tongue, which makes it ſwallow its food immediately, without holding it any time in the mouth. I have known ſome of theſe in my time; there was a mighty alligator at *Macaſſar*; he was poiſon'd not long ſince in the iſland of *Solor*. He had loſt many thouſand ducats, yet in his will he left ſix hundred and eighty thouſand pieces of eight, and had no heirs but a nephew and a baſtard daughter. What was this wretch the better for having gather'd ſo much money? What benefit had he of the toil wherewith he got it, of the dread with which he kept it, and of the trouble it was to him to leave it behind for others to enjoy? Read *Oleaſter* in *Num.* xxi. *ad mores in princip.* His doctrine is admirable, as is that of *Eccluſ.* xi. ℣. 20.

13. The *Chineſe* maſter. " He that of-
" fends heaven, has none to beg pardon
" of.

All the expoſitors make it out, but of heaven itſelf. It ſomewhat reſembles that of 1 *Kings* ii. *But if a man ſhall ſin againſt* GOD, *who ſhall pray for him?* This propoſition ſome miſſioners make their ground to prove that *Confucius* had knowledge of GOD: the contrary is moſt certainly true, as ſhall be made out in the controverſies where this ſubject is handled at large, and it will appear by the fifth book. I will only ſay in this place, that as to this and other points, we muſt rather ſubmit our judgments to the opinion of his diſciples, than be govern'd by our own ſpeculative notions, according to that of *Lactantius*, *Whom then ſhall we believe, if we give not credit to thoſe that commend?* The words of cardinal *Lugo*, *diſp.* 1. *de Euch. ſect.* 3. *num.* 4. is very proper to this purpoſe, and to ſome other points. *In diſputes concerning the ſignification of words, no ſtreſs can be laid any otherwiſe, than in the expreſſions and manner the authors and teachers of thoſe words us'd.* See S. *Thomas* to this purpoſe, *lect.* 2. in *Mat.* vii. The moſt that can be inferr'd from that propoſition, is, that he acknowledg'd a Deity in the material heaven, and not in ſtatues of clay or metal; wherein he agreed with others of the ancients according to S. *Thomas*, *lect.* 7. in *Rom.* i. *And in this he condemns the wiſe men of the heathens, who tho' they never believ'd there was any deity in images, as the followers of* Herinctes *believ'd, nor did believe thoſe things to be true which were fabulouſly reported by the poets, yet they gave divine worſhip to ſome creatures.* Yet for all this I do not clear him from very many other ſuperſtitions, nor do ſome grave and ancient miſſioners of the ſociety.

NAVARETTE. Read Oleaſt. *in* Deut. x. *ad mores.*

CHAP. III.

That Man ought to be conformable to the Diſpoſition of Heaven, and not to rely on his own Power and Ability.

THE *Chineſes* with only two characters of theirs, which are *xun ming*, expreſs almoſt all that is contain'd in the title of this chapter, which implies as much as, that fortune and fate are inevitable, and that we muſt be ſubmiſſive and ſubordinate to them.

1. Therefore one of them ſays, " Life
" and death have their certain determinate
" bounds; riches and wealth are in hea-
" ven.

2. The ſecond maſter. " To work, or
" cauſe to work, to go, or command to
" go, to ſtop, or make to ſtop, none of
" theſe things can man do of himſelf. The
" birds drinking a drop of water, or eat-
" ing a grain of corn, is all ſettled and de-
" termin'd before-hand. The ordering and
" contriving of buſineſs is long ſince fix'd.
" Since it is ſo, why do men labour and
" perplex themſelves for the things of this
" world? The things of this world do not
" depend on human contrivance, they are
" all regulated by the fate of heaven.

It is our duty to work and labour, and not to be miſled in this particular by this heathen. *He that created thee without thee, will not ſave thee without thee*, ſaid S. *Auguſtin.* And S. *Jerom*, *Labour is to be follow'd, ſolicitude to be taken away.* We are not to leave all to GOD, as the *Chineſe* would have all left to heaven.

3. One of them ſays, " There is no
" wiſdom like good fortune: there is no
" diſcretion like being lucky. Let no man
" think by his ingenuity to eſcape the
" troubles

NAVARETTE. " troubles of this world, and let none imagine with little more or leſs induſtry to " make themſelves fortunate in it.

4. Another *Chineſe* doctor. " When " you ſee him that ſcorns, and bears you " ill-will, do not hate him. When you " ſee profit before your eyes, do not imagine it will preſently fall into your hands.

The firſt propoſition is good and holy, the ſecond againſt covetous perſons.

5. Maſter *Confucius*. " He that knows " the fate of heaven, is not moved or " reſtleſs when he ſees profit before his " eyes, nor does he hate death when it " is near. Whether you go faſt or ſlow, " the race of this life muſt have an end.

This is a good help to thoſe that would prove *Confucius* had knowledge of GOD. This philoſopher has few diſciples in the doctrine he teaches in this place. There is never a *Chineſe* that is not diſturb'd and reſtleſs if he has the leaſt profit in ſight. The laſt part of this document may ſerve thoſe who are wholly reſign'd to the will of GOD, and have their accounts made up.

6. Another of them ſays, " The ignorant, the deaf, the dumb, the wiſe, " the noble, the diſcreet and ſtrong may " all be poor. The ſun, moon, time, " day, hours and minutes are ſettled; conſider then, whether theſe things depend " on man, or on fate. Fate and reaſon " have their limited time.

Only the outward appearance of a rich man, without his being really ſo, gain'd eſteem among the courtiers: the ſame is done in *China*, as well as other places, and ſomething beyond them.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Obedience of Children to their Parents.

1. THE book of verſes, which is one of the ancienteſt for inſtruction in *China*, ſpeaks thus; " My father begot " me, my mother with ſorrow brought " me forth, and ſuckled me; if I will re- " pay what I owe them, all heaven will " not ſuffice.

2. The maſter *Confucius*. " I receiv'd " body, ſkin, hair, and all from my pa- " rents; not to wrong theſe things is the " beginning of obedience: to labour to " gain honour, and leave a name to poſ- " terity to make them renown'd, is the end " of this virtue. What belongs to obe- " dience is, whilſt my parents live, to ho- " nour, pay them the greateſt reſpect, " and maintain them with ſatisfaction, and " chearfully: When they are ſick, to be " ſorry for their ſufferings, to grieve at " their death; and when I offer ſacrifice " to them, let it be with all poſſible atten- " tion and devotion. He therefore that " loves another, and not his parents, is " oppoſite to virtue and reaſon. A man " of honour muſt value himſelf upon be- " ing obedient to his parents, and loyal " to his king. He is oblig'd to ſerve his " brothers, and be reſpectful to his ſupe- " riors.

Upon account of the firſt words in this paragraph of *Confucius*, the *Chineſes* ever made great account of their hair, and never us'd to cut it, till the *Tartar* oblig'd them to part with it: They wore it put up and faſt bound in a curious pouch made of horſe-hair, and account thoſe *Barbarians* who wear their hair looſe. The *Chineſes* do not cut their beards neither. *Diogenes* ſays it betokens man, virtue, courage, and reſolution. *Sichius*, that it is a ſign of perfection. *Eucherius*, that it denotes valour. *Rodulphus* adds, that it alſo ſignifies wiſdom. In thoſe that ſhave all off it may expreſs the contrary. All things are inverted in *Europe*.

He expreſſes the ſacrificing to parents by the word *Ci*, which is us'd for all ſorts of ſacrifices, concerning which I treat at large in the controverſies. The devil will act the ape in all things, and endeavour to appear like GOD. We have bulls for the dead, and indulgences; this fiend has brought up the ſame in *China*. In religious orders it is cuſtomary to give letters of brotherhood to their devotees and benefactors, which are beneficial to the faithful. They were in uſe among the monks of *China*, and the *Ciſtertians* in the year 1118. as ſays *Spondanus* upon that year, *num.* 13. The devil has ſet up the ſame in *China*. Many of the faithful are uſually buried in the habit of ſome religious order; this too the devil has taught them in *China*. The holy cuſtom of burying prieſts in their prieſtly veſtments had its beginning, ſays *Lyra* on *Levit.* x. *Becauſe that* Nadab *and* Abiud *were buried in the prieſtly garments, the cuſtom came in force of burying the prieſts of the new law in prieſtly veſtments.*

The *Chineſes* tranſgreſs in exceſs of obedience towards their parents; many Chriſtians fall as ſhort.

3. Let us go on with another *Chineſe*. " He that has parents muſt aſk them leave " when he goes out of doors, when they " return they muſt make their appearance, " and tell whither they go. The ſon ought " to be employ'd in ſome buſineſs. When " he

" he is bid to do any thing, let him not " excuſe himſelf; whilſt his parents live, " let him not go away into far countries: " if he travel, let it be upon caſe of abſo- " lute neceſſity. It is not convenient chil- " dren ſhould be ignorant of their parents " ages: one reaſon is, that they may re- " joice at their long life; the other, that " they may be ſorry, becauſe age brings " them the nearer to death. Whilſt the " father lives, let the ſon obſerve his ac- " tions; when he is dead, let him imitate " his virtues, and wear mourning for him " three years without intermiſſion.

All this that has been written the *Chineſes* obſerve, and are far beyond the *Europeans* in knowing the age of their father, mother, uncles, brothers, and other kindred: there is not one of them, tho' not full ſix years of age, but knows it; all from the higheſt to the loweſt can tell their own age, the month, day, and hour when they were born. They look upon us miſſioners as undutiful, becauſe we have left our parents, and travel'd ſo many leagues; and they think ill that we do not ſtay at home to ſerve and relieve them, but we give them reaſons enough for what we do. Becauſe they keep all their birth-days, they admire we do it not too; to this purpoſe they exactly keep in mind their parents age and birth-day. This furniſhes us an opportunity of inſtructing them how ſuch days are to be kept, and why the church celebrates the day that ſaints dy'd on, and not that they were born upon. Certain it is many celebrate their birth-day, others the ages, or every hundred years, as the renowned ſociety of JESUS did piouſly and religiouſly; and the elector of *Saxony* and other *Lutherans* did ſacrilegiouſly the hundredth year ſince the apoſtacy of the infamous *Luther*, ſtamping on their ſilver and gold coins, *Sæculum Lutheranum.* See *Spondanus* in his ſupplem. *an.* 1617. Others celebrate the coronations of their kings. I ſaw that of the king of *England* kept at *Madraſtapatan*, that of the pope at *Rome*; I twice ſaw it kept for *Clement* X. who now ſteers S. *Peter*'s boat.

4. Another *Chineſe* writes: " If a ſon " be obedient to his parents, his children " will be obedient to him; if he is diſobe- " dient, how can he expect his ſhould be " obedient? He that is obedient breeds " obedient children, he that is rebellious " begets rebellious children. NAVARETTE.

5. Another of them ſays: " He that " breeds up children, knows how much " he receiv'd from his parents: he that la- " bours and watches, knows with how " much pain and trouble his neighbour " earns his bread.

6. The ſecond *Chineſe* maſter. " Diſ- " obedience has three conſequences; the " greateſt, the want of children: he that " has children provides againſt old age, he " that lays up corn provides againſt a " famine." In another place he ſays, " There are three ſins belong to diſobe- " dience, the greateſt is the want of chil- " dren.

This doctrine, as I obſerv'd elſewhere, made way for concubines; which error has been ſufficiently impugn'd, but it is very hard to be rooted up. They look upon us as diſobedient becauſe we do not marry: for this reaſon the *Chineſes* are much concern'd at the want of children, and uſe all their endeavours to have them.

7. Another of them ſays: " When your " parents expreſs their love to you, re- " joice, and forget it not; if they hate " you, fear, but do not love them the leſs: " if you diſcover any failings in them, re- " prove them, but be not diſobedient.

Brotherly reproof is of very ancient ſtanding, and much celebrated in *China*; it is to be us'd even towards parents, as the heathen ſays in this place, and ſhall be repeated hereafter.

8. *Confucius.* " Among all ſins none " equals that of diſobedience.

9. One of his diſciples: " Of all works " whatſoever, obedience to parents is the " chiefeſt, it reaches to heaven; for its " ſake heaven ſends the obedient wind " and rain in ſeaſon. Come down to the " earth, therefore it furniſhes them with " plentiful crops: come to men, therefore " all bleſſings and felicities reach thoſe that " are obedient.

Had theſe authors known GOD, they had not certainly talk'd after this manner. Tho' S. *Paul*, *Epheſ.* vi. ſays, *Honour thy father, and thy mother, which is the firſt commandment in the promiſe.* What goes before he allows as tending to GOD, which is in *Exod.* xx. and *Deut.* v. There is nothing to this point in the *Chineſe* books.

CHAP. V.

How Man is to order and regulate himſelf.

1. THE *Chineſe* philoſophy. " When " you ſee any thing that is good in " your neighbour, conſider whether the " ſame is to be found in your heart; and " if you perceive any defect in your " neighbour, ſearch your inſide; if you " do ſo, you will certainly improve: for " if you find not the good you obſerv- " ed

NAVARETTE. " ed in another, you will ſtrive to get it; " and if you find the evil you ſaw in your " neighbour, you will endeavour to caſt " it out.

2. A grave author ſays, " He that does " not fear, draws on himſelf troubles. He " that is not full of pride, will receive be- " nefit. He that is not fond of his own " opinion, will be wiſe.

3. Another *Chineſe* has theſe words: " It " is oppoſite to reaſon, that he who lives " looſely, ſhould pretend to curb others. " He that is in himſelf good and upright, " and inſtructs his neighbour by his exam- " ple, will doubtleſs have diſciples.

4. Another *Chineſe*. " It is not lawful " for him that has many good parts, to " blame or carp at the want of them in his " neighbour.

5. Another ſays, " You muſt not be- " cauſe you are noble, deſpiſe thoſe that " are not ſo; nor muſt you reproach others, " becauſe you are great in fame and " riches; nor is it lawful to undervalue an " enemy, becauſe you are courageous and " valiant.

He is in the right in every point. Before we proceed any further, we might here ſet down the origin, riſe, and antiquity of nobility. According to S. *Auguſtin*, it began in *Shem* and *Japhet*. The *Faſciculus Florum* in the firſt age, *fol.* 5. ſays the ſame. When *Noah* curſed *Ham*, *This is the firſt mention of ſervitude, and conſequently of nobility. But this bleſſing and curſe is in regard to virtue and vice, for the one or the other of which a man is truly call'd noble, or ignoble.* *Fol.* 5. *p.* 2. it ſays, nobility firſt came up in the time of *Phaleg* the ſon of *Heber*, many reaſons concurring to make it ſo. *Mankind increaſing, and men being prone to evil, it was requiſite to prevent the inſolencies of the wicked towards the good; and therefore ſome good man, who was more upright and wiſe than the reſt, was choſen to be over the community, to prefer the virtuous, to ſupport the middle ſort, and reſtrain the wicked; hence he was call'd noble, as being notable for virtue above the reſt.* *Whereupon S.* Jerom; *I ſee nothing to be coveted in nobility, but that noblemen are in a manner conſtrained not to deviate from the probity of the ancients.* The ſecond reaſon was to preſerve the publick peace. In ſome nobility had its beginning from courage and valour, in others from their many riches, and in others from tyranny and oppreſſion.

However we ſee the families of the two maſters have continued for many ages in *China*, and are very noble, being ſo ancient, that I believe there are few in the world can match them. The line of ſome emperors laſted ſix hundred, and even eight hundred years.

6. Another *Chineſe*. " If virtue reigns " in a man, he may be ſaid to be brave " and valiant; virtue is in the mind, not " in the fortune. He that endeavours by " violence to ſubdue another, ſhall periſh.

7. The ſecond maſter. " He that for- " cibly ſubdues another, tho' he have him " under, yet neither his heart nor his will is " ſubject to him. When virtue and rea- " ſon are the weapons we fight with, the " will ſubmits, and the heart chearfully " complies.

8. Another author. " Whoſoever ſees " any thing in his neighbour that is good, " let him always endeavour to have it in " ſight, that he may imitate it: if he ſees " any ill, let him ſtrive to conceal and " hide it.

Thoſe who do the contrary, either endeavour to make their own crimes ſeem leſs, or to prevent being reprov'd; as if this would avail them before the dreadful tribunal of Almighty GOD. *Oleaſter* on the book of *Numbers* often obſerves, that GOD reprov'd *Moſes* and *Aaron* in private.

9. *Confucius*. " To hide the good that " is in a man, is to deſtroy virtue. To " expoſe the faults of others, ſhews a vile " temper in him that does it. To ſpeak " well of my neighbour's virtue, is as if I " were the virtuous perſon; to lay open " his failings, is as much as to own myſelf " faulty.

10. One of their doctors. " A man " ſhould hear talk of the faults of others, " as a ſon would hear his parents rail'd at. " The ears may hear, but the mouth ought " not to divulge it.

I heard a learned *Chineſe*, who was a good Chriſtian, commend this ſentence, and he expounded it thus: When a man hears his parents rail'd at, he preſently puts a ſtop to that diſcourſe, or takes their part, or ſhuns him that rails: all which we ought to do upon any other caſe of detraction. To the ſecond point he ſaid, That as a ſon when he hears his father's faults mention'd, conceals it without revealing it to another; ſo ought we to ſuppreſs and hide the faults we hear our neighbour charg'd with. We know it is as bad to give ear to detraction, as to detract.

11. The ſecond maſter. " What pu- " niſhment does he deſerve, who ſpeaks " ill of his neighbour, and diſcovers his " failings? There is none equivalent to his " fault.

Excellently expreſs'd of a heathen. The *Chineſe* ſeverely condemns ſlanderers, and tells us how tender we ought to be of the reputation, honour, and good-name of all men. The ſcriptures and writings of holy men are full of this doctrine.

12. Another

12. Another *Chineſe:* " Let him that " knows he is ſlander'd, not be angry; let " him that hears his praiſes, not be puff'd " up: he that hears others ill ſpoken of, " let him not contract friendſhip with thoſe " that rail, but let him contract it with thoſe " who have good tongues, and let him de- " light in their company. The book of " verſes ſpeaks thus; It is pleaſant to ſee a " virtuous man, it is a great ſatisfaction " to hear good words, it is very delightful " to talk of holy things, it is an excellent " thing to act with a good intention. To " hear railing, is like loading one's ſhoul- " ders with briers: to hear good words, is " like taking a burden of roſes and lilies. " If the heart has no ill thoughts, the feet " walk not in ill ways. If there be no ill " friendſhip, nothing is heard diſagreeable " to reaſon or juſtice.

This laſt paragraph has been writ above three thouſand years, and in ſubſtance it wants nothing I know of to make it doctrine worthy any great doctor of the church.

13. Another of them. " To remove [to " virtue admits of no delay, it muſt be done " as nimbly as the wind flies; mending of " faults muſt be perform'd with the cele- " rity a flaſh of lightning breaks out of a " cloud.

This ſentence is written in the *Chineſe* language very ſuccinctly and elegantly. I read it ſo often, and was ſo taken with it, that I remember it and ſome others to this day.

14. *Confucius.* " Sin in a virtuous man is " like an eclipſe of the ſun and moon, all " men gaze at, and it paſſes away: the " virtuous man mends, and the world " ſtands in admiration of his fall.

All *China* has the ſame ſuperſtition in reference to eclipſes that was among the ancient *Europeans*, which *Spondanus* gives an account of *an.* 377. *n.* 5. where he quotes thoſe words of S. *Auguſtin* and S. *Ambroſe*, which I writ in another place.

15. The ſame *Chineſe* author. " He " that knows his failings, will doubtleſs " mend them; once mended, let him take " care not to relapſe.

16. Another *Chineſe.* " To ſin and not " to mend, is to be wicked and a ſinner. " He that tells me my faults is my maſter: " he that praiſes my virtues and makes " them known to me, is a thief, who takes " from me all I have that is good.

17. The ſame *Chineſe.* " Having three " friends, I muſt of neceſſity find one a- " mong them that may be my maſter; if " I adhere to him that is good and virtu- " ous, and ſhun thoſe that are not ſo, I " ſhall compaſs my deſign.

18. Another *Chineſe.* " By talking little, " and adhering to good men, I ſhall ſave " many troubles. NAVARETTE.

19. Another. " Care and ſollicitude is " a jewel of ineſtimable value. Care pre- " ſerves life, as the king's hand does.

The ſecond propoſition alludes to the cuſtom of *China*; it is uſual for thoſe who travel to have letters of recommendation from ſome *mandarin* for thoſe they ſhall meet. This was in uſe formerly in the church for biſhops, prieſts, deacons, *&c.* In the thirty fourth canon of the apoſtles, and in the councils *Antiſiodorenſis*, can. 7. and *Remenſis*, can. 4. this ſubject is handled. *Cabaſſucius*, Conc. *Carth.* 5. writes the difference there was as to this particular, and in *Syn. Chalced.* p. 244. he puts down to whom the letters of recommendation were to be given, and to whom thoſe of peace. And taking the propoſition in its literal ſenſe, it is a plain caſe that he who carries his king's paſs, may go any where ſafe. Diligence, ſays he, produces the ſame effect. See *Spond. an.* 142. *n.* 2. where he writes the ſeveral names given to thoſe letters. Some were call'd *Diplomata*, which they had who were call'd or ſent by the emperors, who had all neceſſaries allowed them. This is much us'd in *China*, but is very prejudicial to the ſubjects. (*It is nothing but free quarters on the road, or as it is call'd in* France *a route.*) Eight years ago a petty king of the province of *Canton* went over to that of *Fo Kien*, to which purpoſe nine thouſand boats were taken up. He carried along with him a hundred and ninety thouſand people, all belonging to his family. In the next province they furniſh'd him the like number of boats, and eighty thouſand men to draw them. When we came from court, they gave us an order for boats and maintenance, though we had not the benefit of it, and ſhew'd it in every city and town, ninety men were allow'd for our boats.

20. *Lao Zu*, author of one of the principal ſects in *China*, ſays, " Many ſins are " hurtful to the ſoul, much riches to the " body.

21. Another author: " It is neceſſary " that a man leave the pleaſures of this life. " It is beſt to be ſparing in diet. Seek " not nobility, covet not riches, and be " not led away by intereſt. If you do ſo, " you will have but few troubles. He " that is patient will have reſt.

22. *Confucius.* " All good things are to " be examin'd, and ſo are the bad in the " ſame manner.

23. A *Chineſe* ſays: " He who rejoices " when he is told of his faults, has doubt- " leſs ſomewhat of a holy man.

24. Another: " Every man deſires and " covets to be virtuous, and he would be " excuſable

NAVARETTE. "excuſable for not applying himſelf to the "practice of virtue, if for compaſſing of "it he were to uſe great force, tire himſelf, waſte his fortune, and hazard his "life; but ſince nothing of this is requir'd, "why are not all men virtuous? If a man "becauſe he employs himſelf in virtue, "were deſpiſed by his neighbours, hated "by his parents, and ſlighted by his kindred and friends, he might be excuſable "for not following it; but on the contrary, if he addicts himſelf to it, his parents will love him the better, his kindred, neighbours, and friends will honour and reſpect him every day more "than other. Why then are we not all "virtuous and good?

25. The maſter *Confucius:* "When a "man ſpeaks in due ſeaſon, and to the "purpoſe, no body thinks much of his "words. When he laughs in laughing-time, "no man thinks much of his laughter. "He that takes a thing he has a good title to, is not accounted covetous. He "that is ſilent amidſt the healths at a feaſt, "is virtuous. And he who in dividing "wealth acts fairly, is an honeſt and conſcientious man.

Silence at feaſts is rare to be found. *Noiſy drunkenneſs*, ſays *Eccluſ. c.* xx. In *China* it is exceſſive, they begin their feaſts with the greateſt gravity imaginable, attended by a thouſand ceremonies, and the middle and end of them is all noiſe and confuſion.

26. The ſame author: "Riches ſtrengthen houſes; virtue makes the heart fruitful. A little well got, is better than a "great deal wrongfully acquir'd.

27. Another author: "He that values "himſelf upon being a man, muſt ſhew it "by his actions. He that values virtue "above riches is a man of honour, and "he is baſe who prefers gold and ſilver "before virtue.

28. *Confucius:* "A good purge is bitter "to the taſte, but beneficial to the health. "A true and faithful word is harſh to the "ear, but good to the heart. The ſureſt "way to be happy and fortunate, is to "withdraw from ſin. There is no better "way to avoid troubles, than to ſhun "committing faults. The perfect man is "never ſatisfied with himſelf. He that is "ſatisfied with himſelf, is not perfect.

29. Another *Chineſe:* "There may be "three faults in an honeſt man: 1. That "he having a ſuperior above him, and not "ſerving him, expects to be ſerv'd by his "inferiors. 2. That having parents, whom "he does not obey, and to whom he is "not grateful for the benefits receiv'd of "them, he expects his children ſhould be "obedient and grateful. 3. That having a brother, whom he does not reſpect "as he ought, he would have his younger "brother be reſpectful to him. He that "does ſo, is not guided by reaſon and equity.

30. *Lao Zu:* "He that follows his own "opinion, is in danger of going aſtray. "He that relies upon himſelf, has not a "perfect knowledge of affairs. He that is "conceited, has no merit.

31. A *Chineſe:* "He that lays up corn "and garments, fears not hunger or cold. "He that hoards virtue, fears neither troubles nor misfortunes.

32. Another *Chineſe:* "He that looks "into other mens lives, ought firſt to look "into his own. He that affronts his neighbour with ill words, may be aſſur'd he "affronts himſelf firſt. Such a one is compar'd to a man who carries his mouth "full of ink, to ſpurt it upon another, for "he firſt dirts himſelf.

33. A *Chineſe:* "He who talks much, "kills his body.

34. Another writes thus: "The huſband-man forbears not tilling his ground "either becauſe he has too much or too "little rain; the merchant does not give "over trading becauſe he has had one or "two loſſes: then why ſhould a ſcholar "leave his books, becauſe he is poor, or "a good man his ſpiritual exerciſes, tho' "he have troubles or buſineſs.

35. "If a man employs himſelf only in "eating and drinking, he will incur the "contempt of all people, and it will come "to paſs, that for what is inconſiderable, "as meat and drink, he will loſe that which "is of value, *viz.* his good name, and reputation. Plays, games and jeſting, are "frivolous and uſeleſs things, only diligence in doing well is of value.

All this I like very well, but eſpecially the laſt propoſition, which is good and holy. I have already ſaid, that plays are very ancient, and much us'd in *China*. The players are not look'd upon at all; no woman is ever ſeen in their repreſentations. They were not admitted in *Rome*, ſays *Scipio Naſica*, according to the *Faſcic. temp.* fol. 31. *Becauſe it was very deſtructive to a warlike people, breeding idleneſs, and introducing laſciviouſneſs.*

36. A *Chineſe* writes very elegantly: "Do "not ſtoop to tie your ſhoes in a melon-"garden; do not handle your hat in an "orchard where there is fruit.

The author recommends us to circumſpection in our actions, and cautiouſneſs in our proceedings, that we may not give ſcandal, or an occaſion to others to judge raſhly. He tells us it is not convenient to do all that is lawful, according to that of S. *Paul, All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient.* S. *Auguſtin* ſerm. 43. ad frat.

But

But take heed ye be not deceiv'd, for many ill things are done under the colour of good. See *Oleaſt.* in *Deut.* xii, xiii. It is lawful and juſt for a man to tie his ſhoes, tho' it be in a melon-garden, but another that ſees it will ſuſpect or judge he ſteals melons. It is alſo lawful to ſettle one's hat, but if it is done among cherry, or other fruit-trees, another that ſees him lift up his hands will imagine he gathers the fruit. It is lawful to ſpeak to a woman, eſpecially if ſhe be a ſiſter, or near relation, but it is not convenient very often, becauſe malice is ſo ſharp, that what is only a point of civility may be improv'd to ſcandal. The ſame may be ſaid in many other caſes. Great regard muſt be had to circumſtances of time, place, quality of perſons, *&c.*

37. The ſecond maſter: " For a man " to love ſtrangers, and not his own do- " meſticks, is contrary to piety; to govern " others, and not to govern ones ſelf, is con- " trary to prudence; not to return a ſalu- " tation, is contrary to civility and good " manners.

As to what concerns not returning a ſalutation, there can be but two reaſons for it among us, *viz.* open enmity, or rudeneſs. Among the *Chineſes* there is none at all, for enmity is no cauſe not to make a return, and ſuch rudeneſs no man is guilty of.

38. A *Chineſe:* " When there are ſins in " thy houſe, it is ſoon known abroad a- " mong the neighbours. If a man is vir- " tuous, there is none but will praiſe and " extol his virtue. If a man is not honeſt " and virtuous, make him not your friend. " Receive not any thing without you have " a good title to it. If your thought be " not good, ſuppreſs it immediately; if " your buſineſs be not juſt and honeſt, let " it not come out of your mouth. He " that is circumſpect in all things, will " have no cauſe to grieve. He that is pa- " tient, is affronted at nothing. He that " is of a quiet temper, will live eaſy; and " he that is ſparing, will always have e- " nough.

39. Another *Chineſe:* " The mouth muſt " not utter the neighbour's faults; the " heart muſt not entertain evil thoughts, " the ears muſt not hear detraction, the " eyes muſt not ſee the faults of others. " He who obſerves all this is near being " virtuous.

40. A *Chineſe:* " If a man fails in one " thing, all he did before is loſt and caſt " away.

41. " A good and virtuous man, ſays " a *Chineſe* doctor, does not grow proud; " the wicked man is not aſham'd to be " puffed up.

42. A *Chineſe* ſays: " He that has a " ſharp wit and great judgment, muſt not undervalue thoſe who have not ſuch good parts. He that is ſtrong and powerful muſt not offend the weak and needy. He that knows not, let him aſk. He that cannot compaſs what he aims at muſt have patience, and tho' he can and knows always how to go thro' with buſineſs, let him always take care to preſerve humility. After all this he may attain to be virtuous. NAVARETTE.

43. *Lao Zu:* " Holy men heap up vir- " tues, not riches. To adhere to virtue, " preſerves the heart; to adhere to profit, " deſtroys it.

44. Another author: " Many benefits " and much love are what makes a man " eſteem'd. To ſtudy carefully is the way " to be powerful and wiſe.

45. " If rich and powerful men humble " themſelves to others, who is there that " will not humble himſelf to them? If " ſuperiors love and reſpect their inferiors, " which of the inferiors will not again love, " honour and reſpect them? If he that is " in high place and authority, carries him- " ſelf ſtately and with rigour, who that is " ſubordinate will not fear him? If he that " ſpeaks is in the right in what he ſays, " and he that acts does it uprightly, who " will dare to contradict his words; or " carp at his actions? he ſpeaks well.

46. " He that borrows a book is ob- " lig'd to uſe it well; and if it comes to " any damage in his hands before reſtoring, " he is bound to mend it.

This belongs to ſtudious perſons, and the care the *Chineſes* take in this particular, is worth obſerving. There are many *Europeans* who ought never to have a book lent them, till they have learn'd of the *Chineſes* how to behave themſelves. The ſame in other things, they look upon them as belonging to others, whereas they are oblig'd to uſe them better than their own.

47. One of them ſays, Virtue takes its original from humility; when a man declines in virtue, it is becauſe his humility decays: misfortunes proceed from ſenſuality; diſaſters from covetouſneſs; failings from much ſloth and idleneſs. Acts of piety; to keep our eyes from looking on the faults of others; to keep the tongue from detraction; to keep the heart from covetouſneſs; to keep the body out of ill company: not to ſpeak without it be to advantage; not to meddle in other mens buſineſs; to ſerve the king, to obey parents, to reſpect ſuperiors; not to grow proud in proſperity, not to be caſt down in adverſity; not to ſpend time in thinking on what is paſt, not to be in expectation of what is to come; not to rely on favour or preferment: theſe are the things man is to ſtudy and practiſe.

NAVARETTE. Much might be ſaid upon this paragraph, it is all good and holy, and there is nothing wanting but practiſing of it.

48. " To ſpend without meaſure, ſays " the ſame author, is to forget one's family. A high place is often loſt for want " of frugality and moderation. He that " is careful and diligent, provides for his " whole life.

49. The ſecond maſter; " Among the " reſt of the ſins of diſobedience or undutifulneſs, one is for a man not to maintain his parents; the ſecond to be given " to feaſting and paſtimes, and take no " care of them; the third to marry without their leave; the fourth, to follow " one's own will and pleaſure; the fifth, to " love broils and quarrels: Theſe things " either are hurtful to parents, or give " them trouble, or fail of the reſpect due " to them.

No ſon in *China* does, or ever did marry againſt his parents will. By what has been written, it appears how little need we miſſioners have to inſtruct them concerning the malice of theſe particulars, this part is done to our hands.

CHAP. VI.

That every Man is to be contented with his Condition.

1. A *Chineſe* ſays thus: " He that can " be contented, has cauſe to rejoice; much covetouſneſs brings ſorrow. He that can be contented, tho' " he deſire ſomething, may live eaſy; he " that cannot be contented, tho' he have " much, lives in ſorrow. He that compares himſelf to mighty men, thinks " himſelf poor; and he that looks upon " the poor, judges himſelf rich.

2. Another: " Long life is decreed by " heaven; troubles and poverty have their " certain times; to be ſatisfy'd with his " lot is the greateſt conveniency of man.

In reference to the years of a man's age, the *Chineſes* have the ſame propoſition we read *Eccl.* xviii. *The number of the days of man, at moſt an hundred years.* See S. *Thomas*, 2 *de generat. text.* 57. *lect.* 10. and in *Job* xxxviii. *lect.* 2. and *Oleaſt.* in *Deut.* xxxii. *Marcus Varro* ſaid, Man was like a bubble in the water. The *Chineſe* ſays the ſame. Among us we write much of the miſery of our life, they do ſo too; yet both we and they are too fond of it.

The *Chineſe* ſometimes aſks us, Why GOD conceals the day of our death from us; We anſwer with the words of S. *Bernard*, ſerm. 69. *Tract. de modo bene vivend. Therefore Almighty* GOD *would keep the day of our death conceal'd from us, that we may always be ignorant of, and always believe it to be near.* Notwithſtanding ſuch great light as we have receiv'd touching this and other points, we live as negligently and unconcern'd as thoſe infidels do.

3. One of them ſays, Nobility and riches are coveted by all men, but are not obtain'd by the deſire. Poverty and meanneſs are hated by all men, but hatred will not deliver us from them. A man grown rich with what belongs to others, and noble without deſerving it, is to me like a little miſt which eaſily vaniſhes.

4. *Lao Zu:* " He that ſees himſelf rais'd " very high, will do well to look to himſelf, and not forget he may be caſt " down.

5. Another writes: " He that knows " himſelf, does not hate his neighbour.

6. The ſame author: " He that knows " fate, and the decrees of the ſtars, does " not hate heaven: he that hates it, is unwiſe. Have regard to juſtice in the firſt " place, and to profit in the next. If " you have a piece of brown bread, be " ſatisfy'd with it, and don't look for " white. Make your expence proportionable to your income.

7. *Confucius:* " A good and virtuous " man is voluntarily poor; a wicked man " is ſo by force, becauſe he waſtes his eſtate. He that ſaves charges, ſaves borrowing. So ſays, very ingeniouſly and " wittily, the *Chineſe Seng Kie Seng Jung*, " *Sen Kieu Jin.*

8. The ſame author: " It is but reaſonable that the rich and noble ſhould live " according to their quality; and it is ſo " that the poor and mean do according to " theirs.

9. An author writes: " He that has " not charge of the government, muſt not " concern himſelf with it.

CHAP. VII.

How the Heart or inward Man is to be preſerv'd.

1. A *Chineſe* author ſays; " To preſerve " the heart well, we muſt endeavour to place it in the moſt retired part " of man.

He ſpeaks of the recollection of the ſenſes and faculties. It is a very neceſſary, and a difficult affair, eſpecially as to the imagination,

imagination, which ſometimes nay very often roves like a mad-man, running through all things whatſoever. The *R. F. Lewis de Granada*, in his *Sinner's Guide*, ſpeaks to this point with his uſual judgment.

2. The ſame author; "Tho' a man be "very ignorant and dull, if he is reproved "and corrected, he may come to be wiſe; "and tho' he be very ingenious, if he does "not ſtudy, he will be ignorant. Let care "then be taken to reprove all men. To "reprove and puniſh one for any failing, "is to puniſh one's ſelf, if guilty; to for-"give the faults of another, is to pardon "one's ſelf their own. He that does not go "through troubles, will neither come to "be virtuous, nor riſe to great places. "Meaſure others with the ſame meaſure "you uſe to your ſelf, and deſire not that "to another which you will not have your "ſelf.

3. Another author; "He that would "be very wiſe, muſt aſk much. To "ſpeak lofty things, and act heroically, "is the way to be in eſteem.

Many admiring *Xenocrates* his eloquence, *Plato* ſaid, What is it you admire at? Don't you often ſee lilies and roſes grow up among nettles and briars? The ſame may be ſaid of the *Chineſes*.

4. Another; "He that is very wiſe, and "has great parts, if he would preſerve "them, muſt appear ignorant and ſimple. "He that is ingenious, and a great maſter "at any art, being humble, may go ſafe-"ly through the world. He that is very "brave, muſt not depart from military "diſcipline. The rich and powerful man, "by not growing proud, ſecures his trea-"ſures.

5. Another author; "It is hard to find "a poor man that is not a flatterer, or a "rich man that is not proud.

6. Another; "It is eaſier to find an "humble rich man, than a patient poor "man.

There be none of S. *Auſtin*'s fifth ſort of poor in *China*, there are very few patient. It were well if rich men would ſometimes read the fifth chapter of S. *James*, with what holy fathers write upon it.

7. Another ſays; "Do not things haſti-"ly, when you meet with a good oppor-"tunity make uſe of it; tho' you get what "you aim at, yet be not therefore negli-"gent. Ancient men outwardly appear'd "rough, but their life and inward man "were virtuous. Thoſe of this age out-"wardly appear men, but in their hearts "are wild beaſts. Let him that has mo-"ney remember when he had none. Let "him that is at eaſe, not forget paſt trou-"bles: Let him that is well and in health, "remember when he was ſick.

8. "He that aſks, ſays another, muſt "take care it be of one that can give. He "that relieves the poor, muſt do it when "neceſſity preſſes him. He that does not "give, muſt expect no thanks. If the "heart be free from paſſions, all the laws "are plain. NAVARETTE.

It is all good. The ſecond propoſition is like that of *Eccleſ.* iv. 3. *Defer not to give to him that is in need.* If relief come not in time, the want is not ſupply'd. It is certain the *Chineſes* are charitable. All men ought to be ſo. *Oleaſt.* in *Deut.* xiv. *ad mores.* Whilſt I was writing theſe papers, the ſupreme governor came to *Canton*, only for the time till the proprietor could come from court; and the firſt day he came he diſtributed among the poor five hundred buſhels of clean rice, which was a conſiderable alms, and had been ſo from any prince in *Europe*. Every buſhel was there worth ten ryals plate (five ſhillings) upon the inland it is much cheaper. The laſt propoſition is but too true; if paſſion be predominant, the laws are expounded, and made to ſpeak after every man's fancy and humour, and as ſtands with his conveniency.

9. "It is requiſite, ſays another, alway "to think and imagine that the day draws "near when we are to meet with our ene-"my: therefore we muſt live in continual "fear and apprehenſion.

This is excellent doctrine with reſpect to death, which is our enemy. Every day, hour, moment, whilſt we eat, ſleep and laugh, it draws nearer inſenſibly. *Bleſſed is the man who is always fearful*, anſwers to the ſecond part. See *Oleaſter* in *Deut.* xxxii. *ad mores.*

10. "The perfect man, ſays another, "has nothing to repent of, the peaceable "has no enemies; the patient receive no "affront: Fearing the laws, man lives "pleas'd and ſatisfy'd. He that wrongs "the publick, is always ſad. The hum-"ble man may go ſafe all the world over; "the proud and arrogant can ſcarce move "a ſtep without danger.

11. *Confucius.* "To think good and not "evil, is to think.

12. Another ſays thus; "The mouth "muſt be guarded and kept with as much "care as we do a vial of precious liquor. "Thought muſt be watch'd as narrowly, "as we do the defence of a fort. Law-ſuits "and quarrels proceed from much talk. "Heats and animoſities flow from poſi-"tiveneſs, and every one ſtanding in his "own opinion.

Great deſigns have miſcarry'd in the world for want of the mouth's being well guarded, and ſecrets flying out. The *Chineſe Tartars* are notable at keeping counſel, which we know by experience.

NAVARETTE. We were amaz'd to ſee the ſecrecy and vigilance us'd in their government, which is ſuch, that there never appears the leaſt token whereby to gueſs at their deſigns.

13. Another; "Covetouſneſs and appetites ſpring from outward things: Deſires proceed from the paſſions. If a "virtuous man aims at temporal goods, "it is becauſe he has a juſt title to them. "A virtuous man is ſad for the ſake of "virtue, not for poverty; he thinks on "virtue not on what he ſhall eat. Let no "man aſpire to be firſt. Let every man "take care to ſweep the ſnow off his own "tiles, and not the hoar-froſt off his neighbours. An innocent heart is not a"ſham'd to appear before others.

14. Another *Chineſe*; "The more wealth "a man ſeeks after, the more harm it does "him.

15. "Remember virtuous men, ſays "another; raiſe thoſe that fall, hide the "faults of others, and reveal the good "you ſee in your neighbour.

16. "Very few men, ſays the *Chineſe*, "live to an hundred years of age. The "wicked man leaves behind him the remembrance of his wickedneſs, the good "man of his virtue. It is cruel to divulge "the faults of others. It is injuſtice to "favour wickedneſs. To take the quarrels of others upon one's ſelf is folly. "One of the greateſt troubles in the world "is to bear with a fool. If you have no "money, don't invite your friends.

There are fooliſh men every where, who take upon them other peoples quarrels. Theſe heathens give us good inſtructions to all particulars. There are none of theſe propoſitions but has ſomething myſterious in it.

17. Another; "Six ſorts of men may "have cauſe to repent. The judge, who "diſcharges his duty unjuſtly, is fearful, "and ſorry when he is call'd to an account "for it. The rich man, who knew not "how to keep his wealth, has cauſe to repent when he comes to be poor. The "merchant repents when he has let ſlip a "good market. He that would not learn "when he might, is ſorry for his neglect "and idleneſs, when an occaſion offers that "he might benefit by having ſtudy'd. He "who gives ill language, when his paſſion "is over, and he comes to himſelf, is "troubled for having done ſo. He that "is healthy, and takes no care of himſelf, "repents when he is ſick.

He is much in the right; but it is to be obſerv'd, that in none of theſe caſes man reaps any benefit by his repentance or ſorrow, tho' it be never ſo great, it is only of force againſt ſin. *Let us change the diſcourſe* (ſays S. *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 5. *ad Pop. Antioch.*) *to ſorrow, and we ſhall find it avails us nothing; but it only corrects ſin, and it was given us only to blot that out. If a man is fined, he is ſorry, but it takes not off the fine. If he loſes a ſon, he is ſorry, but it brings him not to life.* But if a man has ſinn'd, is ſorry for it, and repents for his offence, he retrieves all the damage he incurr'd by it. This ſorrow, grief, and confuſion it is that produces bliſs according to *Eccluſ.* iv. *There is a confuſion that brings glory.* The comment expounds it much to our purpoſe; ſo does S. *Gregory*, *Lib.* IV. *Moral. cap.* 21.

18. "It is better, ſays a *Chineſe* author, "to be poor without uneaſineſs, than rich "with it. It is better to live in a thatch'd "houſe without broils, than in a ſtately "palace with 'em. It is better to eat hard "bread in health, than pullets in ſickneſs.

19. The maſter *Confucius*; "Falſe words "deſtroy virtue, impatience buſineſs. Humility puts away troubles, courteſy gains "love. Humility unites a man to all peo"ple, Truth gains good-will.

20. *Confucius* again; "Four things man "is to avoid; being fond of his own opinion, acting upon mere conſtraint, "ſhewing a reaſon for all things and endeavouring always to carry what he "maintains.

21. Still *Confucius*; "A virtuous man "fears three things. He fears heaven, he "fears the judges, and fears the words of "holy men. A wicked man, as ſuch, "has loſt all ſhame, and conſequenly fears "nothing.

22. Another; "Much eating and good "clothing, cauſe ſenſuality.

23. "One quarrel, ſays a *Chineſe*, breeds "many. He that ſaves one quarrel, ſaves "an hundred. Good temper and meekneſs preſerves life, and gains affections. "Hardneſs of heart, and pride is the ſource "of troubles.

CHAP. VIII.

How to curb and bring Nature under.

1. A *Chineſe* ſays; "The nature of man "is like water, which once pour"ed out of the veſſel, never returns to it; "ſo if nature once breaks looſe, and ſlips "away, it ſcarce ever is reduc'd to its "own bounds. They that would ſtop "the waters, make uſe of dikes and dams. "Thoſe that would check nature, muſt "make uſe of laws and puniſhments. "One quarter of an hour's ſuffering, ſaves

" an hundred years trouble. Let him that " can attain the virtue of patience ſuffer. " If a man does not bear, and curb him- " ſelf, a thing that is no more than a ſtraw, " grows to a great heap. So that all trou- " bles whatſoever proceed from impatience " and want of bearing. Patience is the " precious jewel of the heart; impatience " is its ruin and deſtruction. He that al- " ways meditates on the characters of pa- " tience (*I have ſet down two in another* " *place*) will live pleaſant and eaſy. He " that will not indure for half an hour, " will have vexation every day.

2. The maſter *Confucius*; " Patience is " the moſt neceſſary thing to live in this " world.

3. A great *Chineſe* doctor being aſk'd, " What perſons ſtood in need of this vir- " tue? He anſwer'd, If the emperor is pa- " tient, the empire will be free from troubles. " If kings are patient, they will thrive. If " a judge is patient, he will riſe to a higher " poſt. If brothers are patient, they will " increaſe their wealth. If husband and " wife bear with one another, and are pa- " tient, they will live long together. If " friends are patient, their friendſhip will " be laſting. If any man is patient, he " will be free from misfortunes.

4. He was aſk'd about impatience, and anſwer'd, " If an emperor be impatient, " he will loſe his empire. If kings do " not bear, they will bury their bodies. " An impatient judge will meet with trou- " bles. If brothers do not bear with one " another, each of them will ſtrive to live " apart. If husband and wife are not pa- " tient, their children will be left father- " leſs. If friends do not bear with one " another, friendſhip will ceaſe. If any " man is not patient, he will not eſcape " trouble. He is no man that does not " bear with another. He is not a man " who is not patient. *Fi Jin, Po Goei* " *Jin:* The firſt of theſe ſignifies patience, " the ſecond a man; the difference between " the two words is very ſmall.

The *Chineſe* hiſtory tells us, that an emperor taking a progreſs through the empire, he came to a town, in which was a houſe where man and wife, children, grandchildren, daughters-in-law, ſervants, and all the family, liv'd in the greateſt unity, love and concord. The emperor admiring it, went to talk with the maſter of the houſe, of whom he aſk'd, How ſuch extraordinary peace and quietneſs was preſerv'd among ſo many perſons? The old man without anſwering a word, took up a pencil, and dipping it in ink, writ *Jin, Jin, Jin*, that is, patience, patience, patience. The emperor underſtood him, commended his virtue, and rewarded it.

5. Another *Chineſe* ſays; " He who hum- " bles and ſubmits himſelf, will live any " where ſafely. He that is high, and will " have every thing his own way, will cer- " tainly meet with an enemy.

If a man is proud, he will meet with one prouder than himſelf; and if he is poſitive, he'll find another as ſtiff as he. The learned *Chineſes* who are ſo proud and haughty, like humility. Such is the nature of virtue, there is no man but is ſenſible of its beauty. S. *Chryſoſtom* takes notice of *Herod*'s ſadneſs, after beheading of S. *John Baptiſt*; *Why then does he grieve?* He anſwers, *Becauſe virtue is ſuch a thing, that even wicked men admire and praiſe it.*

6. Another ſays: " It is a baſe and vile " courage that ſhews it ſelf with paſſion " and anger, attended by ill language. " That is great valour, which exerts it " ſelf with anger grounded upon reaſon " and juſtice; it is not fit man ſhould have " the firſt, nor ought he to be without the " latter. He that underſtands this diffe- " rence, will eaſily perceive that there is " an anger that is vicious, and another " that is virtuous. A wicked man curſes " and perſecutes a good one, but the good " man muſt not anſwer him by any means; " if he anſwers, it is a ſign he wants pru- " dence. If he does not anſwer, his heart " remains clean and cool, and the tongue " of the ſlanderer hot and burning; and " he is like one that ſhould ſpit at heaven, " the ſpittle falls in his own face. If I " know any man curſes me, I feign my " ſelf deaf and dumb; and even as ſmoke " vaniſhes in the air, ſo do the words of an " ill tongue. But if I anſwer him, it will " be adding of fewel to the fire; it is beſt " to let him move his own lips.

7. *Lao Zu:* " A wiſe and learned man " does not contend; a beginner does. " Where contention is, the beſt courſe is " to leave every man to his opinion, and " not endeavour to carry a man's own, " and by this means there will be no of- " fence.

CHAP. IX.

An Exhortation to the Study of Learning.

1. CONfucius. " He that will be learn- " ed, muſt aſk many queſtions, muſt " conſider and meditate upon what he reads, " but he muſt not on that account omit " actions of piety and mercy.

2. Another ſays: " He that ſtudies and

" learns

NAVARETTE. " learn much, muſt improve in knowledge " and humility; theſe two things make " man virtuous.

3. *Confucius:* " He that is ſedulous and " deſires to improve in his ſtudies, is not " aſham'd to ſtoop to aſk of others.

In their philoſophy they ſay, The way to learn is, to think on what is ſtudy'd, to be diligent in aſking, to meditate, and be zealous in acting. They riſe from one point to another.

4. Another: " To aim at preferment " without ſtudying, is like attempting to " climb heaven without a ladder. He that " ſtudies and is wiſe, is like the clouds " drawn by the ſun-beams, which mount " to the ſkies. He that does not tread " deep, knows not the groſs part of the " earth; ſo he that wades not through the " documents of holy men, does not come " to be learned, nor to diſcover the pro- " found myſteries of wiſdom.

5. Another *Chineſe* ſays: " Unleſs a " precious ſtone be cut, it is not fit to " make a beautiful jewel; if a man does " not ſtudy, tho' he have a good wit, he " will never be learned.

6. " If a man does not ſtudy, he will " remain as dark as night.

7. A *Chineſe:* " If a man does not ſtudy, " and ſpend his time in learning, he is like " a horſe in breeches and doublet.

8. " Do not ſay, writes another, I will " not ſtudy to day, but will to morrow. " The ſun, moon and ſtars paſs away, " years do not ſtay; ſo that you can never " retrieve the time you loſe this day. If " you are poor, yet do not for that rea- " ſon forbear ſtudying. If you are rich, " do not rely upon your riches, and on that " account neglect to ſtudy. A poor man " that ſtudies carefully, comes to be rich. " A rich man that is diligent at his ſtudy, " gets great fame and reputation. He that " ſhews learning gets a good name. He " that does not ſtudy will not come to be " a man. He that ſtudies is a rich jewel " of the world. It is therefore requiſite " that all men ſtudy.

9. An emperor ſaid; " It is good to " ſtudy, and ſo it is not to ſtudy. To " ſtudy is like the ear of corn, not to ſtudy " is like the ſtraw. Corn is the food of " man, and riches of the world; the huſ- " bandman hates ſtraw and graſs; and the " ſpade is tired with taking it up, yet af- " terwards he makes uſe of it to burn, " and make mud-walls, *&c.*

This is to ſignify there muſt be of all ſorts in the commonwealth. If all men apply'd themſelves to ſtudy, who would till the ground, and work at ſo many trades as are neceſſary to the publick, and to every man in particular?

10. " He that lights a candles at night, " ſays a *Chineſe*, would have the houſe " clear and bright. He that ſtudies, ſeeks " light for the underſtanding.

11. Another: " The employment of a " virtuous man is quietly and with eaſe to " compoſe his life, to be ſparing in all " things that he may increaſe virtue. He " that does not love virtue, does not love " his ſtudy; he runs over his time, as a " horſe does his race. If man does not " make uſe of his time, what is it good " for?

12. The maſter *Confucius.* " He who " ſtudies muſt always imagine, he does " not ſtudy enough to be learned.". *(Solon* ſaid, *We are to learn as long as we live.* Read S. *Thomas*, *Cajetan*, and *A Lapide* in xlii. *ad Tim.* ỳ. 13.) " It is a " folly to love wiſdom and not piety; " to love juſtice and not wiſdom, is the " way to be unjuſt. To think to be " ſtrong and not ſtudious, is only aiming " to be mad.

13. The ſame author: " A ſon within " doors muſt be obedient to his parents, " and abroad reſpectful to others. Let " him be true and diligent in his actions; " love all men, and if he has any time to " ſpare, ſpend it in ſtudy.

14. " Let him that teaches teach all " men alike.

This is good doctrine for confeſſors and preachers. We ſeem always more inclin'd to the rich and mighty man, than to the poor beggar, as if it had coſt GOD any more to redeem the one than the other. I have heard of ſome paſſages both in *Aſia* and *Europe*, which if they were written would not be at all edifying. On the words of S. *John* iv. *The ruler ſaid to him*, &c. S. *Thomas* aſks this queſtion: *But the queſtion is, Why* GOD *when intreated by him to go perſonally to his houſe, refuſes it:* But promiſes to go in perſon to the centurion's ſervant? One reaſon according to *Gregory* is, that by this he may reprove our pride, who offer ourſelves to ſerve great men, but refuſe to ſerve little ones, *Eccluſ.* iv. *Make thy ſelf affable to the congregation of the poor*, &c.

CHAP. X.

Of the Education of Children.

1. A *Chineſe* ſays, "To breed up children and not inſtruct them, is the "parents fault. To teach them, and not "do it ſeverely, is the maſter's fault.

2. Another *Chineſe*. "Thoſe parents "who bring up their children without "learning, do not love them; and if they "teach them without ſeverity, they do not "covet their good. The ſon who is taught "by his parents, and does not learn, loves "not thoſe that gave him his being. If "he learns, but does it not carefully, he "does not love himſelf. How many ſons "of indifferent people by learning, have "roſe to be counſellors of ſtate? And "how many ſons of counſellors of ſtate, for "want of learning, have degenerated into "common people?

This is often ſeen in *China:* nobility there is perſonal; ſo that if the ſon does not learn, when his father dies he becomes equal to the reſt of the common people.

"3. If the huſbandman, writes a *Chi-*"*neſe*, does not plow and till his ground, "his barns will be empty. If he that has "children does not inſtruct them, they "will be void of knowledge and learning. "He whoſe barns are empty will ſuffer "hunger and want; and he that has igno-"rant children will be void of equity and "juſtice.

4. A *Chineſe*. "Where children are not "taught, it is becauſe the maſter of the "family is ignorant.

"5. Though a buſineſs be but ſmall, if "it be not taken in hand, it is not done; "ſo a ſon, tho' he have a capacity, if he "is not taught, will not come to be a "learned man.

6. Another. "It is better to have a "ſon taught, than to leave him much "gold. Of all the pleaſures of this life, "the greateſt is to read good books. Of "all neceſſary things, the moſt abſolutely "ſo, is to inſtruct children.

All he ſays is good. The *Chineſes* always obſerve this for a rule, that a ſon muſt either be a ſcholar, or learn ſome trade; otherwiſe they ſay, they give themſelves up to idleneſs and gaming, whence follow other vices, and the ruin of their fortune, which their parents acquir'd with much toil. The ſtory of *Robert* king of *Sicily* is agreeable to the ſecond propoſition; he us'd to ſay, he would rather quit his crown than his ſtudies. NAVARRETTE.

"7. An honeſt man who does not give "his children learning, *Ho Je!*

Theſe two *Chineſe* words are very emphatical; they ſignify, what excuſe can he give, what honeſt motive, deſign or end can there be, or can a parent pretend, for not giving his children learning?

8. Another. "If a ſon does not learn "when he is little, when big he will be a "fool. If a woman does not learn in her "infancy, when grown up ſhe will be good "for nothing. The rule and method of "teaching ſons is to make them give ear "to and follow the advice of their parents: "to teach daughters they muſt be made "never to ſtir from their mothers ſide. "A ſon muſt not uſe himſelf to drink "wine, nor to other worldly diverſions. "The daughter muſt be taught not to go. "A ſevere father breeds beautiful children. "A hard mother breeds pains-taking daugh-"ters. Children muſt be belov'd with a "rod in hand. If the bough of a tree when "tender is not ſtreighten'd, when grown "up it is hard to ſet it right. If a ſon is "not put into the right way when little, "who will be able to direct him when "he is big? Men uſually love pearls and "precious ſtones, but I love learning and "virtue in my children.

10. Another *Chineſe*. "As ſoon as a "child can feed himſelf, teach him to "do it with his right-hand: when he is ſix "years of age, let him learn to caſt ac-"counts: at ſeven ſeparate him from the "woman, that he may not be effeminate: "at eight let him eat at table, and be "taught manners and humility: at ten let "him live like a man.

The *Chineſes* are extraordinary careful to obſerve all theſe rules, and particularly in breeding their children mannerly; ſo that a child at eight years of age behaves himſelf like a man of forty.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Satisfaction of the Heart.

"1. A Precious ſtone that has no ſpeck "nor blemiſh, is fit to be pre-"ſented to a king; and a dutiful ſon is a rich "jewel in a family. The uſe of precious "ſtones has a certain period and end, but the "benefit of a dutiful and obedient ſon laſts "for ever. That houſe in which there is peace "and unity, tho' it be poor, is rich; and

NAVARRETTE. " that poor, which is full of ill-gotten wealth. " What ſhould he covet any more who has " one dutiful ſon? The father lives at eaſe " when his ſon is dutiful; and ſo does the " huſband, if his wife is diſcreet and prudent. " The wreſting of juſtice and parting of " kindred proceeds from intereſt. He that " has receiv'd an extraordinary pleaſure, " muſt prepare himſelf for an unexpected " ſorrow. Let him that lives at eaſe, " think on the trouble that may come " upon him. Great gains are follow'd by " great loſſes. He that has a great name " and reputation, muſt have much merit. " He that obtains a great reward muſt have " done conſiderable ſervices. Great ſatis- " faction follows mighty love; great flat- " tery is attended with great deſtruction, " great worth with great ſorrow, and ge- " nerally great ſhame with death. To " love and do good, ſometimes cauſes un- " eaſineſs and trouble.

2. The maſter *Confucius*. " He that " does not fix his eyes on the top of a " mountain, cannot comprehend what it " is to fall from thence. He that does " not go down to the bottom, will not " know the pain of ſinking that threatens " him. He that does not go to ſea, can- " not be ſenſible of the trouble of ſailing.

The very day I was writing this ſame in *China*, two hang'd and five voluntarily drowned themſelves: they found themſelves on a ſudden ſeiz'd by ſuch a mourning as will laſt them to all eternity.

3. Thus ſays a *Chineſe*. " If you would " have your underſtanding clear, reflect " on what is paſt, and think on what is " preſent: if you would know what is to " come, examine what is paſt.

4. The maſter *Confucius*. " A fair and " clear looking-glaſs ſerves to ſhew the " body. Things paſt are a mirror to what " is preſent and to come.

The meaning is the ſame as before.

5. Another. " Buſineſs, though very " plain, cannot be ſecur'd a year. Thoſe " that ſeem ſafe for a year, cannot be de- " termin'd in a day, becauſe there are ſo " many alterations in time, that nothing " is certain, and misfortunes befal men on " a ſudden that can never be foreſeen. " Huſband and wife are ſure of ſix foot " of land. It is not eaſy to preſerve life " many years. The world is a monſter " without a head: It calls an ingenious man " troubleſome and offenſive; him that is " dull, given to eaſe; him that is virtuous, " a ſluggard and idle; him that is wicked, " pleaſant. A rich man is envy'd, a poor " man oppreſs'd; an induſtrious man is ac- " counted covetous, he that is ſparing is term- " ed niggardly. Now do you conſider " what you can teach a man that he may live. " In truth it is hard to live in this world.

6. A grave author ſays: " If a tree *is* " water'd and prun'd, it roots itſelf and " grows ſtrong in the ground, whence fol- " lows an increaſe of boughs and bloſſoms, " and abundance of fruit; and in time it " comes to be a beam fit for any ſumptu- " ous building. So man, if he has a good " education, will grow much, and be a " perſon of ſingular note.

7. Another *Chineſe*. " A man without " learning and education is like a cart with- " out a wheel; as this cannot go on, ſo " neither can the other move or live in " the world.

8. Another. " A falſe man truſts no " body, and he that is real and ſincere " truſts all men. Do not make uſe of a " man whoſe fidelity you ſuſpect, and if you " make uſe of him do not ſuſpect him.

9. The maſter *Confucius*. " When a " thing is rais'd to the greateſt height it can " attain to, *it returns to its firſt being.* " The greateſt joy ends in ſorrow: great " friendſhip and unity in diviſion. Dig- " nity and high place often has a fall.

10. The ſame *Chineſe*. " He that go- " verns a province muſt take care that " there be no tumults in it: He that go- " verns a kingdom, if he deſigns to eſta- " bliſh himſelf, muſt prevent misfortunes " that may happen.

11. Another *Chineſe* ſays; " Thoſe who " rule muſt foreſee things, that they may " provide a remedy, and apply the neceſ- " ſary medicine.

12. Another. " The fiſh dwell in the " bottom of the water, the cranes fly very " high; theſe though ſo high may be ſhot, " and the others though ſo deep may be " caught. Only two inches of man's heart " are impenetrable. The height of hea- " ven may be meaſur'd, the depth of the " earth may be taken, but none can guard " himſelf againſt the heart of man: it is " eaſy to know man's ſhape and mein, " but it is impoſſible to know his heart. " We ſee his face, and hear his words, but " his heart is a thouſand leagues off.

13. A *Chineſe*. " It is not proper to " meaſure water by the peck, nor to be " govern'd by the outward appearance of " man.

" 14. If hatred once take root, ſays a " *Chineſe*, it is hard to pull it up. If you " bear your neighbour ill-will but one day, " it requires a thouſand to diſpel it. If you " requite your enemy with good deeds and " benefits, it will be like caſting hot water " upon ſnow; but if you repay ill turns, " you will ruin yourſelf and him. When " I underſtand any perſons are at enmity, " I uſe all my endeavours to make them " friends, and lay aſide the ill-will they " bear one another.

15. Another

15. Another *Chineſe*. " He that hates " a man is ſaid to bring a great trouble " upon himſelf. He that forbears to act " well is a thief to himſelf. I beſeech you " be merciful, and live carefully, that you " may not rob your heart of the riches of " virtue.

16. " Thefts and robberies proceed " from hunger and cold. He who is rich " and warm clad, thinks on leudneſs: the " poor and hungry on ſtealing. He that " conſiders the troubles of poverty, will " not grow proud. He that earneſtly fixes " his thoughts on the bitter potions and " medicines us'd in ſickneſs, will not be " ſad.

17. Another. " The garland and lau- " rel are for the virtuous, and fetters and " ſhackles for the wicked.

18. *Confucius*. " Noble and virtuous " men are compar'd to juſtice: the vile " and baſe to intereſt: the former act for " the ſake of virtue, the latter only for " profit.

19. Another. " He that is not virtu- " ous values riches, the wicked man prizes " the goods of the world.

20. *Lao Zu*. " Much wealth is not " preſerv'd with juſtice and integrity. Much " reading cauſes what is ſtudied to be for- " got. How can he who is not very " holy do all things to perfection?

21. Another. " A poor man is look'd " upon as of no judgment. He that is " prudent to perfection governs well. He " that does not hear, does not go to prate. " He who ſpeaks any thing good or bad, " is certainly vicious, and has himſelf thoſe " faults he tells of others.

22. " No body will look ill upon him " who does no ill action in his life. If " you hurt another, be aſſur'd you will be " hurt. Tender plants dread the froſt. " The froſt dreads the ſun. His own of- " fence is an ill man's enemy. He that " wears ambergreece about him diffuſes " a good ſcent, tho' he ſtand not in the " wind. A good man, tho' his virtue be " not made publick, exhales a ſweet odour " of virtue; but a wicked man ſends forth " the ſtench of his vices.

23. *Meng Zu*. " A virtuous man has " many ſupports. He that loſes his vir- " tue, loſes and deſtroys them all.

24. Another. " It is not reaſonable a " poor man ſhould be deſpis'd, nor is it " convenient a rich man ſhould confide in " his wealth and power. It may ſo fall " out, that he who to day is rich, may be " poor to morrow, and the contrary.

25. " He that avoids ſinning gains many " good things. He that ſaves charges has " income enough. He that looks to what " he has, does not want to give alms. He " that ſaves and lays up, has ſomething to " leave his children.

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Any man will ſay he knows theſe plain common truths well enough, and therefore there is no need of bringing them out of *China*. I ſay he is in the right, but let him practiſe them as the *Chineſes* do.

26. " Thoſe who keep cloſe to them " that are in high places, as ſoon as their " buſineſs is done, forget them. Rich " men have many friends, but very few " when they fall into poverty.

27. " To ſerve a peeviſh maſter, is the " way to be affronted by him. To be a " friend to an impertinent man, is the way " to be parted from him.

28. " A good word and good advice " is worth more than many pounds of " gold. It is eaſy to get gold, but hard " to meet with good advice. A little ſhip " cannot carry a great burden. It is not " convenient to travel a deep and ſolitary " road alone. He that treads dry land " ſaves tiring himſelf. Man dies for mo- " ney, and birds fall into the ſnare for " food.

29. " A ſecret muſt be confin'd, not " imparted to many. That buſineſs which " is made known to many takes air, and " the deſign fails.

30. " A poor man relies on his neigh- " bour. Another book has it, a poor " man is a leproſy to his neighbour. A " poor man, tho' he lives in the middle " of the market-place, is known to no- " body. A rich man, tho' he live in a " deſert, is known by all men, has many " relations, and they come to him from " far countries. In all places a man's face " is taken notice of according to his garb. " If a horſe goes not far, it is for want of " ſtrength: if a man riſes not, it is becauſe " he is poor.

31. " If a judge has envious friends, " wiſe and diſcreet men ſhun him. If the " king has an envious favourite, the great " men fly from him.

32. " Let him that rules a kingdom not " make uſe of flattering counſellors. He " that governs a houſe, muſt not be ad- " vis'd by a flattering woman. A good " counſellor is the jewel of a kingdom. " A good woman is the jewel of a houſe. " A flattering and envious counſellor ruins " a kingdom: and ſuch a woman deſtroys " a family. If the plough goes awry it " ſpoils the field; and flattering words de- " ſtroy virtue.

33. " Heaven, ſays a *Chineſe*, has all " things for man: man has nothing for " heaven. Heaven creates no man with- " out ſuſtenance for him; nor does the " earth produce any herb without a root. " Heaven gives a very rich man all he has;

NAVARRETTE. "to him that has but a mediocrity, his "care and induſtry." The verſes ſpeak thus, "The man that is very rich grows "proud; he that is very poor is ſad, he "that is ſad turns thief, and he that is "proud becomes cruel. The ſons of mi- "ſers gather dung as if it were gold. La- "viſh men uſe gold as if it were dung.

34. "Life and death are always before "our eyes. There is nothing bad in this "world but man's ſin.

35. "Envy and hatred, ſays a *Chineſe*, "bring miſchiefs upon ſons and grandſons.

36. The ſame author. "The firſt thing "man is to do, is to mortify himſelf, "and curb his appetites, to love all men, "and be united to them through humility. "Man ought always to think on his paſt "offences, and endeavour not to ſin in "thought. If he act according to this "rule, the crown of the empire will be "eſtabliſh'd.

This an emperor ſaid to his ſubjects, what could S. *Auguſtin* have ſaid better to his children?

37. *Meng Zu* ſaid to an emperor; "To "keep fat cattel, and fowls in the kitchen, "and full-fed luſty horſes in the ſtables, "when the people are ſtarving, ſhews "more care is taken of brutes than of the "ſubjects, and is deſtroying of men to "ſave beaſts.

He reprov'd the emperor for pampering himſelf too much, and maintaining horſes, without relieving the people's wants. This philoſopher was bold, and not given to flattery; there are but few like him.

38. Another author. "One ſpark of "fire may burn a whole foreſt; and one "bad word may deſtroy the virtue of one's "whole life. He that wears cut-work is "ſenſible of the pains the ſeamſtreſs takes; "and he who eats three times a day, ought "to remember the huſbandman's labour. "He that gathers virtue ſecures piety, "and a pious man gains a good name. "Many by acting well come to be holy "men.

39. Another *Chineſe* ſays. "He that "would know what his king is, muſt look "upon thoſe about him. He that would "know a man muſt ſee what company he "keeps. He that would know a father, "muſt obſerve his children. The king "ought to be holy, the favourite and "counſellor loyal and faithful, a father "virtuous, and a ſon dutiful. When a "kingdom is in an uproar, then the loy- "alty of miniſters exerts itſelf.

40. The maſter. "Water which is "very clear has no fiſh; if a man is given "to prying, and loves to know all things, "he wants friends and diſciples.

41. The ſame author. "A virtuous "and honeſt man is to think on three "things: one, that if he does not ſtudy "whilſt he is young, when he grows old "it will not be in his power. Two, That "if when he is old, he does not make uſe "of the ſhort time he has, when death "comes it will be too late to act. Three, "That if he has wherewithal to give alms, "and does not give it, when he is poor, "tho' he would, he'll not be in a condi- "tion to give it: therefore he who being "young hopes to live to be old, muſt ap- "ply himſelf to ſtudy. He that is old, "and thinks on death, muſt take heart "and do good. And if a man being rich "is afraid he ſhall be poor, let him en- "deavour to give alms.

42. Another: "He who is a great lover "of himſelf, will not attain to perfection.

43. "He that does not prevent things "at a diſtance, will have troubles near at "hand.

44. "The rain in ſpring, ſays a *Chineſe*, "is fruitful; it makes the plants grow, and "the fruit increaſe; the huſbandmen re- "joice at the ſight of it, but travellers "hate it. The moon in autumn is as "bright as a looking-glaſs, people divert "themſelves by her light, but thieves hate "her.

There was a counſellor, who had great influence in the government, and the empe- ror had a great eſteem for him. Envious men, who were no ſmall number, ſpoke ill of him, and laid heinous crimes to his charge. The emperor ſent for him, laid the accuſations before him, and in a great paſſion blam'd his behaviour. He without any concern anſwer'd what has been writ in the laſt paragraph, which imply'd that wicked and envious perſons hated his inte- grity and unbiaſs'd way of proceeding, be- cauſe they could not defile him with bribes, and other ill practices, therefore they hated him, as a thief does the light, which hin- ders his ill deſigns. *He that does ill hates the light.* The emperor was ſatisfy'd with the anſwer.

45. A *Chineſe* ſays: "To relieve him "that is in diſtreſs, is to deliver him from "danger. The heart of man is like iron. "The *mandarines* are the forge to ſoften "it.

The ſecond propoſition is much applaud- ed by the *Chineſes*. The *mandarines* take great care to mollify the hardneſs of ſome men by ſevere puniſhments. For the moſt part the people of that nation are the ſons of fear.

46. "The heart of man, ſays another, "is hard to be fill'd. If there be any al- "teration in the ſky, there follows either "wind or rain; if man feels any change in "his body, he either dies, or falls ſick.

47. Another: "If the government of a "kingdom goes in the right courſe, hea- "ven protects and aſſiſts it. If the mini- "ſters are uncorrupted, the ſubjects live "at eaſe. If the wife is diſcreet and vir- "tuous, a huſband has but few troubles. "If the ſon is dutiful, his father's heart is "eaſy.

48. "If a king takes the advice of his "good counſellors, he will be holy.

49. Another: "The firſt ſow, they "that come after reap. If you reap do "not rejoice, for a time will come, when "others ſhall reap what you ſow'd. How "many have ſow'd, that never reap'd?

50. Another: "He who acquires great "riches without a good title, may be aſ- "ſur'd of much trouble, if he is not ex- "traordinary fortunate.

51. "When thirſt rages, ſays a *Chineſe*, "a drop of water, tho' it be troubled, is "ſweeter than honey. When a man is "drunk, the beſt wine drinks to him like "vinegar. Wine makes not man drunk, "man makes himſelf drunk. It is not ſen- "ſuality that blinds a man, it is man that "blinds himſelf.

The firſt propoſition implies nothing comes amiſs to one that is hungry or thirſty. I have too much experience of both ſorts; I have ſometimes drank foul water, and ſaid I never drank any better in my life; as one ſaid upon the like occaſion, and he gave the reaſon, *Becauſe I never drank when I was dry.* This agrees with that of *Job* vi. *But to a ſoul that is hungry, bitter things ſeem ſweet.* The Holy Ghoſt ſpeaks to the ſecond point too.

52. "If any man ſhould aſk me to tell "him his fortune, ſays a *Chineſe*, I will an- "ſwer him, that to wrong my neighbour "is my ill fortune. For me to be wrong'd "by others, is my proſperity and good "fortune.

53. *Meng Zu:* "A merciful man is not "rich, a rich man is not merciful.

54. "He that is obſtinate in his own "opinion, ſays a *Chineſe*, cannot diſtin- "guiſh betwixt truth and falſhood, nor be- "twixt what is probable and what is not.

55. The ſame author: "The more a "virtuous man perceives he is advanced "in perfection, the more he humbles him- "ſelf. The more a wicked man ſees him- "ſelf proſper, the prouder he grows. A "vile man is full with a ſmall matter, a "virtuous man is not ſatisfy'd with a great "deal.

56. "He who has virtue has certainly "words: It is not certain he that has words "has virtue.

57. Another: It is rare to ſee little vir- "tue and merit in high dignity, and little "diſcretion in much buſineſs without great "troubles.

58. The ſame author: "He that is in "high place muſt make ready to fall. He "that has great places muſt watch to pre- "vent his ruin. He that governs his ſu- "perior at will, muſt remember he may "fall into diſgrace. NAVARRETTE.

59. The ſame author: "Kings and pa- "rents muſt be merciful. The king muſt "look upon his ſubjects as brethren and "friends. Only loyalty to the king, and "being dutiful to parents, confer nobility "and glory.

60. Another: "A merciful father loves "not an undutiful ſon. A wiſe king makes "not uſe of ill counſellors. The rich man "muſt not ſcoff at the poor. The young "man muſt not laugh at the old, for po- "verty and old age will ſoon come upon "them.

61. "A veſſel too full, ſays a *Chineſe*, "runs over; a proud man burſts. Lamb, "though it be good, is hard to dreſs to ſe- "veral palates.

62. Another: "Though a diamond fall "into the mire, it loſes not its value, or "luſter. A virtuous man, though he be "employ'd in mean or dangerous things, "muſt not loſe the purity of his ſoul.

63. The maſter: "He who is not mer- "ciful, deſerves not to live long in this "world.

64. *Meng Zu:* "That is the beſt time "which man makes good uſe of. Peace "and unity with our neighbours is the "greateſt profit.

65. A *Chineſe:* "The water which is at "a diſtance does not quench the fire that "is near at hand. A good neighbour at "the next door, is better than a rich rela- "tion afar off.

66. Another: "Though the ſun, moon "and ſtars are clear lights, yet they do "not communicate their rays to that which "is under a cloſe veſſel. The knife, tho' "it have a good edge, does not cut an in- "nocent perſon. Misfortunes do not fol- "low the virtuous.

The firſt furniſhes us with an anſwer to the Gentiles, who often aſk, how it comes to paſs, that GOD does not impart to them the light of the goſpel? Certain it is, puniſhment was not deſign'd for innocent perſons. GOD ſends troubles to the good as well as the bad, but upon different motives.

67. "If a poor man, ſays a *Chineſe*, "lives uprightly, he is always merry. A "rich man, if he behaves himſelf not up- "rightly, is ſad. It is no matter whether "the houſe ſtands high or not, all that is "to be minded is whether it let in rain, if "it does not, that's enough. All that is "to be minded in the garment, is whether "it keeps a man warm, there is no mind- "ing the curioſity of the ſtuff and mak-

NAVARETTE. " ing. Mind not whether meat has ſpice " in it, ſo it maintains and ſatisfies nature " 'tis enough. He that marries muſt not " look upon the woman's complexion, " air and beauty; let him obſerve whether " ſhe is diſcreet and virtuous, and that's " enough. It is not being a nobleman, " or a commoner, that makes a man a " good neighbour, he that is quiet and " peaceable is beſt. He is not my friend " that eats and drinks at my table, but he " who relieves my wants. It is not being " great or little that makes a *mandarin*, " but being upright and uncorrupted.

68. Another *Chineſe:* " When death " comes, the owner can make no advan- " tage of his lands and tenements, though " he have many good ones. When the " laſt day comes, tho' a man have much " money and wealth, he cannot carry it " with him.

69. " It is eaſy to begin a law-ſuit, ſays " a *Chineſe*, but a hard matter to end it.

70. Another: " That huſbandman who " does not take care to till his ground, " will ſtarve.

CHAP. XII.

Of eſtabliſhing Laws and good Inſtructions.

1. THE maſter: " There are rules and " inſtructions to make one a man, " but the principal and neceſſary point is " that he be dutiful to his parents. There " are certain funeral rites and ceremonies " appointed, but compaſſion for the dead " is the main circumſtance. Warfare has " its rules and diſcipline, but the courage " and valour of the ſoldiers is the moſt " material part. There are laws to go- " vern a kingdom by, but the chiefeſt " thing is to protect and take care of the " huſbandmen. There are laws and forms " for living in a kingdom, or common- " wealth, but the beſt is to be meek and " merciful. There is a certain time pre- " ſcribed for life, but the main concern is " to baniſh idleneſs and ſloth.

2. Another: " The moſt neceſſary pro- " perty of a judge, is that he be upright " and uncorrupted. The moſt neceſſary " thing in a family, is to ſave charges, " and be aſſiduous at ſtudy. The proper " practice of an honeſt family is to con- " form to the laws. Care and induſtry " produce riches, and ſaving prevents " want.

3. The maſter: " The whole life de- " pends on care and induſtry, the year on " the ſpring, the day on riſing early. He " who in his youth is not diligent and aſ- " ſiduous at his ſtudies, when old age " comes will be a fool, and find himſelf " empty handed. He who in ſpring does " not till, in autumn will not reap. He " who does not riſe early cannot order his " houſhold-affairs well.

4. An emperor us'd to ſay to his ſubjects, " If you would live well, the father muſt " be ſevere to his children, and the mother " mild; brothers and friends muſt honour " one another, children muſt be dutiful, " marry'd people love one another; men " and women not to go or be together; " kindred relieve one another's wants; no " body hinder the huſbandman's labour; " no body take from another what does " not belong to him; none play, or breed " law-ſuits; the rich not devour the poor. " When you travel, give the way to thoſe " that paſs by; when you till your ground, " ſtrike not your plough into another man's " field. If you obſerve this, you will live " at peace and eaſe.

5. The *Chineſe* philoſophy: " The firſt " thing a maſter that teaches is to endea- " vour, is, that his diſciples be virtuous. " He that rules, muſt chiefly labour to ſtir " them up to humility, and to honour one " another. This will cut off law-ſuits and " variances, and will prevent lawyers grow- " ing rich.

Nothing can be better ſpoken; I muſt confeſs I am aſtoniſh'd at the great knowledge that nation has acquir'd of it ſelf, without converſing with others.

6. A *Chineſe:* " Your firſt care muſt be " not to meddle with the emperor's govern- " ment. The ſecond, not to carp at the " judges. The third, not to cenſure that " which all men do. The fourth, not to " have to do with thoſe that ſeek for pre- " ferment. The fifth, not to publiſh your " riches, nor caſt an evil-eye upon the " poor. The ſixth, not to converſe with, " or hear thoſe who talk immodeſtly. The " ſeventh, not to pry into other men's bu- " ſineſs. The eighth, when you come into " a houſe, not to look into the papers you " find. The ninth, when you eat, not to " chuſe the beſt bit. The tenth, when you " are in company with another, not to take " to yourſelf what is offer'd to both.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Government.

1. "THree things, ſays a *Chineſe*, make "a good judge: firſt, being uncorrupted. Second, being watchful. "Third, being careful and diligent. A "man muſt ſerve the king as he would his "father, his miniſters as elder brothers, "and muſt love all men as he does his wife. "Miniſters and judges muſt do the duty "of the office, as they do the affairs of "their houſe.

2. The maſter: "It is cruelty not to "inſtruct and puniſh. He who in himſelf "is upright and juſt, is obey'd, tho' he do "not command. If he is not righteous "in himſelf, tho' he command good things, "he is not obey'd.

3. Another: "What makes a good "judge, *is obſerving the laws of his ſupe-* "*rior, looking upon his inferiors as chil-* "dren, and making uſe of them only "upon neceſſity, or when there is reaſon "for it.

4. "No man will be diſreſpectful to him "that is courteous and civil. He who is "bountiful and free, will have many friends. "He who is true and faithful will be ho-"nour'd by all men. He who is careful "and diligent will always deſerve well. "He who gives much may make uſe of "all men.

5. "A noble and virtuous man is free-"hearted, but not prodigal, or a ſpend-"thrift; is noble and not hated, loves things "but is not covetous; is grave, but not "inacceſſible; values himſelf, but is not "proud; being virtuous, he endeavours to "keep to a medium, and fly all extremes. NAVARRETTE.

6. "That king, lord, or judge, who "hears reproof and will be corrected, is "good, upright and juſt.

7. Another: "That counſellor who va-"lues not his life, and fears not the ſtroke "of the ſcymitar, when he adviſes, deſerves "the name and title of a counſellor. A "good counſellor is not afraid of death; "he who fears death is not a good coun-"ſellor.

This doctrine is much applauded in *China*, ſome have practis'd it, as appears by the ſecond book, and many did when the *Tartar* came in. There are alſo many in that country who kill themſelves when they are *in any* great trouble. *Pliny* ſaid, that the earth like a pitiful mother produced mortal poiſons, that her children, men, may not die ignominious deaths, but might end their lives with one morſel or draught. Many have made uſe of this folly or barbarity, not only among the *Chineſes*, but among others, as *Demoſthenes*, *Democritus*, *Hannibal*, and *Ariſtotle*, as *Suidas* writes; *Cato Uticenſis*, *Caius Plaucius Numida*, and the *Meleſian* Virgins. The *Japoneſes* reckon it a point of honour to cut themſelves with their ſabres. It is a great misfortune that counſellors ſhould be faint-hearted. Read *Sylv. tom. lib.* II. *c.* 9 *q.* 3. *n.* 13. & S. *Thom.* 1. 2. *tom.* I. *q.* 18. *diſp.* 12. *art.* 5. *p.* 761.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Oeconomy, or Family-Government.

1. "IT is convenient, ſays a *Chineſe*, to "give the maſter of the houſe an "account of any houſhold-affair. Care and "frugality make the family be always in "plenty. In time of health, let them pre-"pare for ſickneſs. When the wife comes "home, let her be taught to work imme-"diately.

The *Chineſes* obſerve this laſt inſtruction very punctually, all the women work, and curiouſly; we may ſay of the *Chineſe* women, as *Prov. And ſhe eats not her bread in idleneſs.*

2. Another: "A fooliſh man fears his "wife, a prudent woman honours and reſ-"pects her huſband. He who keeps ſlaves "muſt be very careful to ſee they have "meat and clothes; let him always take "care of his fire, and at night look to the "thieves. If the children are dutiful, man "and wife live pleaſantly. If the family "lives in peace, all its affairs ſucceed well.

It is a point of conſcience to take care of ſlaves. I am perſuaded the *Chineſes* outdo many *Europeans* in looking after theſe poor creatures both in ſickneſs and health.

3. "He who is about making a match, "muſt firſt conſider whether the daughter-"in-law's temper be ſuitable to thoſe of "his family. Let no man raſhly take a "noble or rich woman to wife, ſhe that "is virtuous and diſcreet is beſt, tho' ſhe "be poor. Tho' ſhe be poor now, what "do you know but by her labour and in-"duſtry ſhe may come to be rich?

4. "He that would marry his daughter "muſt take care it be with her equal; if "ſo, doubtleſs the daughter will be eaſily "brought to ſerve her huſband, and the "huſband will certainly reſpect her. A

NAVARRETTE. "youth who is grown up that does not "marry, is like a horſe without a bridle. "A woman grown up that does not marry, "is like prohibited ſalt.

Prohibited ſalt is never ſafe any where, though it be never ſo much hid. This the *Chineſes* are acquainted with, which is the reaſon of making the compariſon. I before quoted the words of the Holy Ghoſt, *You have a daughter, keep her body.*

5. "He who is about marrying and conſiders the portion, is a barbarian.

Read *Sylv. tom.* I. *lib.* I. *c.* 5. *n.* 27. According to this rule there are abundance of barbarians in the world. *Pius* V. in his catechiſm, as *Parroch.* 2. *p. c.* 8. ſpeaks admirably to the marriages of catholicks, there the reader may ſee it.

6. "Let every man that has a family "diſtribute the houſhold-affairs according to every perſon's ſtrength and capacity. Let him honour every one according to their merits. Let him uſe "his fortune with moderation. Let him "reckon his income, that he may know "how to regulate his expence. Let him "ſee that every one has their neceſſary "food and raiment, according to their quality, endeavouring to carry an even hand "in all things to prevent envy and contention.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Order to be obſerv'd in Families.

1. "HUſband and wife are the firſt; "parents and children the ſecond; brothers the third: theſe are the "neareſt relations, and the ſource of all "other kindred.

2. Another. "Huſband and wife are "knit together by the fidelity and truſt of "matrimony: they muſt not curſe, quarrel, or ſtrike one another; if any ſuch "thing be among them, it is a ſign they "are not in perfect unity.

3. "The children, ſays a *Chineſe*, are "as it were their parents hands and feet: "parents are as it were their childrens garment.

This implies, that children are to ſerve and maintain their parents, and they to protect their children.

4. Another. "It is the property of man "to acknowledge and be thankful for benefits: to receive favours and make no "returns, is the part of a brute beaſt.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Ceremonies and Civilities.

1. THE maſter. "He who lives in a "family, muſt be acquainted with "the ceremonies and civilities that belong "to it. Thoſe within doors are, that "there be a diſtinction between ſuperiors "and inferiors. For the ſecuring of peace "in the women's apartment, it is neceſſary "there be ſeveral degrees and ranks. The "ſame is practis'd in the palace, and ſo in "the courts of juſtice, otherwiſe there "would be much diſorders.

The *Chineſes* are moſt exact, and rather troubleſome in their ceremonies; they obſerve them with the utmoſt rigour, they ſtudy them very carefully, and look upon any omiſſion of this nature as a fault.

2. "If a ſuperior, ſays one of them, "does not obſerve order, he'll not have "due attendance from inferiors; if the "inferiors do not ſo too, they will not "be able to perform their duty to ſuperiors.

3. "A commander, tho' he be brave, "will ſpoil an army if he does not keep "good order. If a mean man is ſtout and "not orderly, he will turn thief.

4. "A noble perſon is diſtinguiſh'd from "the vulgar by his breeding and civility. "He that is well bred reſpects all men, "and all reſpect him.

5. Another. "Courteſy and affability "make way for a man all the world "over.

6. "At court the emperor is the firſt, "and next to him the counſellors. A-"mong the people ancient men take place, "among the reſt virtuous perſons have "precedence.

7. The maſter. "If I deſire to be valued "by men, the ſure way to compaſs it is to "value them.

8. "When a man goes out of doors, "ſays a *Chineſe*, he muſt do it with the "ſame gravity and modeſty as he waits "upon ſtrangers; when he comes in, it "ought to be as if there were perſons of "note waiting for him within.

This is adviſing men to modeſty and decent behaviour, though they be alone in their houſes. The *Chineſes* are ſingular in this particular, and in the circumſpection they uſe in all their actions and motions.

9. Another ſays. " The father is not " to make publick his children's virtues; " children muſt not diſcover the failings of " their parents.

10. " Man proceeds from three, ſays " another, and ought to ſerve all three. " From his parents that got him, from his " maſters who taught him, and from the " emperors that maintain'd him. If there " were no fathers, there would be no ſons; " if there were no maſters, men would be " mere beaſts; if ſuſtenance fail'd, he could " not live.

11. The maſter. " Sacrifice to the dead " as if they were preſent, ſacrifice to ſpi- " rits as if they were preſent.

This is not unlike what we find in *Wiſd.* xiv. *They made him they would honour, that they might worſhip him that was gone, as if he had been preſent. As if preſent* imports the ſame as the *Chineſe ju zai:* this propoſition, becauſe taken in one ſenſe by ſome miſſioners, and by others in another, has caus'd much diſcord in that miſſion. I write upon this ſubject at large in the controverſies, and therefore ſay no more to it in this place. I ſhall only obſerve here, that the church has improv'd in the knowledge of many truths, as I took notice when I treated of this ſubject, and *Caſſabutius* did, *7. ſynod. œcum. pag. mihi* 358, 359. in theſe words, *And the church of* GOD *in progreſs of time is illuſtrated with new knowledge, whence it is writ in the* Canticles, *that ſhe advances like the riſing morning.* Then he quotes the words of *Caſtro, lib.* I. *de hæreſ. c.* 27. *We now know many things, which were either doubted of, or quite unknown to the firſt fathers.* Even ſo the church of *China*, though ſo ſmall and tender, has increas'd in ſeveral particulars, as plainly appears by what is writ in the controverſies, and I hope in GOD it will ſtill increaſe more. NAVARRETTE.

CHAP. XVII.

How to preſerve Fidelity.

1. THE maſter. " He who is not true " and faithful, knows not what he " ought to know to live in this world. It " is certain a cart without wheels cannot " move, neither can he who is not true and " faithful live among men.

2. Another ſays. " One ſingle word " coming from a man ought to be of ſuch " force that it ſhould never fail. When " the mouth has once utter'd a word, what- " ever comes on't it muſt be perform'd; " therefore it is requiſite to conſider what " a man promiſes. If great and noble " men do not keep their word, they ſully " their honour and reputation.

3. Another. " If there is not ſincerity " between the emperor and his counſellors, " there can be no peace in the empire; if " it be wanting between parents and chil- " dren, there will be no peace and quiet- " neſs in the houſe; if it be wanting be- " tween brothers, their minds cannot be " united: if it be wanting among friends, " their friendſhip will certainly fail.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Words, and the manner of ſpeaking.

1. THE maſter. " Among perſons of " learning and gravity, it is fit to " diſcourſe of ſerious matters, and ſpeak " weighty ſentences; among inferior ſort " of people buſineſs of leſs weight may be " diſcours'd of. He who ſpeaks muſt ſuit " himſelf to thoſe that hear. When it is " requiſite to ſpeak to any man, and he " is not ſpoken to, it is loſing of him; " when it is not convenient to ſpeak, and " we do ſpeak, it is loſing of words; but " a diſcreet man neither loſes the perſon nor " his words.

In my controverſies I have writ, that it is not convenient to talk with infidels of all the myſteries of our holy faith, and I prov'd it out of S. *Athanaſius:* ſince then I found this ſubject is handled at large by S. *Thom. ſup. Boetium in Trinit. q.* 2. *art.* 4. and *lect.* 6. *in* 1 *Cor.* xi. *Angel. Maria. q.* 7. *de fid. ſect.* 1. does the ſame.

It is abſolutely neceſſary to ſuit the diſcourſe to the auditors, otherwiſe the words and labour are loſt. S. *Thomas* makes it out *ſup. Apoc.* viii. where he quotes the words of S. *Gregory* upon this ſubject. To avoid miſtaking, it is requiſite firſt to conſider what S. *Thomas* teaches. *The preacher is diſcreetly to foreſee what is to be ſaid, and to whom, and how, and how much, and after what manner,* &c. Some get into a pulpit to let fall *extempore* ſentences, and ſome of them plead for it the words of *Mat.* xx. *Do not think,* &c. But S. *Thomas* anſwers with the comment, *That the apoſtles were privileg'd perſons as to this particular, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt was preſent in them after ſuch manner, that they ought not to premeditate. Sylv. tom.* VI. *p.* 112. writes notably to this effect. The words of S. *Aug. Serm.* 26. *ad frat.* anſwer to the reſt of the paragraph:

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ragraph: *For we muſt not lay open that which is good every where, but in all things muſt obſerve the time of making it known.* S. *Thomas* teaches the laſt in *Mat.* xxiv. *For if he will ſpeak words when it is not convenient, he loſes them.*

2. A *Chineſe* ſays, "When we talk with "kings, the diſcourſe muſt be that they "may make uſe of good miniſters and "counſellors; if we talk with great men, "it muſt be of the loyalty and duty they "owe to their king: When we converſe "with ancient men, we muſt adviſe them "to make uſe of their children: When "we ſpeak with young men, we muſt lay "before them the reſpect and duty they "owe to their parents and elders: When "we ſpeak of the commonalty, it muſt "be concerning their loyalty to their "prince: and if we diſcourſe with judges, "it muſt be of uprightneſs, juſtice and "good adminiſtration.

3. The maſter. "He who ſays little, "is certainly in the right in what he ſays.

The ſame man. "If words are not "agreeable to reaſon, one is too much; "if one word goes aſtray, it makes way "for many more.

4. A *Chineſe*. "The mouth and the "tongue are the paſſage for all miſchiefs, "and the ſword to deſtroy life.

5. Another. "To talk to one's neigh- "bour concerning things that are good, "is warning of him to go in the way of "virtue: Good words are ſweet as honey, "the bad are killing ſwords; a man is not "good becauſe he talks much. The "wound of a ſpear or ſword is eaſily cur'd, "but a bad word is hard to digeſt. Good "words warm the heart, as a coat of ſa- "bles does the body; the bad prick the "ſoul, as thorns do the body: one good "word is worth more than thouſands of "ducats, and a bad word is as miſchievous "as a poiſon'd arrow.

6. The maſter. "One word ſhews a "man's prudence, and one diſcovers his "indiſcretion. One word is enough to "ſave a kingdom, and one is enough to "deſtroy it.

7. Another. "It is more delightful to "hear good words, than to hear all the "muſical inſtruments in the world.

8. The maſter. "It is hard to enter in- "to diſcourſe with an ill man, the beſt "way is to withdraw and keep from him.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Friends.

1. THE maſter. "To live among "virtuous people, is like living "among roſes and flowers, where tho' a "man do not diſcern the ſmell, yet by de- "grees it works it ſelf into the very bones. "To live among wicked people, is like "living in a ſtorehouſe of pilchards and "fiſh, where if a man ſtays a while, tho' "he be not himſelf ſenſible of the ill ſcent, "yet he carries it about him and others "perceive it. To entertain friendſhip with "good men is like having to do with li- "lies, which if they are kept in one houſe, "the ſmell of them pierces to the next: "To entertain friendſhip with ill men, "is expoſing ones ſelf to danger of ruin.

2. A *Chineſe* ſays; "He who leans a- "gainſt vermilion makes himſelf red; he "that handles ink is black; he that keeps "company with wiſe and learned men, "partakes of their learning and doctrine; "if he adheres to diſcreet perſons he gains "diſcretion; if he follows fools, he gets "folly, *&c.*

3. Another. "The friends of our times "do nothing but ſhake hands, and if a "word ſlips from one, the other is angry "and in a paſſion; the firſt anſwers, and "there's an end of their friendſhip. Friend- "ſhip muſt be grounded on virtue, there "muſt be no omiſſion of reſpect or ho- "nour from one to the other: to meet "and encourage one another to do good, "and imitate one another's virtue, is true "friendſhip.

4. A *Chineſe*. "Keeping good company "is like walking in the freſh evening air, "where a man is cool without wetting his "clothes. Converſing with ill company "is like ſetting near a naſty ſtinking place, "where, tho' the clothes are not dirted, "they ſtink. Converſing with ill men, "is like playing with naked ſwords; for "tho' a man be not wounded, yet he is "in danger of it.

5. Another. "*Jen Ping* (it is the name "of a man of great antiquity) tho' he had "many friends for a long time, yet he ne- "ver was diſreſpectful to them, or us'd "them without honour and courteſy.

6. Another. "Give reſpect to and "keep far from wicked, pernicious and "ill-minded people; honour and keep as "cloſe as you can to thoſe that are good "and virtuous. If any man come near to "hurt, or give me ill language, I muſt "give him good words, and remove him "in a courteous manner. If a man comes "to me with deceit and falſhood, I muſt "reprove and put him away with the nak- "ed truth: If I do ſo, it is impoſſible he "ſhould bear me ill-will.

The firſt propoſition the *Chineſes* urge in reſpect to evil ſpirits as well as men. *Lactantius de falſ. relig. c.* 20. writes the ſame of other nations, *That they worſhipped ſome gods that they might do them good, others that they might not hurt them.* The people of the iſland *Madagaſcar* worſhip evil ſpirits very much that they may not hurt them, the good they take little notice of: They ſay, that being good, they require no ceremonies to do them good, and are not capable as ſuch of doing hurt. The latter part of the paragraph I could wiſh were well obſerv'd by zealous Chriſtians, who often frequent the ſacraments. The author has more followers of his good doctrine among thoſe heathens, than he would find in *Europe.* This is not a little confuſion to us.

7. " Do not entertain friendſhip with " a man who is fierce and cruel," is the advice of a *Chineſe* doctor, and it is good.

8. Another. " A lady that has not a " clear looking-glaſs cannot ſee the freck" les in her face: A man who has not a " good friend, will not be able to diſco" ver the falſe ſteps he makes.

9. " It is the duty and rule of friends " to gather virtue, and act jointly there" in.

Chriſtians may obſerve what ſort of friendſhip there is among heathens, and what among themſelves. NAVARETTE.

10. " If you would join friendſhip, ſays " another, it muſt be with one that is bet" ter than your ſelf, otherwiſe it is bet" ter to have no friends. All men are " good enough for acquaintance, but there " muſt be but a very few friends to whom " you will diſcloſe your ſecrets,

11. Another *Chineſe.* " If you would " plant trees, do not plant willows; if you " join friendſhip, do it not with men of " little worth. The ancients were true " friends, becauſe their hearts were united; " friends of theſe times are not ſo, becauſe " their union is exterior, and only conſiſts " in words.

12. " When a man is rich and great, " he has friends and kindred without num" ber; if the ſame man falls into troubles, " you will not ſee one of them come with" in his doors. The friendſhip of lords " and great men is as cold as water, that " of the indifferent ſort is ſweet as honey.

13. " An upright and good man does " not ſeek friendſhip for intereſt-ſake; to " be a friend on this account deſtroys piety. " A long journey ſhews a horſe's ſtrength, " friendſhip of long ſtanding makes known " the heart of man.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Women.

1. THE maſter. " A marry'd wo" man muſt be ſubject to her hus" band, and therefore it is not convenient " ſhe ſhould have abſolute command. Wo" man is under three ſubjections, one to " her parents before ſhe is married, another " to her husband when married; when he " is dead, as to the government of the " houſe and eſtate, ſhe muſt be ſubject to " her ſons. She muſt not go out of her " apartment to order what belongs to her. " When ſhe is at age to be married, let " her always keep cloſe in her chamber, " and if ſhe goes out of it, let her not walk " in the court to be ſeen, which is ve" ry unſeemly: If ſhe goes out of her " room in the night, let it be with a lan" thorn, and not in the dark, otherwiſe " he that meets her may ſuſpect ſhe is not " going about any thing that is good.

Concerning the retiredneſs of women, read *Sylv.* 2. *tom. in Apoc. c.* xii. *q.* 26.

The words of St. *Paul, Women be ſubject to your husbands,* are to this effect. The *Chineſe* women are incapable of inheriting, of managing buſineſs, and of any other power of government: Some there have been renowned in the world, and very unhappy in government. But becauſe this is extraordinary, the philoſopher ſaid their government was *the deſtruction of the family, as that of a tyrant is of the kingdom,* S. *Thomas* quotes it in 1 *ad Tim.* ii. *lect.* 3. and in 1 *Cor.* xv. I have already made mention of the extraordinary retiredneſs of the *Chineſe* women, and it is very ſtrange, as appears by what has been writ, that they ſhould maintain that rigor for above two thouſand and fifty years.

2. A *Chineſe.* " Four things are com" mendable in a woman: 1. Virtue. 2. " Her face. 3. Her words. 4. Her work " and employment. For the firſt it is re" quiſite that ſhe be very wiſe, diſcreet, " and judicious; for the ſecond, ſhe need " not be very beautiful; it is not expected " her words ſhould be very witty, or that ſhe " ſhould ſpeak in verſe: It is not to be ex" pected her work ſhould be ſo curious as " to outdo prime work men: Her virtues " muſt be retiredneſs and modeſty, that " her garb be ſuitable to her condition, " that in her mien and carriage ſhe be " grave and baſhful, and that ſhe be mo" derate in all her actions. Every mar" ried woman ought to be adorn'd with " theſe virtues. She muſt firſt weigh her " words, not tell lies, and ſpeak in due " time

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3. Another *Chineſe*. "What a woman "is to obſerve is this, that if ſhe ſpeaks "it be ſoft and mildly, without raiſing "her voice; if ſhe goes let it be gently, "if ſhe ſtops it muſt be with modeſty, her "ears muſt not hear ill words, her eyes "muſt not look much, ſhe muſt always "be in fear and dread leſt her husband "ſhould receive any affront, and have any "trouble upon her account. That hus- "band who lights of a good wife has no "troubles, a virtuous wife keeps all the "family in peace.

4. "A *Chineſe* was aſk'd, whether it "was lawful for a widow to marry again? He anſwer'd, "To marry, becauſe ſhe is "poor and has no ſupport, is lawful; "but theſe are things of ſmall moment, "when compar'd to the good there is in "continency.

By what has been ſaid it appears, the *Chineſes* make no great account of women's beauty.

For the retirement of women, we may well inſtance the example of *C. Sulpicius*, who put away his wife, becauſe ſhe went out of doors with her head unveil'd. *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xxiv. ℣. 28, & 67. ſays, the women formerly had inner rooms, as is now us'd in *China*.

I could eaſily have enlarg'd upon ſeveral points. I have left out above half the notes I took, whilſt I was confin'd in *Canton*; the matter we have in hand requires no more, ſince our only deſign is to ſhew how much that nation has receiv'd from GOD, tho' it is ſo ungrateful. What has been writ is enough for this purpoſe.

We daily reading *Chineſe* books, always found ſomething new to make our reflections upon; and that our labour may not be quite loſt, I will here add a few. It has been ſaid already, that women do not inherit, nor did they among the *Jews* till *Numb.* xvii.

5. A counſellor ſaid to the emperor *Vu Vuang*, "It is a great happineſs to over- "come one's will and appetite with rea- "ſon and juſtice. It is a great trouble "and misfortune when the will ſways more "than reaſon.

6. "In the reign of the emperor *Keng*, "ſays the hiſtory, the empire enjoy'd ſuch "peace, unity, and mutual love, that for "above forty years there was no need of "inflicting any puniſhment.

7. A *Chineſe* doctor ſays, "The doc- "trine which is taught muſt be firm and "ſolid.

8. King *Kung* aſk'd, "How he might "govern his ſubjects well? A counſellor anſwer'd, "By looking to his benefit and "profit. He aſk'd again, How that was "to be done? The other reply'd, Teach- "ing them to employ themſelves in works "of piety, and to obſerve juſtice; and ſo "doing, every thing will be profitable "and advantageous.

9. "Another aſk'd, How it might be "diſcern'd, whether the kingdom im- "prov'd or decay'd? His ſecretary an- ſwer'd, "When the counſellors do not "often acquaint the king with what hap- "pens in the provinces, it is a ſign the "royal patrimony waſtes; becauſe the "diſeaſe not being known, the remedy is "not apply'd. When the king being told "of his miniſters faults, does not puniſh "them, it is alſo a ſign all goes to ruin. "When miniſters grow great and rich "with their employment, that is the laſt "ſign of deſtruction; for it is certain the "body of the kingdom, that is, the ſub- "jects, are exhauſted and drain'd.

10. *Min Juen Chi* ſays, "The leſs is "drawn from the people, the more a king "will have in time of need.

This is ſingular policy, yet not ſo ſtrange, but it has been practis'd in *Europe*. We have an example in *Conſtantius Chlorus*, Father to *Conſtantine* the great, when he govern'd *France* and *England*. This has been obſerv'd at the end of this book.

The End of the Fourth Book.

BOOK

BOOK V.

Which treats particularly of the learned Sect.

THOUGH ſomething has been ſaid in the ſecond and third books concerning the ſect of the learned in *China*, and ſome of their principles ſet down, which might ſerve to make known its deſign, and the end it aims at; yet becauſe it is a matter of mighty moment, that miſſioners be fully acquainted with all that belongs to this ſect, I have thought fit to *inſert in this place*, what has been writ concerning it by the R. F. *Nicholas Longobardo*, of the ſociety of JESUS, an ancient miſſioner, and renown'd in that miſſion: the underſtanding of which I am ſatisfy'd will be a great advantage to the miniſters of the goſpel; and with ſmall labour will lay before them how they are to deal with the infidels of that region. The original manuſcript was carried to *Rome*, and I preſented an authentick copy to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, which is kept among the records. This good father writes thus. NAVARETTE.

A ſhort ANSWER concerning the Controverſy about Xang Ti, Tien Xin, *and* Ling Hoen *(that is, the King of the upper Region, Spirits, and rational Soul aſſign'd by the* Chineſes) *and other* Chineſe *Names and Terms; to clear which of them may be us'd by the Chriſtians of theſe Parts. Directed to the Fathers of the Reſidences in* China, *that they may peruſe it, and then ſend their Opinion concerning it to the F. Viſiter at* Macao.

The PREFACE.

Giving an Account of the Original of theſe Controverſies, and what has been done about them by Order of Superiors.

IMprimis. It is above twenty five years the *Chineſe Xang Ti* (that is, the king of the upper region) began to be an eye-ſore to me, and to go to my heart. For after having heard *Confucius* his four books, as we all us'd to do at our firſt coming hither, I obſerv'd by degrees, that the definition and account of ſeveral expoſitors of *Xang Ti*, was very oppoſite and repugnant to the divine nature. But having taken the notion from the ancient fathers of the miſſion, that *Xang Ti* was our GOD, I laid aſide thoſe ſcruples, and conceited, that perhaps ſome of thoſe expoſitors might be miſtaken, as being but particular authors who did not conſent to the ancient doctrine. In this perſuaſion, and with this idea, I liv'd the firſt thirteen years, which time I ſtaid at *Xao Cheu*, without having an opportunity to confer about this point, as I ought to do, with the fathers of the other reſidences. Xang Ti.

2. After F. *Matthew Riccius* died, I being left in his place with the charge of all this miſſion, receiv'd a letter from the F. viſitor *Francis Paſcus* in *Japan*, in which he gave me to underſtand, that our fathers were there reflected upon, for bordering upon the errors of the *Gentiles* in ſome books they had compos'd in the *Chineſe* language. So that the fathers and brothers in thoſe parts met with great difficulty in confuting thoſe errors, by reaſon their adverſaries urg'd what they found in thoſe books of the *Chineſe* fathers. Whereupon he earneſtly requeſted me that we ſhould take great care what was done as to this particular: for tho' it was not eaſily to be imagin'd, that the fathers who write books in

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China, and are ſuch able divines, could be deceiv'd as to the ſubject of the ſects; yet it weigh'd much with him to ſee, that many of ours in that country affirm'd it was ſo; and theſe ſuch men as had made thoſe ſects their particular ſtudy, and were very well read in the *Chineſe* books. This advice from F. *Paſcus* confirm'd me in my former doubt, and therefore I apply'd myſelf the more carefully to ſift out the truth. Beſides all this, going according to the duty of my office to *Pe King*, I found F. *Sabatinus de Urſis* labour'd under the ſame apprehenſions concerning *Xang Ti*. Upon this we ſeriouſly diſcours'd with Dr. *Paul* and others we found well qualify'd, concerning the reconciling the difference there was between the texts and the comments; and they all unanimouſly agreed that there was no need of taking ſo much pains to reconcile them, but that we ſhould always ſtick to the doctrine of the text when it made for us, and not concern ourſelves with the contrary interpretations of expoſitors. The ſame anſwer was afterwards given us at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral places, by the doctors *John* and *Michael*. This made ſome of our fathers of opinion, that this was a ſufficient means to decide the controverſy, and therefore there was no need of any further canvaſſing the point. But F. *Sabatinus* and I, with ſeveral others, were of opinion we could not thus be ſafe and eaſy, in regard the learned *Chineſe* Chriſtians generally ſuit their ſentiments to ours, and explicate their doctrines according as they think correſponds with our holy faith, without regarding of how great conſequence it is to have the truth of theſe controverſies brought to light, and that nothing be ſaid which may have the leaſt ſhadow of falſhood or fiction.

3. Whilſt we were buſy upon theſe debates, F. *John Ruiz* came up to us, being lately arriv'd at *Macao* from *Japan*, and deſirous to decide the ſame matters in controverſy. His coming was very ſeaſonable, and as far as I can gueſs, particularly ordain'd by GOD for the benefit of the Chriſtians of *Japan* and *China*. And tho' thoſe fathers, who thought the caſe plain enough and ſettled, would not argue it with the ſaid father; yet the greater number of us, who judg'd the truth was not yet clear'd, were glad to confer with him about the difficulties that occur'd on either ſide. So we laid open the principal fundamentals of the three ſects, *Ju*, *Xe*, and *Tao* (that is, the ſect of the *Literati*, or the learned; that of the idols; and that of the wizards, ſo we uſually call the third) which will open a way to decide theſe controverſies.

Three ſects.

4. F. *Ruiz* returning to *Macao*, gave a letter in which was an account of all theſe affairs, to F. *Valentin Carvallo*, then provincial of both provinces; who writ to us, recommending the ſtudy of the ſects as a moſt important and neceſſary thing to prevent miſtakes in the opinions and terms we have introduced among the Chriſtians of theſe parts; and with it he ſent us a catalogue of the names he judg'd dubious or dangerous, that we might examine and appoint which of them are to be us'd.

5. After this F. *Francis Vicira* came viſitor; and underſtanding what orders F. *Carvallo* had given us concerning the doubtful name, he confirm'd thoſe orders, and directed us anew to ſend him our reſolution upon that matter, and the opinion of the Chriſtian *mandarines*. This I ſent him by F. *Sabatinus*, when he went away baniſh'd with the other fathers to *Macao*: and beſides I charg'd the ſaid father by word of mouth to acquaint him with ſeveral other particulars concerning theſe affairs, he being a perſon well acquainted with them. The father perform'd his part very well, both in writing and by word of mouth. But the father viſitor ſeeing there were then with him two fathers of the contrary opinion, who were F. *Pantoja*, and *Bagnoni*, he was of opinion theſe controverſies could not be decided unleſs diſputed in form. Therefore he order'd thoſe three fathers, every one to write a treatiſe upon them. And for the better and clearer proceeding in the caſe, he commanded them to argue upon three points; the firſt, *de Deo*; the ſecond, *de Angelis*; and the third, *de anima rationali*: making out whether in the *Chineſe* doctrine there were any footſteps of theſe things, or not; for on that depended the concluding upon the *Chineſe* terms that were to be us'd among theſe Chriſtians. The fathers compos'd their treatiſes, dividing themſelves into two oppoſite parties. For the fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni* undertook to prove the affirmative, alledging, that the *Chineſes* had ſome knowledge of GOD, of angels, and of our ſoul, calling them by the names, *Xang Ti*, *Tien Xin*, and *Ling Hoen*. F. *Sabatinus* undertook the negative, urging, that the *Chineſes*, according to the principles of their natural philoſophy, and phyſicks, had not the knowledge of a ſpiritual ſubſtance diſtinct from the material, as we aſſign; and conſequently knew not what GOD, or angels, or the rational ſoul were. This opinion was much applauded and approv'd by the fathers and brethren of *Japan* who were then at *Macao*, as better grounded on the *Chineſe* doctrine, and the father viſitor was near giving judgment for it. But the buſineſs in hand being of ſuch moment, and he not a competent judge of the *Chineſe* proofs alledg'd for either ſide, he reſolv'd

Spirit.

to ſend the ſaid treatiſes up hither that we might examine them, not only with the aſſiſtance of the learned Chriſtian *Chineſes*, but of the heathens too, who are not ſuſpected that they will comply with the fathers in giving the true ſenſe of their doctrine.

6. At the ſame time the three fathers compos'd their treatiſes at *Macao*, F. *Ruiz* compos'd another large one, following the opinion of F. *Sabatinus*, ſo that there were two treatiſes on each ſide. This laſt writ by F. *Ruiz*, being read by the father viſitor, and the graveſt of that college, gave great ſatisfaction to them all; for which reaſon the father would have ſent it hither to me with the other three: but becauſe it could not be tranſcrib'd ſo ſoon, he made an abridgment of it in a letter he ſent me of a ſheet and a half, and very ſufficient to decide what we are now about concerning theſe controverſies.

7. Having receiv'd theſe four treatiſes in this city, tho' I did not queſtion but the fathers, *Ruiz* and *Sabatinus*, had the true notion of the *Chineſe* doctrine, conformable to what I had before diſcours'd with them; yet I reſolv'd to make further enquiry into it, receiving new information from the Chriſtian *mandarines*, and arguing further with the fathers of this miſſion, and I always found the opinion of thoſe fathers the beſt and ſafeſt. As for the heathen learned men, I could not receive any information from them (as the father viſitor earneſtly preſs'd me to do) by reaſon of the perſecution, which gave us no opportunity of converſing with them freely, and therefore I was forc'd to delay this anſwer longer than I was willing to have done, that none might complain judgment was given without hearing what they had to ſay for themſelves. In ſhort, having laid hold of the opportunities I met with, of converſing with ſeveral learned men during the laſt years I was in the ſouth, and more particularly the two I reſided in this imperial city; the buſineſs of the *Chineſe* doctrine, as far as relates to what we have in hand, was made plain and perſpicuous, and therefore I will in this my anſwer give my ſenſe of it plainly and ſuccinctly.

8. It is requiſite that thoſe fathers who are to ſee this anſwer, ſhould firſt ſee the four abovemention'd treatiſes, for I here inſert many things contain'd in them. It is alſo to be obſerv'd, that I make this anſwer ſhort, becauſe I deal with your reverences who are acquainted with theſe affairs, and therefore it is enough to touch upon the principal points. The ſame reaſon will ſerve F. viſitor, and other fathers who are out of *China*, who only deſire a ſhort deciſion of theſe controverſies, approv'd of by the ancienteſt fathers, and who are moſt vers'd in this miſſion.

NAVARETTE.

Notes upon what has been writ above.

Note 1. The king of the upper region, aſſign'd by the learned ſect, went to the heart of, and was an eye-ſore to the good father *Longobardo*. And yet there are ſome who have ſuch cataracts over their eyes, that to this day they preach him up to be our GOD.

2. If a *Franciſcan* or *Dominican* had writ what F. *Paſcus* did, what complaints would the world ring with againſt us? I take them for granted. It follows thence, that the preaching of the word of GOD was defective in *Japan*, as well as in *China*; what wonder then it ſhould ſo ſoon be check'd in both places?

Japan *Religion.*

It is certain, the religion of *Japan* took its origin from that of *China*; the *Japoneſes* ever acknowledg'd the *Chineſes* their maſters, as to matters of religion. The *Chineſe* merchants who ſail'd to *Japan*, carry'd the books of our holy faith, printed in the *Chineſe* language, to ſell to the Chriſtians there. They read them, and being well vers'd in their own ſects, took notice of the errors they found in them. Now the *Japoneſes* making this reflection, is a powerful argument that the doctrine of thoſe books was not ſound. But the authors of them can at moſt be ſomewhat guilty only of a material miſtake. I was told in *China*, that a miſſioner had printed a book full of extravagancies and errors; care was taken to get it up, if any copies remain'd in the hands of infidels, it is a plain caſe they will do harm. The worſt was, that they did not examine it before it was printed. F. *James Collado*, in a memorial he preſented to *Philip* the fourth, ſays, That in a book he read in *Japan*, he obſerv'd four ſeveral heretical expreſſions, which tho' they were not imputed to the author, yet the hurt they may do was great, and the conſequences fatal.

By what has been and ſhall be writ, it plainly appears that the argument they daily uſe is bad, *viz.* That the ancient miſſioners of *China* being grave, learned, and experienc'd men, the reſt are oblig'd to follow and practiſe what they taught. If this argument does not take place with them, leſs ought it to do ſo with us. The more weighty matters are, the more examination they require; theſe are affairs that concern eternity, no care or induſtry is too great; we muſt not be ſatisfy'd with probabilities, nor are they ſufficient upon ſuch occaſions. So ſays the biſhop of *Nan King*, diſp. 4. c. 3. dub. 3. *For ſacred things which belong to religion itſelf, and are abſolutely neceſſary to bliſs, probability is not ſufficient, but an undoubted certainty is requiſite.* He proves it very

NAVARETTE. very well in the next doubt, and quotes F. *Vagotius* a jeſuit to make good his aſſertion. F. *Strix* was deficient in this point, for which reaſon the pope forbid his book.

As to the advice of the learned Chriſtian *Chineſes*, we all know their ſentiments, and yet there are ſome who ſhut their eyes to follow and approve them.

3. I never lik'd the ſentiments of thoſe fathers; diſputes never do hurt, tho' the matter diſcuſs'd be plain and eaſy, but it is rather laid more open by this means, according to the doctrine of S. *Thomas* quoted in another place.

Beſides, it is very conſonant to reaſon, that where there are perſons learned and expert in an art, it ſhould be taken for granted they have ſome reaſonable grounds which incline them to maintain the contrary to what others think is certain and plain. Why then ſhould they avoid hearing them, ſince as men they may be deceiv'd, as actually they were? And if the fathers *Longobardo*, *Sabatinus*, *Ruiz*, and others, would not lay aſide their ſcruple on account of what the fathers *Riccius*, *Pantoja*, and others taught; What reaſon is there that I and others who are not of the ſociety, ſhould reſt ſatisfy'd and give over, becauſe thoſe fathers practis'd it?

The words of S. *Auguſtin* quoted by *A Lapide*, *Can.* 2. *in Penth.* anſwer to the advice of the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, that we ſhould follow the texts, *&c. Philoſophy and phyſicks are to be adapted to holy writ, and to the word of* GOD, *from whom all method, order, and meaſure of nature has its being. Holy writ is not therefore to be wreſted on the contrary to the ſenſe of the philoſophers, or to the light or dictates of nature.* This laſt part is what the learned Chriſtian *Chineſes* aim at. S. *Thomas* ſpeaks to the ſame effect in 1, 2 *Pet. ad illud, non ſit propria*, &c.

4. Some, and thoſe not a few, would perſuade us, that nothing has been alter'd of what the firſt miſſioners decreed; the contrary appears by what has been already written, and ſhall be made out more plain in the ſecond tome.

5. They divided themſelves into two opinions; the ſame has been done in other points, which I do not admire at, but I am ſurpriz'd that the contrary ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world. There were two opinions oppoſite to one another; it is impoſſible for us to cloſe with and follow both, we follow the beſt and ſafeſt, or rather that which is certain, which no man can complain of.

6. I wiſh ſome men had taken half the pains to prove their opinion that F. *Longobardo* did for his; but I am more than ſufficiently ſatisfy'd it is not ſo. It is to be obſerv'd too, that tho' thoſe of the contrary opinion follow'd the advice of the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, and of doctor *Michael*, that they might curry favour with the learned men, and gain them to their ſide, yet it avail'd them nothing to prevent their being ſent baniſh'd to *Macao*, and put up into cages. F. *Longobardo* abſconded and ſtaid behind; the LORD preſery'd him to write this treatiſe.

PRELUDE I.

Of the claſſick and authentick Books of China, *by which theſe Controverſies muſt be decided.*

1. THO' in *China* there be variety of books of ſeveral ſubjects and profeſſions, in which many points of theſe controverſies are touch'd upon: nevertheleſs in regard they are not all of ſuch reputation as is requiſite to decide matters of ſuch weight, we have reſolv'd upon mature advice to make uſe only of the claſſick authors, whom the learned ſect follows; which as it is the ancienteſt in this country, having been profeſs'd four thouſand years by all the *Chineſe* kings and *mandarines*, ſo it is the moſt renown'd of all that have been to this day.

Books. 2. The authentick books of this ſect are reduced to four ranks. The firſt of the ancient doctrines, *Je King*, *Xi King*, &c. they were left in writing by the firſt kings and wiſe men of *China*, and therefore the learned are examin'd by them. The ſecond is, the comment upon thoſe doctrines; which is of two ſorts, one a ſhort comment made by one author only, which always goes along with the text of each doctrine, and the ordinary gloſs which ſcholars ſtudy, and maſters teach. The other is the great comment call'd *Ta Zieuen*, which was order'd to be made above two thouſand five hundred years ago by the emperor *Jung Lo*, he chuſing out to this purpoſe forty two *mandarines* of great note among the learned ſect, of whom a conſiderable part of the council of the court call'd *han lin* was compos'd. Theſe *mandarines* in the firſt place examin'd and approv'd of the *Zu Xu*'s ſhort comment, and the aforeſaid doctrines. Afterwards they compos'd the great comment, bringing together the interpretations of the principal expoſitors, who had writ upon thoſe doctrines for one thouſand ſix hundred years, that is, ſince the general burning of *Chineſe* books in the reign of the family

Zin, by order of the emperor *Chi Hoang*. Theſe ancient expoſitors are very numerous, for in *Zu Xu* alone are contain'd about 107, in the comment of *Je King* 136, in that of *Xu King* 166; and ſo upon the other doctrines, as appears by the catalogues of them printed at the beginning of the works: and it is wonderful to ſee how they all agree in the underſtanding of the fundamentals and moſt eſſential parts of the doctrines, ſo that they ſeem not unlike our holy doctors in the expoſition of ſcripture. Wherefore, not without reaſon, the comments are held in ſuch eſteem in *China*, that the compoſitions the ſcholars make upon the text are not allow'd of, if they anſwer not the ſenſe of the comment. The third rank of books is, of thoſe that contain the body of their philoſophy, moral and natural, which they call *Sing Li*. The ſame forty two *mandarines* collected this body of philoſophy, gathering together in it the ſeveral matters that lay diſpers'd among the ancient doctrines, and thoſe which were afterwards handled by ſeveral authors, a hundred and eighteen of whom are mention'd in this work. The fourth rank are, the original books of thoſe authors who flouriſh'd after the general burning, that employ'd themſelves partly in expounding the doctrines of the firſt philoſophers, and partly in compoſing ſeveral things of their own. Theſe are the claſſick books of the learned ſect, from which we may gather whether the *Chineſes* had any knowledge of the true GOD, Angels, or rational ſoul.

3. Here by the antiquity of the *Chineſe* doctrines is to be obſerv'd, which took their origin from the firſt king of this empire, call'd *Fo Hi*, who according to the *Chineſe* chronicles falls many years before the flood. But becauſe this cannot be allow'd of, as being contrary to holy writ, it is certain at leaſt that he was ſoon after the diviſion of tongues. Therefore F. *John Ruiz*, in the treatiſe he compos'd concerning theſe controverſies, very probably makes out that *Fo Hi* was the great *Zoroaſtres* King of *Bactria*, and prince of the *Chaldean Magi*, who gave a beginning to all the ſects of the *Weſt*, and afterwards came into the *Eaſt*, and founded the kingdom of *China*, and the ſect they call of the learned. Zoroaſter.

4. Whence it is, that this ſect of *China*, and thoſe of the other heathens of thoſe parts, proceed from the ſame ſource, and by the contrivance of the devil, they have a great reſemblance with one another, and lead men away to hell by the ſame art and contrivance. I do not enlarge upon this point, becauſe the aforeſaid father has done it amply, and learnedly in his treatiſe. I earneſtly deſire, and adviſe all to read it with attention, becauſe it will give them much light and aſſiſtance for deciding theſe controverſies.

NOTES.

1. I and the reſt of us agree with much ſatisfaction to all that is written in *Num.* ii. In the third I muſt obſerve, that as to the chronology, there has been ſome diſagreement among the fathers of the ſociety. Some follow the computation of the *Septuagint*; others that of the *Roman martyrology*. It is a matter of moment, and muſt be reconcil'd, to oblige us to follow it.

2. What is ſaid *Num.* iv. agrees with what I quote in another place out of F. *Arias*; and F. *Kircher* writes the ſame. And tho' the learned ſect be ſo ancient, yet I like what *Tertullian* ſays in his apology; *But the doctrine of the prophets being much ancienter than any of the philoſophers, it is therefore eaſy to believe that was the treaſure whence all later wiſdom flow'd.* This is the opinion of S. *Auguſtin*, and others, whom S. *Antoninus* follows, 4. *p. tit.* 11. *c.* 4. *Sect.* 5. whom I quoted in the third book.

What has been ſaid, diſproves what *Morales* and others write, that the *Jews* of the ten tribes peopled *China*, and that the *Chineſes* took their doctrine from the *Iſraelites*. If they agree not in this point, the diſcord will be among their own family, but not with us.

PRELUDE II.

Of the Diſagreement ſometimes found among the authentick Books; and that in ſuch caſes we muſt rather be govern'd by the Comments than by the Texts.

1. THO' in reality there be no diſagreement between the authentick books of the learned, if their principles are rightly underſtood and conceiv'd; nevertheleſs, in regard ſometimes there ſeems to be ſome between the ſeveral texts of the doctrines, and interpretations of the expoſitors, therefore this prelude is inſerted, to ſhew how we are to govern our ſelves in ſuch caſes; and in the firſt place I will give ſome inſtances of this diſagreement. *V. g.* The doctrines tell us, or at leaſt ſeem ſo to do, that there is a ſupreme king whom they call *Xang Ti*, who is in the palace of heaven, from whence he governs heaven, & rewards the good, and puniſhes the wicked. GOD. Xang Ti.

NAVARETTE. But the expoſitors attribute all this to heaven it ſelf, or the univerſal ſubſtance or nature, which they call *Li*, as ſhall be ſaid in its place.

Spirits. 2. The doctrines further ſay, that there are ſeveral ſpirits which they call *Xin* or *Kuei*, or *Kuei Xin*, which preſide over mountains, rivers, and other things in the world. But the expoſitors explicate this of the natural cauſes, or of the operative virtues which work in thoſe cauſes.

Souls. 3. Laſtly the ſame doctrines, ſpeaking of our ſoul by the name of *Ling Hoen*, give us to underſtand, that it remains alive after man is dead. And they tell us of an ancient king whoſe name was *Vuen Vuang*, that he is in the upper part of heaven, and ſits by *Xang Ti*'s ſide. But the expoſitors unanimouſly maintain, that *Ling Hoen* is nothing but an airy or fiery entity or being, which when ſeparated from the body, aſcends and reunites it ſelf to the ſubſtance of heaven, with which it is one and the ſame thing. And this is the genuine expoſition of thoſe texts which affirm, that king *Vuen Vuang* is by the ſide of *Xang Ti*; for *Xang Ti* according to them being the ſame thing as heaven it ſelf, when the ſoul returns to heaven, it is ſaid of courſe, goes to unite it ſelf to *Xang Ti*.

4. Much of this ſeeming diſagreement is found in their texts and comments; and the texts ſeeming more ſuitable and agreeable to our doctrine, therefore ſome fathers are of opinion we ſhould follow the texts, without taking notice of the comments. But the other fathers think it not enough to follow the texts only, but that the expoſitions of the commentators muſt be taken with it; and when any doubt ariſes, we muſt govern our ſelves rather by the comment than by the text. Now this variety of opinions being known, it being of ſo great conſequence for the clearing of what we are about, there is a neceſſity of explicating it here in the firſt place; and therefore I will aſſign the reaſons of both opinions.

5. Theſe that follow may be urg'd in behalf of that of the fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni*. 1. In the text of the doctrines is the truth of all the philoſophy and knowledge of the learned ſect; for which reaſon there is no doubt but their force and authority is greater than that of the comments. 2. The commentators for the moſt part liv'd in the time the family *Sung* ſway'd the ſcepter, when the ſect of the idols were already come out of *India*, and ſo they had imbib'd many new and erroneous opinions from that ſect, which occaſion'd them ſometimes to ſwerve from the true ſenſe of the ancient doctrines. 3. The principal Chriſtians we have in *China*, who are great ſcholars and *mandarines*, adviſe and perſuade us to follow the doctrine of the text (if, as they are grave and great, they were virtuous and fear'd GOD, they would give no ſuch advice) giving them ſuch expoſitions as ſuit neareſt with our holy faith, as has been done ever ſince the ſociety came into this kingdom. Therefore it is likely we ought to follow their ſentiments, both becauſe they are ſo well vers'd in the affairs of *China*, and that they know what agrees, and what diſagrees with our holy faith. 4. We following the text, where it is favourable to us, as it is in many conſiderable points, we ſhall unite our ſelves with the learned ſect, which will gain us the affections of the *Chineſes*, and facilitate the propagation of our holy faith throughout this kingdom; eſpecially knowing the ſaints have given us an example ſo to do, making their advantage of any ſmall matter they found that was good among the heathens with whom they convers'd, as S. *Paul*, when being in the *Areopagus*, he made uſe of the words of the poet, *ipſius enim & genus ſumus*.

6. The contrary opinion is grounded on reaſons much more ſtrong. The ancient doctrines are generally obſcure, and in many places the texts are faulty, either wanting or having too many words, as the learned themſelves affirm. Beſides, they frequently uſe enigma's, or parables, to conceal the myſteries of their philoſophy, as ſhall appear hereafter. Therefore without the aſſiſtance and direction of expoſitors, they cannot be underſtood, or at leaſt not without great miſtakes; and this was the reaſon they made thoſe comments with ſo much care, and ſuch extraordinary choice of expoſitors; and beſides, all the learned in their compoſitions are oblig'd to follow them, as we ſaid before *Prelude* 1. *n.* 3. If the *Chineſes* are govern'd by their comments in the difficulties of their obſcure and doubtful texts, it ſeems a clear caſe that ſtrangers ought much more ſo to do.

7. If we take the texts in another ſenſe than the comment gives them, the *Chineſes* will imagine we do ſo, becauſe we have not read all their books, or do not underſtand them as they ought to be underſtood; and accordingly ſome learned men actually cenſur'd ſeveral places in *Xe Je* (the name of a book) compos'd by F. *Matthew Riccius*, among whom was that famous *Bonzo* of *Che Kiang*, who writ four articles againſt the ſaid book, and at the beginning of them ſays, The ſtranger father might be excuſed for having miſinterpreted the *Chineſe* books, as underſtanding no better. *Kin Tai So*, a friend to the ſociety, and particular devotee of the aforeſaid F. *Riccius*, with his own hand writ a pamphlet, in which he collected thoſe things that ought

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to be ſaid of the three ſects, becauſe the father was out as to them in his book. I forbear bringing any more inſtances, as being ſatisfy'd this I have brought is well known to almoſt all ours that belong to this miſſion.

As for the articles of the *Bonzo*, and the pamphlet of *Kin Tai So*, they are kept in the archive of *Kang Cheu*, he that pleaſes may ſee them.

8. It is certain, as I ſaid at the beginning of this *prelude*, that the comments are not oppoſite to the texts; to ſay ſuch a thing would be a mere hereſy in *China*, foraſmuch as theſe comments are receiv'd and valued in all their claſſes almoſt in an equal degree to the texts. But let us allow ſome contradiction between them, and that the texts were more conſonant to reaſon than the comments: Yet the *Chineſe* will never ſubmit to us in that point, when we explicate the text contrary to the comments; for they take it for granted that the comments do not err, nor contain any thing contradictory to the texts. This therefore will be undertaking an endleſs quarrel with the *Chineſes*, and at laſt we ſhall come by the worſt of it, of which I am a ſufficient witneſs, becauſe of the great experience I have of my ſelf and others entering upon theſe diſputes with the *Chineſes*. For at firſt when they hear us ſay, for inſtance, that *Xan Ti*, explicated as uſually we do, is the Creator of the univerſe, *&c.* they laugh at us, as knowing that according to the doctrine of their ſect, *Xang Ti* is heaven, it ſelf, or its virtue and power; and therefore it could not be before heaven, but muſt have an equal beginning with heaven, or be poſterior to it. And when we offer to carry on the argument, proving after our manner that the workman is before the houſe, *&c.* they will not ſuffer us to proceed, but preſently put an end to the diſcourſe, ſaying, that ſince our GOD is their *Xang Ti*, there is no need of explaining it any more to them, for they underſtand it better than we do. In ſhort, tho' we contend never ſo much that the expoſitors ought not to define *Xang Ti* after that manner, they always ſtop our mouths with the ſame thing, which is, that we do not underſtand their books. And many of them take pet, and look upon us as fooliſh and troubleſome, for attempting to teach *Chineſes* how their authors are to be underſtood and explicated.

9. When the father viſitor *Vieira* order'd the fathers of *China* to argue the three queſtions above-mention'd, father *Sabatinus* aſking him, whether he would have them go upon the ſeeming ſenſe of the texts, as the fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni* had done, or upon the explication of the expoſitors? He anſwer'd poſitively, he would know the ſenſe of the expoſitors, for that was the practice of all claſſes and profeſſions whatſoever; for there is no concluding any thing, for inſtance of the Platonick, or the Peripatetick doctrine, but according to what their claſſick and approv'd commentators maintain. This method being aſſign'd, F. *Sabatinus* compos'd his treatiſe, and prov'd, that according to the authentick texts, *Xang Ti* could not be our true GOD, nor *Tien Xin* our angels, nor *Ling Hoen* our ſoul. Theſe reaſons ſeem ſufficient to make us approve and follow the ſecond opinion, which is, to be guided rather by the comments than by the texts. It only remains to anſwer the arguments brought for the firſt opinion. NAVARETTE.

10. As to the firſt; I grant all that is urg'd concerning the force and authority of the doctrine it ſelf, beyond that of the comment; but I alſo affirm, that the light and aſſiſtance of comments is neceſſary for the underſtanding of obſcure texts. Nor can I forbear taking notice in this place, that I am much ſurpriz'd to ſee how much ſtreſs thoſe fathers lay on the text of the *Chineſe* doctrine, ſo that they ſeem to look upon it almoſt as reveal'd doctrine, which cannot err. And yet we know *Confucius* corrected ſeveral errors in the ancient doctrine, as our *Ariſtotle* did in the books of the philoſophers before him. Therefore as in *Ariſtotle*, in proceſs of time, there appear'd many things that wanted to be corrected, ſo they may be found in *Confucius*.

11. To the ſecond anſwer, firſt, That the claſſick comments we now ſpeak of, are not made only by the authors who writ after the ſect of the idol was introduced, which was in the year of our Lord 65, but by many others who flouriſh'd before the coming in of the ſaid ſect, for two thouſand years before the incarnation. All theſe profeſs'd they follow'd the pure and peculiar doctrine of the learned ſect, without mixing any opinions of other ſects, as appears by the comments themſelves. I do not deny but there were many, and thoſe very famous writers, who writ after the coming in of this ſect of the idols, and ſeeing their errors; but theſe do not belong to the ſect of the *Literati*, or the learned, which we now make uſe, but to the ſect of the idols, owning themſelves to profeſs it. In the ſecond place I anſwer, that there is never a learned man in *China*, who will indure to hear it ſaid, that their authentick comments deviate the leaſt from the true ſenſe of their doctrines. They are rather of opinion that the doctrines themſelves will not bear any other expoſition than that of the comments, if they be compar'd together, and the whole try'd by the principles of their philoſophy. *Sect of the Idols.*

12. To

NAVARETTE. 12. To the third I anſwer. 1. That our Chriſtian *Chineſe* learned men give us that advice, partly, becauſe they are not ſenſible how prejudicial it is that any ſmall error ſhould be found in the matters we treat of; and partly, becauſe they are willing to ſhroud themſelves under the cloak, that our religion borders upon their ſect, ſo to avoid being reflected on for following a ſtrange doctrine: but our fathers muſt have higher notions, not ſuffering themſelves to be rul'd by, but ruling them, as they find moſt convenient for both parties. 2. Theſe ſame learned men, when they make compoſitions on the texts of their doctrines, give them no other meaning but what agrees with the comments, for otherwiſe their compoſitions would be rejected as erroneous and faulty in the ſchools of *Confucius*. Therefore I ſee not why they ſhould perſuade us to follow the very contrary to what they practiſe.

13. To the fourth I anſwer, That the ſuppoſition is falſe, which is, that the texts make for us; for in truth they do not, when underſtood as they ought to be by the ſect of the learned. Therefore to attempt by force to lay any ſtreſs upon it, that is, to oppoſe the comments, will be like building upon ſand, and flying with *Icarus* his wings. As for the example left us by ſaints, it ought to be imitated, where it can be done upon good grounds.

NOTES.

1. It is not at all ſtrange to find ſome things in books which ſeem contradictory, though in truth they are not ſo. This may be ſeen even in the holy ſcripture; and the holy doctors, and other eccleſiaſtical authors, have taken much pains to reconcile this ſeeming diſagreement. S. *Auguſtin* writ *de concordia quatuor evangeliſtarum.* Others have reconciled many places of the old teſtament. *Peter Burgomenſis* reconcil'd many of S. *Thomas*, and therefore it is no wonder the ſame ſhould be found in the *Chineſe* doctrines.

Souls. 2. The learned *Chineſes* ſpeak and conceive concerning our ſoul, as is ſaid in *Wiſd.* ii. that it is a little air; *And the word of a ſpark of fire.* This according to *Alb. Mag. de hom. tract.* 1. *q.* 1. *art.* 2. is, *A natural heat, which when quench'd, the body withers and falls away into aſhes, and breathes out the corporeal ſpirit, which is diſpers'd into the air.* *Diogenes* ſaid, the ſoul was a thin air, *which ſeems to expire in death.* The *Chineſe* ſays the ſame. *Heraclius* ſaid it was a vapour. *Thales* held the ſame, and ſo does the learned ſect of *China*, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

3. The grounds mention'd in this ſame number, are the only reaſons the modern miſſioners, who at this time follow the ancients, go upon, without adding any thing new, or anſwering to thoſe the other ſide brings, tho' they are ſo weighty and ſtrong, that in my opinion they will convince all that ſhall read them without prejudice.

4. I read the *Bonzo*'s book, but neither that, nor what our author mentions of the other learned *Chineſe*, will convince ſome men; a ſtrange undertaking! F. *Balat* often ſaid, if a *Chineſe* ſhould go into *Europe*, and after having ſtudied our ſciences five or ſix years, ſhould expound ſcripture, canons, and fathers, in a contrary ſenſe to that of the ſaints, doctors, divines, and canoniſts, and ſhould endeavour to perſuade us that his expoſition was the trueſt, ſhould we not think him a mad man or fool? Who doubts of it? Then muſt not the *Chineſes* of neceſſity ſay the ſame of us, when they perceive we expound their texts contrary to the meaning generally receiv'd by all men, for three or four thouſand years?

5. I ſhall ſay more to this point in another place, tho' I think what the author writes may ſuffice.

6. Our author with good reaſon admires to ſee his brethren lay ſuch ſtreſs upon the *Chineſe* texts. There are other perſons who make no account of what the holy doctors of the church ſay and teach. Some fancies run after novelties, others cling to all that is ancient. The *Chineſe* doctrines were erroneous, ſays he; nor can it be otherwiſe, being the works of heathens, as I have prov'd out of *Lactantius* in the ſecond book. *Confucius* has innumerable errors, as the author of another treatiſe, which I ſhall inſert in the ſecond tome, affirms. Some late authors have taken upon them to cry up *Confucius* his doctrine at ſuch a rate, that they juſtify it free from any ſlip or miſtake whatſoever, without conſidering they oppoſe the opinion of their elder brethren. But ſuch men, by expreſs command from their ſuperiors, ought either not to perſuade ſtrangers to follow their ancients, or reflect on the diviſion they breed in their own family, to the great prejudice of thoſe infidels, who ſay, that according to the expoſition they who hold this opinion give their texts, they have had the faith we preach to them ſome thouſands of years in *China*, and therefore there is no need we ſhould trouble ourſelves, ſail five thouſand leagues, *&c.* for this purpoſe.

Beſides, to be free from all error, is the peculiar privilege of the law of GOD. The biſhop of *Nan King* expreſſes it very well, *de verit. relig. Chriſt.* c. 4. *ſect.* 2. The ſame does *Proſper. Aquit. lib. cont. Colat. cap.* 26. *Nor is it unknown*, ſays he, *how much the ſchools of* Greece, *how much the* Roman *elo-*

quence,

quence, and the curioſity of the whole world have labour'd in vain about the finding out of the ſupreme good, employing much hard ſtudy and excellent wit, and at laſt have only loſt themſelves in their own imaginations, to the darkning of their fooliſh heart, who make uſe of none but themſelves to diſcover truth. S. *Antoninus* handles this point, 4 *part. tit.* 11. *cap.* 4. where he writes at large of the errors of the *Gentiles.* Why may not we apply the words of St. *Paul, Epheſ.* iv. to thoſe fathers who find our faith in the works of *Confucius* and his diſciples? *Even as the Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, having the underſtanding darkned, being aleniated from the life of* GOD, *through the ignorance that is in them, becauſe of the blindneſs of their heart; who being paſt feeling have given themſelves over to laſciviouſneſs, to work all uncleanneſs,* &c. And that of *Prov.* ii. *Their malice hath blinded them, they knew not the myſteries of* GOD.

7. It behoves us to follow the doctor of the Gentiles, *Tit. c.* 1. *Not giving heed to fables.* And that of *Heb.* xiii. *Be not led away by various and ſtrange doctrines.* S. *Thomas, lect.* 2. expounds it thus, *That is divided. For truth conſiſts in a mean, to which unity belongs,* &c. The doctrine therefore of faith is one, becauſe from a point to a point but one right line can be drawn; all other doctrines are various, becauſe it is uſual to ſtray many ways from the right. To this purpoſe read S. *Antoninus* quoted above.

Virtues. 8. Some will ſay that the *Chineſe* books are very agreeable to the law of nature, and that the *Chineſes wonderfully follow the track of nature and reaſon, and are courteous and apt to learn, as well as ingenious, great politicians, and therefore very capable of Chriſtian wiſdom,* &c. So ſays *Corn. à Lap.* from *F. Trigaucius*; wherefore it will be convenient to follow their books and doctrine. I anſwer, That I do not wonder this ſhould be written, but I would have it compared with what I quoted above out of *F. Arias,* and what ſhall be ſaid in other places. If *Vices.* their being ſo addicted to ſuperſtitions, ſodomy, frauds, lying, pride, covetouſneſs, ſenſuality, and many other vices, is *following the courſe of nature and reaſon,* then that father was in the right. Let the mighty advance in converſions; the conſtancy in the faith they have ſhewn, and the fervor of the learned in the ſervice of GOD ſpeak for them.

9. I cannot but admire the diverſity of men's wits. Some will be grabling in the doctrine of ſaints, aſſigning errors to them, on account of ſome little words that may be explicated in a good ſenſe. Others approve the doctrine of heathens in the bulk, tho' they have not read it. St. *Paul* made uſe of the philoſophers, 1 *Cor.* ix. *I am become to the Jews as a Jew, to thoſe who were without a law,* &c. But S. *Thomas, lect.* 4. ſays, *That he ſuited himſelf to the Gentiles, that is, by conſenting to their reaſons, and the ſound propoſitions of philoſophers.* It had been a fine contrivance indeed to follow them in all things, when they were ſo much out of the way. The ſaint in 1 *Tim.* iii. *lect.* 3. ſpeaks thus: *But in this they waver'd, becauſe they had not the righteouſneſs of truth, by reaſon their manners were deprav'd; alſo for that it can hardly be found among them, that they agreed in truth.* Let any man look into the manners of the *Chineſes,* and from them as from an antecedent, let him deduce the truth is to be found in their learning; and if even in this the text and comments contradict one another, it manifeſtly proves they contain no truth at all. Nor is it reaſonable that the preachers of the goſpel ſhould ſubmit to be diſciples of heathens (it ſpeaks as to matters that concern our religion) we are to be their maſters, their light, and their guides, and not to ſuffer ourſelves to be guided by them. As our author ſays, Our notions muſt be of a more lofty nature. When they find ever a word in the texts, which in the groſs ſound, and ſuperficial ſenſe ſeems to be ſomewhat for us, they preſently think our holy faith is ſignified by it, and imagin they have a ſtrong weapon to convince the infidels; and they underſtanding thoſe things better than we do, the conſequence is, that they are farther than ever from compaſſing what they aim'd at. Our *Albertus Magnus* 2. *ſent. diſ.* 1. *art.* 5. inſtances in *David de Dinanto,* who ſaid the *Materia Prima* was GOD. This was ſignified in the temple of *Pallas,* where it was written: *Pallas is whatſoever was, whatſoever is, and whatſoever will be, whoſe veil no man could ever lay open to another.* It were pleaſant that we reading theſe words, ſhould preſently engage to maintain and defend that it is our GOD who is meant by them. It were abſolutely neceſſary firſt to examine thoroughly whom they meant, and to whom they aſſign'd thoſe attributes; it were not proper to be rul'd by the literal ſound of thoſe words, for they made the *materia prima* eternal, *a parte ante,* and *a parte poſt,* and gave it a divine being. This ſame the *Chineſes* do with their *Li,* or *Tai Kie.* They alſo give the ſupreme attributes to their *Xang Ti*; muſt we therefore rely upon their books, and preach that to them for our GOD, which in reality is their creature? Ought not we to examine the point, inquire what it is they mean by theſe things, undeceive, and make them ſenſible that they take from GOD the glory due to him, and give it to creatures, as *Wiſd.* xiii. ſays of others? NAVARETTE.

NAVARETTE. Nor is what *Morales* urges of S. *Paul's* unknown GOD to the purpoſe, becauſe it makes not for the caſe of *China*. In this particular I would have them read and follow *Corn. à Lapide*. To that of *Dinantus* may be added that of *Virgil* and *Triſmegiſtus*, inſtanc'd by S. *Antoninus*, *cap.* 4. §. 5. *ut ſupr.*

10. It is certain the learned Chriſtian *Chineſes* propoſe to themſelves the end the author mentions, in giving the advice they do, and no man can find any ground to maintain the contrary. Theſe points are to be conſulted about with good Chriſtians, well inſtructed in our faith, and ſincere. I one day diſcours'd with *Linus*, who doubtleſs is qualify'd as above, and he ſaid: father, there is no looking into or reading our books, in order to write or diſpute concerning the law of GOD, for in our books there is nothing to be found but ravings, and nothing that relates to the law of GOD; do not you be govern'd by us, nor aſk us any queſtions concerning this affair. This advice I took, and will always follow it.

PRELUDE III.

Of the Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks us'd among the Sect of the learned; whence it proceeds that they have two ſeveral ſorts of Doctrine, the one ſuperficial according to Appearance, and the other the true.

1. AS to the firſt part of this prelude, it is to be obſerv'd that almoſt all the ancient heathen philoſophers invented ſeveral ſymbols, hieroglyphicks, or figures, to the end to conceal the myſteries of their philoſophy, whereof the courſe of *Coimbra* ſpeaking *tom.* I. *Phyſic.* has theſe words: *The ancient cuſtom of philoſophers taken by* Pherecydes, Pythagoras *his maſter, from the* Egyptians *and* Chaldeans, *was, either not to write down the precepts of philoſophy at all, or to write them obſcurely, that is, under the obſcurity of a deep hidden ſenſe, and ſhrouded under mathematical figures, and enigmatical expreſſions. For the poets darkned and conceal'd the ſecrets of philoſophy under fables, the* Pythagoreans *under ſymbols, the* Platoniſts *under mathematicks, and* Ariſtotle *under the conciſeneſs of his ſtile. For they thought it a crime to admit the baſe multitude into the ſecrets of learning, and to make known to the large and idle multitude thoſe things which nature had hid from us. However* Ariſtotle, *though he thought not that philoſophy was to be made common, yet he did not approve of that method, which left all things dubious, and ſometimes conceal'd truth under a vain ſhew of falſhood.*

Even ſo the *Chineſe* philoſophers, who were the founders of the ſect of the learned, have their ſymbols, conſiſting as well of ſeveral figures and numbers, as of metaphorical expreſſions, all of them tending to expreſs the being of univerſal things, and their efficient cauſes. The principal ſymbols are even and odd ſtrokes croſs'd in the middle, black and white points, figures round and ſquare, the fix poſitions of places in their way of writing, and other metaphorical terms and expreſſions. The books of *Ye King*, which contain the ſpeculative part of the *Chineſe* doctrine, are full of theſe ſymbols. As to the myſteries and efficient cauſes of numbers, there are two whole books, which are the eleventh and twelfth of *Sing Li*, by which it were eaſy to reſtore the ſcience of *Pythagorical* numbers, which were loſt in the *Greaſt Weſt*.

Symbols.

2. This uſe of ſymbols is alſo to be found in the ſects of the *bonzes*, and *tao zu*. The *bonzes* began to uſe them ever ſince the ſect of the idols was brought into this country, and brought at the ſame time the hieroglyphicks of the *Gymnoſophiſts*, which conſiſt of figures of men, beaſts, clouds, ſerpents, devils, ſwords, bows, ſpears, arrows and other implements adapted to their deſigns. Thoſe of the ſect of *tao zu*, in imitation of the *bonzes*, make uſe of almoſt the ſame ſymbols of human figures, to expreſs the firſt principle, the faculties of the ſoul, the elements man is compos'd of, *&c.* So that it is plain and viſible, ſymbols are us'd in the three ſects, tho' all men do not know them to be ſuch, but only thoſe that were better vers'd in the myſteries and principles of thoſe ſects.

3. As to the ſecond part, it muſt be alſo obſerv'd, that by reaſon of theſe ſymbols there have been in all nations two ſeveral ſorts of doctrine, the one true and abſtruſe, the other falſe and viſible. The firſt was philoſophy, and the knowledge of natural cauſes, known only to wiſe men, and privately handled by them in their ſchools. The other a falſe appearance of popular doctrine, which was the enigma of the firſt, and the multitude thought to be true, as the words themſelves ſounded, tho' in reality it was abſolutely falſe; and this they apply'd to their morals, the government of the commonwealth, and divine worſhip, as *Plutarch de placit. philoſ.* affirms, and ſo does *Pierius* in his hieroglyphicks, and others. Thus they made many gods, ſome good, ſome bad. The good were thoſe they made to ſignify the *materia prima*, and the chaos, the four elements, as *Empe-*

docles writes, and is quoted by *Plutarch. de placit. philoſ. lib.* I. *cap.* 3. where he ſays, *In the firſt place I will ſhew you four roots of things, heavenly* Jove, Juno *that gives life; beſides theſe* Pluto *and* Neſtis, *who waters human channels with tears.* Jove, *that is fire and the ſky*; Juno *that gives life, is the air*; Pluto *is the earth*; Neſtis *under the name of human channels, is water and ſeed.* The bad and hurtful gods were thoſe they feign'd under the names of furies, fates, *&c.* ſignifying the principal paſſions of the ſoul, which inwardly torment and diſturb man. This holds *in terminis*, as the courſe of *Coimbra* obſerves, quoting St. *Auguſtin* in the ſubject *de anima.* The ſect of the *Gymnoſophiſts*, to denote that thoſe men who ſuffer themſelves to be led away by their paſſions, are like brute beaſts, feign'd that the ſouls after death went into the bodies of ſeveral beaſts, whence the ignorant vulgar ſuppos'd there were good and bad deities, angels and devils, and that our ſouls tranſmigrated through ſeveral bodies. *Plutarch* in the ſame book adds, that thoſe who denied the Divine Providence over the world, and the immortality of the ſoul, becauſe they could not by the fear of laws alone curb the private evil inclinations of the people, did therefore invent a deity and religion under ſymbols and hieroglyphicks, to check the people, and govern the commonwealth, thinking they could not live peaceably and quietly, without ſome ſort of worſhip and religion, though it were falſe.

4. S. *Auguſtin* plainly ſhews this in ſeveral places of his books *of the city of* God, where he ſets down the three ſorts of philoſophy among the ancients; one fabulous, us'd by the poets; the ſecond natural, peculiar to the philoſophers; and the third political, which was common among the people.

Religion. 5. The three ſects of *China* abſolutely follow this method of philoſophizing, having two ſeveral doctrines; one private, which they look upon as true, and is only underſtood by the learned, and profeſs'd by them under the veil of ſymbols and hieroglyphicks. The other vulgar, which is the metaphorical part of the firſt, and is by their learned men look'd upon as falſe, in the ſuperficial ſound of the words; this they make uſe of for government, for their divine, civil, and fabulous worſhip, thereby inclining the people to good, and deterring them from evil. Now leaving thoſe two ſects, which at preſent we do not treat about; it is moſt certain that thoſe of the learned ſect, as has been hinted before, repreſent the general cauſes with their effects and influences, under numbers and ſymbols; and under the name of good and bad ſpirits, one of heaven, another of the earth, of ſtars, mountains, *&c.* they ſignify the univerſal things of the world, as the faculties and paſſions of the ſoul, the habits of virtues and vices, as they imagine them to be. NAVARETTE.

6. That the ſect of the learned has theſe two different doctrines, is prov'd as follows: 1. In the book call'd *Lun Ju, lib.* III. *p.* 5. *Zu Ku* a diſciple to *Confucius* ſays, as it were complaining of his maſter, That he never underſtood by him, that he ſpoke to him of the nature of man, and the natural diſpoſition of heaven, till laſt of all. 2. In the ſame book, *p.* 17. *Confucius* ſays, that the way to govern the people well, is to make them honour the ſpirits, and to keep far from them; that is, that they do not go about to ſearch into what they are, or what they do, *&c.* 3. In the ſixth book of the ſaid *Lun Ju, Confucius* being aſk'd by his diſciple *Ki Lu*, What death was? He anſwers very drily, How ſhall he who does not know what life is, know what death is? *Lib.* IV. *p.* 6. four things are ſet down, which *Confucius* did not uſe to treat of. Of theſe, one was the ſpirits. The comment gives the reaſon, that he did not diſcourſe of ſpirits, becauſe there are ſeveral things hard to be underſtood concerning them, and therefore it is not fit to talk of them lightly with all perſons. 5. In the book call'd *Kia Ju, Confucius* deſigns at once to rid himſelf of anſwering the queſtions many aſk'd him concerning ſpirits, the rational ſoul, and things after death; he reſolv'd to aſſign one general rule, ſaying That things that are within the ſix poſitions (that is, within this viſible world, and are viſible) may be argu'd and not doubted of; but thoſe things that are without the ſix poſitions (that is, which are out of this viſible world, and are inviſible) muſt be let alone as they are, and not diſputed about.

7. From theſe and ſuch-like places of *Confucius* his doctrine, three or four other deductions or inferences over and above may be made. 1. That in the learned ſect, beſides the vulgar and viſible doctrine known to all of them, there is another hid and philoſophical, known only to the maſters of the ſect. 2. That *Confucius* ſhun'd talking diſtinctly and plainly of the ſpirits, rational ſoul, and things of the other life, for fear leſt the multitude knowing the truth of their philoſophy in relation to thoſe things, would be quite deprav'd, and by that means the publick peace would be ſubverted. 3. That by the words of *Confucius* mention'd in the laſt quotation, the learned of *China* have their hearts darkned, and their eyes cloſed, that they may not ſee nor think any further than the viſible things of the world. 4. That by this means the wiſeſt men of *China* are miſerably led away into the worſt of evils, which

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Navarette. is atheiſm, as will more plainly appear in the following *preludes*, where we will pry into and examine the principles and grounds of the doctrine, as well in phyſicks, as morals.

NOTES.

2. Some allow of this doctrine in the learned ſect (there is no diſpute as to the others; as far as it concerns that of the *bonzes*, I writ enough of it in my relations to confirm what the author ſays) others will not allow of it, they think it does not anſwer their ends; and were it not ſo, there would not be the leaſt appearance of diſagreement between the texts and comments. There are ſome too who think, it leſſens the value of *Confucius* his doctrine; yet allow he makes uſe of parables, wherein they are much deceiv'd, for we ſee that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who far exceeded the wiſdom of the *Chineſes*, obſerv'd that method, and the holy prophets did the ſame for other ends; and it is ſaid even of the author of life, *that he ſpoke in parables*, according to the cuſtom of *Paleſtine*; to which you may ſee *Corn. à Lapide* in the canons upon the prophets, *can.* 56. in *Exod.* ii. ℣. 6. S. *Thomas* ſays the ſame of the old law, in *Heb.* xi. *lect.* 2. *Oleaſter* gives the reaſon, in *Exod.* xxiii. *ad mores.* Read S. *Thomas* in 2 *Pet.* iii. *ad finem.* To deny this in *China*, is nothing but foreclоſing the argument, to contend that the literal ſound makes for our holy faith. Read the ſeventh chapter of F. *Semedo's Chineſe* empire, and ſee *Oleaſter* in *Num.* xi.

4. In this paragraph the author quotes S. *Auguſtin* at length; I think it not neceſſary to write his words. See the ſaint *lib.* I. *lib.* II. *c.* 32. *lib.* IV. *c.* 27. *lib.* VI. *c.* 10. *de civit. Dei.* He takes thoſe three ſorts of philoſophy from S. *Paul*, *Rom.* i. S. *Thomas* expounds them, *lect.* 7. & 2. 2. *q.* 94. *art.* 1. *Raphael de la Torre* on this place, *diſp.* 2. And *Suarez*, *l.* 2. *de ſuperſt. c.* 4. *n.* 8. Some of theſe points ſhall be hinted at again in another place.

PRELUDE IV.

Of the Learned Sect's Method of Philoſophizing in general.

1. IT conſiſts in ſeeking after the firſt principle of this our univerſe, and how general and particular things proceeded from it, with their efficient cauſes and effects; and particularly in enquiring concerning man, what he is as to the body, and as to the ſoul, of his way of underſtanding and acting, of the habits of virtue and vice, of every man's fate, influx and deſtiny, by the horoſcope of his nativity, that he may order his actions according to his lot. Theſe are the things they treat of in a great meaſure, as was obſerv'd above, under ſeveral figures, ſymbols, numbers, and enigmatical terms.

Philoſophy 2. This their method of philoſophizing is compos'd of two parts. The firſt is to reaſon concerning the firſt principle, and the univerſal cauſes proceeding from it, as to their own proper being and ſubſtance, with their places, qualities, and efficient virtues; not as they actually work, but in as much as they have the power of working. This ſcience they properly call *ſien tien hio*, that is, *a priori*. This *Fo Hi* treated of when he form'd the *kuas*, and the figures of their *je king*.

3. The ſecond is, that ſuppoſing this firſt production, order, and conſtitution of the univerſe, and its general cauſes, they enquired in what part of the zodiack, according to their hemiſphere and climate, the general efficient cauſes begin to exerciſe a predominant virtue, and to produce things; and how far that predominancy reaches to the generation of things, and that they may return and corrupt, as appears in the courſe of the four ſeaſons of the year, with the acceſs and receſs of the ſun, the heat prevailing ſix months in ſummer and ſpring, and the cold ſix more in winter and autumn. This ſcience they call *hien tien ho*, that is, *a poſteriori*. *Vuen Vuang*, *Cheu Kung*, *Confucius*, and other learned authors of note treat of this ſubject *ex profeſſo*, becauſe in it conſiſts all their end, which is to imitate heaven and earth in their operations and government of the world, during the four ſeaſons of the year.

4. Hence it is, that whilſt the heat which nouriſhes and produces is predominant, they follow their buſineſs, ſport, &c. and when the cold prevails, which corrupts and deſtroys, they execute ſuch as are ſentenced to death. According to theſe changes of the four ſeaſons, they enquire into every man's horoſcope, to the minute in which he was born. In this their ſcience *a poſteriori*, there are among them ſeveral opinions and ways of explicating. For ſome ſay the univerſal cauſes begin to have force in ſuch a point of the zodiack, and according to it from thence forwards ſuch qualities are receiv'd in the production of the thing, and ſuch a fate is aſſign'd. Others ſay in ſuch another point, &c. and therefore there are ſeveral ſects, ſome following

Vuen Vuang's *kuas*, others thoſe of *Jang Xi*, others thoſe of *Chu Zu*, &c.

5. This virtue or predominancy of the general cauſes, they call *ti chu*, *chu zai*, *kiun*, *vuang hoang*; all which ſignifies to predominate, and they are the ſame letters us'd for king. The difference betwixt theſe two ſciences is to be particularly obſerv'd as a matter of much moment to what we have in hand. Therefore I will explicate them more largely in two ſpecial *preludes*.

NOTE.

All that has been ſaid in this *prelude*, is ſo far from deviating a jot from what the learned ſect profeſſes, that it is certain no man who has read but a little in their books can contradict it. What is mention'd in the firſt paragraph was one of the errors of the *Manichees*. S. *Thomas*, *Heb.* xii. ſays, *They aſcribe the variety of accidents that befal man to his birth; ſo that every man's life and manners are order'd according to the conſtellation under which he is born.* This it is the *Chineſes* affirm, and other antients believ'd. S. *Iſidorus*, *lib.* IX. *Orig. cap.* 2. ſays, *The* Aruſpices, *or ſoothſayers, were ſo call'd, as it were, for being* horarum inſpectores, *or lookers into hours; for they obſerve days and hours in doing of buſineſs, and they mind how man is to govern himſelf at all times. The horoſcopes took their name from the prying into the hours of men's birth, with various and different deſtiny.* We ſee all this is obſerv'd to a tittle in *China*, and almoſt all of it is publiſh'd in the kalendar of the mathematicians of the court-print. NAVARETTE.

PRELUDE V.

Of the Science a Priori, *that is, how the Univerſe was produced, according to the* Chineſes.

Coſmogonia. 1. IN the firſt place, they not being able to imagine that any thing could be produced out of mere nothing; and knowing no infinite power, that could create it out of nothing; and on the other hand, ſeeing there are things in the world which now have a being, and anon have none, and that they were not eternal, they concluded there muſt of neceſſity be a cauſe eternally antecedent to all things, and which was the cauſe and origin of them all, which they call *li*, that is, *the reaſon or ground of all nature*. They alſo ſuppoſed that this cauſe was an infinite being, incorruptible, without beginning or end. For they hold, that as *out of nothing comes nothing*, ſo that which had a beginning muſt have an end, and the end returns to the beginning. Whence ſprung the opinion receiv'd throughout all *China*, that this world muſt *World temporary.* have an end, and be again produced anew. The interval from its beginning till the end they call *tai ſu*, that is, great year.

2. This ſame cauſe, according to them, has no life, knowledge or power, and is only pure, quiet, tranſparent, ſubtile, without ſhape or body, only perceptible to the underſtanding, as we ſpeak of ſpiritual things; and tho' it be not ſpiritual, yet it has not theſe active and paſſive qualities of the elements.

Firſt cauſe. 3. The manner of enquiring how this viſible world proceeded from the firſt principle or chaos, call'd *li*, was thus: they ſeeing that of neceſſity there muſt be an eternal cauſe of viſible things; and conſidering on the other hand, that this of itſelf had no manner of act or efficiency, without which things could not be produced from it; and perceiving again by daily experience that heat and cold generate and corrupt things, and that theſe two qualities are the efficient cauſes of all generation and corruption; they ſought out, how from this chaos, or *materia prima*, call'd *li*, was produced the *materia proxima*, which things are compos'd of; and how heat and cold could be generated in the world, that other things might be generated of them. Therefore they imagin'd that from this *materia prima*, *li*, which is infinite and immenſe, this air naturally and accidentally proceeded through five ſeveral changes or converſions, which they aſſign, till it became material, as it now is; but ſtill remaining confin'd within that infinite chaos, call'd *li*, *Chaos.* was reduced to a finite globe, which they call *tai kie*, that is, highly terminated, or Tai Kie. confin'd. They alſo call it *hoen tun*, *hoen lun*, before things proceeded from it. And this air which flow'd from the firſt chaos, thro' the aforeſaid five changes, is alſo incorruptible as to its ſubſtance, and the ſame entity with the firſt *li*, but is more material and changeable, by *condenſation and rarefaction, by motion and reſt, by heat and cold, &c.* This ſecond chaos, *tai kie*, before things proceeded from it, they imagine and deſcribe after their manner. It is needleſs to give the deſcription in this place.

4. They perceiving that heat and cold are the cauſes of the generation and corruption of things, and that they are produced by motion and reſt, imagin'd that

NAVARRETTE. the conglobated air in this ſecond chaos mov'd either accidentally or naturally, by which motion heat was produced in the ſame body of the air; and that motion ceaſing, the ſtillneſs naturally produced cold, part of the air remaining hot, and part cold, but extrinſecally not intrinſecally and of its own nature; ſo that the air was divided into hot and cold, which is what they call *leang i*, and *in tang*. The hot part is pure, clear, tranſparent, and light. The cold is impure, unclean, dark and heavy.

5. So that the moſt general efficient cauſes of the univerſe are *reſt and motion, heat and cold*, which are call'd *tung*, *cing*, *in*, *jang*. The heat and cold united themſelves together in a moſt ſtrict union, amity and concord, as huſband and wife, or father and mother, and produced the element of water, which belongs to *in*. At the ſecond copulation they produced the element of fire, which belong to *jang*, and ſo they *Elements.* went on producing the five elements, (the *Chineſes* aſſign ſo many) which are *tai kie*, or *in jang*, or the air qualify'd, as among us the qualities with their elements; which are water in the north, fire in the ſouth, wood in the eaſt, metal in the weſt, and earth in the middle.

6. *In jang*, and the five elements, produced heaven, earth, ſun, moon and planets; for the pure, hot, tranſparent, and light air aſcending, formed heaven; and the impure, cold, dark and heavy ſinking down, form'd the earth. After this heaven and earth joining by their intermediate virtue, produced man and woman; man anſwering *jang*, or heaven; and woman *in*, or the earth. For this reaſon the king is call'd *tien zu*, that is, the ſon of heaven, and ſacrifices to heaven and earth, as to univerſal parents. In theſe three things, heaven, earth, and man, all other things are contain'd, as in their ſource and origin.

7. Such was the creation of the univerſe, according to the ancient and modern *Chineſes*, the whole frame of the world being form'd in three principal things, which are *Heaven.* the cauſe of the reſt. The firſt heaven, which comprehends the ſun, moon, ſtars, planets, and region of the air, which is between heaven and earth, where their five elements are, being the immediate matter of which all things below are engender'd. *Air.* This region of the air is divided into eight *kuas*, which are ſo many parts of the air it ſelf, or qualify'd elements, having ſeveral qualities, anſwering to univerſal efficient cauſes, which they imagine. The ſe- *Earth.* cond earth, which includes hills, mountains, rivers, lakes, ſea, &c. and theſe are alſo univerſal efficient cauſes, which are poſſeſt of virtues and effects. The earth is alſo divided into parts, which contain the *kang jeu*, that is, ſtrong and weak, *or hard and ſoft, harſh and ſmooth.* The third is man, of whom the reſt are generated.

8. It is here to be obſerv'd, that this production of the univerſe was abſolutely accidental, after the manner as has been ſhewn; for the firſt efficient cauſes of this *machina* were *reſt and motion, heat and cold*; the *materia proxima* was the corporeal homogeneous air. The production of heaven and earth was alſo accidental, unforeſeen, or natural, and not deliberate or adviſ'd; for it is ſaid that the pure light air aſcended and became heaven, and the impure and heavy became earth.

9. The form of the univerſe is this, hea- *Heaven.* ven is ſpherical, and therefore moves and influences *in circulum*. The earth is ſquare, *Earth.* therefore it lies ſtill in the center, and influences *per quadrum*; and four elements anſwer to it, one to each of the four ſides, and a fifth to the middle ſuperficies. Beſides, heaven they imagine that infinite *materia prima*, call'd *li*, from which *tai kie* Li. flow'd; and they alſo call it *kung*, *hiu*, *tao*, *vu*, *vu kie*; ſtill, tranſparent, rare in the ſuperlative degree, without knowledge, without action, nothing *mera potentia*. This air that is between heaven and earth, *Air.* they divide into eight parts, as has been ſaid; four of them they aſſign to the ſouth, where *jang* reigns; and four to the north, where *in*, or the cold, rules. To each of theſe parts anſwer a portion of the air, which they call *kua*, becauſe of the different quality it enjoys.

10. This production of the univerſe is aſſign'd by *Fo Hi*, and is repreſented in the figure of *je king*, call'd *ho tu*, which has black and white chequers, and was ever by tradition underſtood after this manner. It is alſo expreſs in the figure of *jo xu*, which has black and white points in even and odd numbers, *viz.* odd, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9. and five even, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. which anſwer to the *kuas*, or general cauſes of the univerſe. *Confucius* ſpecify'd this in writing in his expoſition of *je king*, beginning with *tai kie*, as follows: the chaos produced heat and cold (which comprehend the five elements) theſe two became four, that is, heat and cold in an intenſe and a remiſs degree. Theſe four produced eight qualities, *viz.* hot and cold, hard and ſoft; four in an intenſe, and four in a remiſs degree. They ſubſtitute theſe eight for the three principal cauſes, which are heaven, earth and man; and ſo theſe eight, or theſe three, produced all things in the world, which is all to frame the aforeſaid three, which they ſay are the cauſe of the things that are generated, or corrupted in this world.

11. The

11. The learned men, who ſucceeded *Confucius* in their comments and gloſſes, ſpecify this production of the world more minutely, beginning at the firſt origin, or infinite matter call'd *li*, as it is in the firſt entrance into their philoſophy, call'd *ſing li*, which commences from *vu kie*, whom they alſo call *tao*. *Lao Zu* the head of *Tao Zu*'s ſect, ſets down the production of the world exactly after the ſame manner, in his book call'd *lao zu king*, in numbers, or metaphorical terms thus: *tao*, or the firſt chaos, produced unity, which is *tai kie*, or the *materia ſecunda*. Unity produces duality, which is *lang i*. Duality produced trinity, which is *tien ti, jin, ſan zai*, heaven, earth and man; and trinity produced all things. So it comes to be the very ſame doctrine, as that of the *Literati*, or learned *Chineſes*.

Li.

Tao Zu.

NOTES.

1. I have ſeveral times with care and attention read in the *Chineſe* books, all that is written in this *prelude*; if any man makes a doubt of it, let him read a little, and he will be ſatisfy'd. Obſerve how true it is, that the *Chineſes* hold the ſame errors that were formerly in *Europe*, as the author proves in the ſequel, and I inſtanced in another place out of F. *Arias* and F. *Kircher*. Our *B. Alb. Mag. tract.* 2. *de hom. queſt.* 89. *art.* 2. *in fine*, mentions the ſame that is writ in the firſt paragraph: *Some ſaid there were infinite worlds ſucceſſively; the head of them was* Empedocles, *who ſaid, that one motion of the heaven being perform'd according to the motion of the world, all things return to the firſt matter, and another motion beginning, are regenerated in like number as they were before, and another world begins. But that motion of the heaven is perform'd according to the progreſs or motion of the fixt ſtars*, &c. *in thirty ſix thouſand years, and this ſpace of time they call one great year.* Who can chuſe but obſerve, that this is what the *Chineſes* teach to a tittle, though they add ſix thouſand years to their great year, and ſome more, which is a ſmall difference in ſo great a number?

2. There was another ſect, ſays *Albertus*, which taught, *That there were infinite worlds, one without another.* The *Chineſes* have not fallen into this error; for they own, they cannot tell whether there are any other worlds beſides this or not.

3. The *Chineſes* in their books aſſign five elements. This is a thing ſo univerſally agreed upon among them and their books, that the very ſchool-boys know it. F. *Matthew Riccius* owns it, and argues againſt this error. So does F. *Trigaucius* in his hiſtory, *p.* 177. and yet F. *Intorceta* being a miſſioner of but a few years ſtanding will maintain, that the *Chineſes* do not hold that opinion; and he proves it with the ſame words that F. *Riccius* uſes to confute that error. Whom muſt we follow, the old ones, or the young ones? thoſe that are well vers'd and read in the *Chineſe* books, and the moſt learned of the ſociety in *China*, or F. *Intorceta?*

Elements.

NAVARETTE.

4. There are ſome men ſo open hearted, that wherever they find the leaſt word which ſeems to have any reſemblance to the myſteries of our holy faith, without further examining into the matter, they preſently make the application very contentedly, thinking they have found a mighty treaſure; as for example, what the author mentions in this number, they would appropriate to the bleſſed Trinity. So that though this myſtery cannot be poſitively found throughout all the old teſtament, yet they will have it to have been reveal'd to the *Chineſes*. A ſtrange conceit! if they had not a revelation, as one of neceſſity muſt ſuppoſe, they could not attain the knowledge of it thro' creatures as divines teach, and with them S. *Thomas* 1. *p. q.* 32. *art.* 1. *in* 1. *diſt.* 3. *art.* 2. & 1. *contrag. c.* 14. Reaſon ſhews it: for GOD *has not the appearance of a cauſe to creatures on account of what is their own, but of what is appropriated to them; they might nevertheleſs have ſome revelation concerning* GOD, *either made by the devil, or from the doctrine of others, as* Plato *is ſaid to have read the books of the law and prophets, by which he might attain to ſome ſort of knowledge of the Trinity.* So tho' *Ariſtotle* at the beginning of his book *de cælo & mundo*, ſays, *And thro' this number, viz. of three, we apply'd our ſelves to magnify one* GOD *above all the properties of things created:* yet it is not to be inferred that he had any knowledge of this myſtery. Becauſe, ſays S. *Thomas, The philoſopher did not intend to aſſign a trinity of perſons in* GOD, *but in regard that in all creatures perfection appears in the number three*, viz. *in the beginning, middle and end; therefore according to the ancients they honour'd him with treble prayers and ſacrifices.* And tho' *Triſmegiſtus* ſaid, *One begot one for his own ſake, one begot one, and reflected his own heat upon himſelf:* yet we muſt not ſay he had this knowledge by any other means but by revelation, or being taught by others. We muſt always have regard to the principles of philoſophy, and to the common ſenſe of ancients and moderns, who having had no knowledge of one GOD, were leſs likely to have it of the Trinity. Did the *Chineſes* ſpeak like *Triſmegiſtus*, it were a ſufficient ground to go upon. Beſides, the Trinity mention'd by our author, is produced and caus'd after other creatures, whoſe firſt principle is *li*, or *tai kie*.

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PRELUDE VI.

Of the ſecond part of Science, which is a Poſteriori, *how things are engendred and corrupted in this World.*

NAVARETTE.

1. ANother method the *Chineſes* have of philoſophizing, is, allowing the firſt production of the univerſe, and order of general cauſes, to inquire into the cauſe of the generations and corruption which happen every year in the four ſeaſons, ſpring, ſummer, *&c.* and to ſearch into the heavenly influences that are prevalent upon our bodies on the ſame months, days, hours and ſigns of the zodiack; thence to gather every man's fate, deſtiny and natural inclination, thereby to know how he is to govern himſelf in his actions, that he may co-operate with his fate, and not oppoſe it.

2. The principal authors of this ſcience, are *Vuen Vuang*, and his ſon *Cheu Kung*; who ſeeing that things are engendred, and the life of animals, plants, *&c.* ſupported by heat, and that the ſame moves them to act for the attaining of their ends, and that on the other ſide cold corrupts and deſtroys them; they aſſign'd heat and cold as the cauſes of generation and corruption, and that heat was produc'd by motion, and the acceſs of the ſun, and by brightneſs and light; and cold by the receſs of the ſun, ſtillneſs and darkneſs. Moreover, perceiving that things began to be engendred and grow vigorous from the ſpring forwards, and that they were in a flouriſhing condition till the end of ſummer, and that from autumn forwards they began to change, decaying, withdrawing, and ceaſing their operations, till the end of winter, therefore they aſſign'd the two firſt ſeaſons to the heat, and the two laſt to the cold. And accordingly they divided the zodiack round the horizon into eight parts, like eight points, which are the eight *kuas* of this ſcience, whereof four belong to the heat, and four to cold. According to this doctrine, they ſay, that the influence of general agents, or predominancy, and activity in their hemiſphere, begins at the *kua* call'd *Chin*, which anſwers to the Eaſt, and begins exactly with their ſpring, according to the courſe of the ſun, and is uſually on the fifth or ſixth of *February*. This actuality, predominancy or influence, they call *ti chu*, *chu zai*, which is the predominancy of heat during the firſt ſix months, which again withdraws at the contrary ſeaſon about *October*. To expreſs the beginning and end of this predominancy, they make uſe of the words *cho*, *je*, that *is*, to come out, and go in; *kio*, *xin*, that is, to draw up, and ſtretch out; *vuang lai*, that is, to go and come. All which bears the ſame ſenſe. And this being caus'd by the acceſs and receſs of the ſun, which always in reſpect to them performs his courſe to the ſouth, therefore they look upon that part as hot, and call it *tai jang*, and the north as cold, calling it *tai in*.

Heat.

Cold.

NOTE.

This good father deſerves a thouſand commendations, for having ſo exactly explicated theſe matters ſo difficult and obſcure, and made them intelligible even to *Europeans*; and though he had undertaken no other taſk in *China* but the compoſing of this treatiſe, he might think the years he ſpent in that miſſion well employed. He has by this his labour obliged us all to pray for him, though I believe ſuch was his piety and virtue, that he has little need of our prayers. He died at ninety years of age, and thoſe truly worthily ſpent.

PRELUDE VII.

Of the famous Axiom in China, Vuan Vue Je Ti, *that is, all things are the ſame.*

1. AMong the reſt of the *Chineſe* principles, which are to be obſerv'd to our purpoſe, one moſt material is, that they hold all things to be one and the ſame ſubſtance. And becauſe this opinion has much reſemblance with that of ſome ancient *European* philoſophers, who ſaid, That all things were the ſame, it will be convenient in this place to ſhew how they underſtood and explicated it. *Ariſtotle* ſpeaking in ſeveral places of the famous philoſophers, mentions thoſe who ſaid, *That all things were continued, and are one and the ſame by nature, and the manner of their being, but various according to ſenſe, and no way differing.*

One ſubſtance.

2. The courſe of *Coimbra*, *Fonſeca* and others, relying on *Ariſtotle*'s text, ſay, thoſe ancient philoſophers knew nothing beyond the material cauſe, and even that but groſly; for they imagine that the matter it ſelf was the whole eſſence of natural things, and that they were all one continu'd thing, and very agreeable to outward ſenſe, without having any eſſential difference among themſelves. As if a man ſhould ſay, that air and water are the ſource of all things; he

muſt of neceſſity own, that all things as to their eſſence, are air and water, but they are diſtinguiſhable as to the accidents, as condenſeneſs, rarity, heat and cold, *&c.* Juſt as we ſay of artificial things made of wood, that as to the eſſence they are wood, but are diſtinguiſhable by the artificial form. And in this ſenſe *Parmanides* and *Milito* affirm'd that all things were one and the ſame, and accordingly *Ariſtotle* quotes and refutes them. See *Fonſeca* in 1. *Phyſic.* from whom this is taken.

3. The philoſophers of our times, and ever ſince *Ariſtotle*, by reaſon of the opinion they had conceiv'd of the others, will not be perſuaded that men of ſuch great judgment ſhould ſpeak in the ſenſe *Ariſtotle* oppoſes, and therefore give them ſeveral interpretations. Some ſay *Ariſtotle* blames them, becauſe the words ſound to that effect, and not that he believes they really held that opinion. Nay, they accuſe *Ariſtotle*, as if he charg'd them with what they did not mean; but they are all deceiv'd.

4. That thoſe philoſophers held the ſaid opinion, the author ſufficiently proves in this place.

5. The fourth is prov'd, becauſe others ancienter than they held the ſame opinion, as the *Indian Gymnoſophiſts*, and the *Bonzes* of *China* who ſprang from them. *Lao Zu* with his *Taos Zus* holds the ſame; and above all the learned *Chineſes*, from the higeſt to the loweſt, as well the ancient as modern. Theſe three ſects are ancienter than the aforeſaid philoſophers; and all had their origin from *Zoroaſtres* the magician, and prince of the *Chaldeans*, who ſo taught and ſpread it abroad throughout the world, making the chaos eternal, *&c.* By which it plainly appears that the ſaid ancients, and three ſects of *China* conceive, *That all things are the ſame by nature and reaſon*; and that the opinion of theſe and them is exactly the ſame. NAVARETTE.

NOTES.

1. I grant what the author writes concerning the opinion of the *Chineſes*, is very plain in their books, and is not in the leaſt to be doubted; they ſo often repeat all things are the ſame, that it ſeems ſuperfluous to argue about it. *Trigaucius*, *lib.* I. *c.* 10. *fol.* 52. ſays, The ſect of the *bonzes* hold the ſame opinion; but he was wilfully miſtaken in ſaying, that this doctrine came from the *bonzes* within theſe five hundred years; foraſmuch as the ſaid propoſition is found *in terminis*, in the ancienteſt books of the learned ſect. To theſe points, read *S. Thomas*, 2 *tom. in* 1 *p. q.* 44. *diſp.* 18. *q.* 1.

2. As for the ancient *Europeans* believing the ſame, he proves it very well, and it may be confirm'd by the opinion of *S. Thomas*, 1. *p. contr. Gent.* and eſpecially *opuſc.* 15. *c.* 6. where he mentions *Pythagoras* and others, and on *Heb.* xi. *lect.* 2. That the errors of the *Chineſes* ſprung from the *Chaldeans*, ſhall be further made out in another place. As to what ſome men, guided only by their own fancies, ſay, that it is all falſe, denying what they pleaſe by the bulk, there is no notice to be taken of it, for it follows that what they ſo raſhly utter muſt be falſe. So *Ariſtotle* confutes them, 4 *Metap. lect.* 17. *S. Thomas* expounds it; *It is equally manifeſt, that he who ſays all things are falſe, owns at the ſame time that what he ſays is falſe.* The ſaint out of the philoſopher replies to the anſwerer that may be made to this concluſion; there the reader may ſee it.

PRELUDE VIII.

What Generation and Corruption is, according to the Sect of the Learned.

1. THERE were two ſorts of matter of which the world was compos'd, and both of them incorruptible. The firſt is the infinite chaos, their *li.* The ſecond the original air, or their *tai kie*, within which intrinſically is the being and ſubſtance of the firſt matter, and conſequently is in all things and never quits them. After the production of heaven and earth, this air that is between heaven and earth, is the *materia proxima* of all corruptible things, as the elements are among us; of it they are made by generation, and to it they return by corruption: ſo that the air is the being, eſſence, and nature of all things, they being engendred of it by condenſation in ſome corporeal figure, and proceeding through ſeveral qualities, by virtue of heaven, the ſun, moon, ſtars, planets, elements, earth, and other univerſal cauſes, according to the year, month, day, hour, and ſign ſuch thing was produced in; which cauſes are, as it were, forms and beginning of the interior and exterior operation of the *ſuppoſitum*.

2. Generation therefore, according to this ſect, is the receiving of the being and ſubſtance from the air, or chaos actuated into figures and qualities, which are more or leſs pure, penetrating and obtuſe, and are to it in the nature of form, the heaven, ſun, *&c.* and the particular cauſes which apply and diſpoſe the matter concurring. *Generation.*

Corruption, or death, the deſtruction of the *Corruption.*

Navarrete. the outward figure, and the qualities, humours, vital ſpirits, *&c.* which maintain'd the living creature; and being again diſſolv'd into the ſubſtance of the air, the pure, light, and hot part aſcending, and the impure, heavy and cold ſinking down. Aſcending anſwers to *xin* and *hoen*, deſcending to *kuei* and *pe*. Here it is to be obſerved, that by the word *xin* are meant the ſpirits the *Chineſes* think pure; by the name *hoen*, the ſouls of men ſeparated from the body; by the name *kuei* the ſpirits which are reckoned impure, and by *pe* human carcaſes.

NOTE.

Other ancients maintain'd the ſame doctrine here mention'd; it ſhall be ſhewn in another place. That it is a poſitive opinion of the learned *Chineſes*, appears by their books. The *Greeks* call the *materia prima*, *hile*, which is the ſame as chaos and confuſion. See S. *Thomas opuſc.* 31. The *Chineſes* call it *li*. I have already quoted S. *Thom.* in 1 *p.* ſee him where he treats *de generatione.*

PRELUDE IX.

Allowing what has been ſaid before, how things are diſtinguiſh'd from one another according to the Chineſes.

1. THEY making the air the whole eſſence of the thing, ſay, that all things are one and the ſame ſubſtance, and are diſtinguiſhed from one another by the outward ſhape, and the qualities of the very air: this that diſtinguiſhes them they call *ki cho.* As to figure, they mean the ſeveral ſhapes of corporeal things. As to the qualities, they imagine that this air may be qualify'd four ſeveral ways, which are *chin*, *pien*, *tung*, *ſe*. The firſt, ſtreight, conſtant, pure; the ſecond, crooked, inconſtant, foul; the third, ſharp and piercing; the fourth, obtuſe and thick. *Ching* and *tung* are good, they who receive them become men. *Pien* and *ſe* are bad, thoſe that receive them become beaſts, plants, *&c.*

Men.

3. The two good ones are ſubdivided into perfect and imperfect, pure and ſullied. Thoſe who receive the perfect part of *ching*, and the pure of *tung*, are wiſe and heroes, who are naturally born ſuch, and act according to reaſon, never doing any thing contrary to it, in which they excel all other men, and are therefore held in great honour and veneration. They who at their birth receive the imperfect part of *ching*, and the thick part of *tung*, are ignorant men, ill livers, and of bad cuſtoms. They call them *ju jin*, who have nothing but the ſhape of men, and in other reſpects are like beaſts. There is a mean betwixt theſe two ſorts of men whom they call *hien jin*, that is, prudent and virtuous men.

4. After the ſame manner the two ill parts of air are ſubdivided. Thoſe that receive the perfect and pure part of theſe become beaſts, and even among them there is another ſubdiviſion; thoſe that receive the imperfect thick part, become plants, herbs, *&c.*

5. By which it appears, that they were ſo far from having any knowledge of the creation out of nothing, by virtue of an infinite power, that they did not ſo much as underſtand the true generation of matter and ſubſtantial form, but only conceiv'd an accidental alteration and change of figure and qualities, pre-ſuppoſing *the common homogeneous matter of all things*, which is the very air, eternal, ingenerable and incorruptible in its ſubſtance; yet alterable by motion and ſtillneſs, heat and cold, rarity and condenſation, *&c.* This air alone being the eſſence of all things, as was ſaid above out of thoſe philoſophers.

NOTES.

1. This doctrine I have read in the *Chineſe* books, where it is ſo plain that it may be ſeen with half an eye. There are material and ſenſible ſimilies enough to make it ſomewhat plainer. Of the pure flower of the meal is made the whiteſt bread, then follows houſhold bread, then brown bread, next to that dogs bread, and laſt of all bran. After this manner the *Chineſes* talk of their air, whereof there is a part pure and refin'd, he that receives it at his generation, becomes a hero and holy man; he who receives a more imperfect part is wiſe and virtuous; he that has leſs is ignorant, the reſt are beaſts more or leſs perfect. Swine, they ſay, receive the fouleſt part of this ſort, for they account them the meaneſt of beaſts; then follow the plants in like order, and ſo other things.

2. That which *Monardes* brings in his dialogue upon iron, *fol.* 129. may ſerve our turn. He ſays, after *Plato*, that the heavenly and earthly virtue are the origin of metals. *Triſmegiſtus* ſays, The earth is their mother, and heaven their father. The *Chineſes* ſay the ſame in regard to the production of things. *Monardes* after *Avicene*, and other modern authors, is of opinion that ſulphur and mercury are the origin of all metals, the firſt as father, the

ſecond as mother. Metals vary as theſe principles are more pure, or more coarſe. So that gold, which is the perfecteſt of metals, receives the pureſt part of thoſe principles. Silver, which is more imperfect, takes the virtue or influence of the ſame origin after a more imperfect manner; then follow the reſt. Thus it is the *Chineſes* ſpeak of that univerſal air which they aſ- NAVA-
ſign, and has been explain'd. I oppos'd RETTE.
this error ſeveral ways in my books, GOD grant it may do ſome good. Other ancient *Europeans* affirm'd the ſame the author mentions in the fourth paragraph. See S. *Thomas*, *opuſc.* 15. c. 1.

PRELUDE X.

That the Chineſes *know no ſpiritual Subſtance diſtinct from the material, but only one more or leſs material.*

Spirit. 1. ALlowing what has been ſaid, it plainly appears that the *Chineſes* knew nothing of any ſpiritual ſubſtance, diſtinct from the material, ſuch as GOD, angels, and the rational ſoul; which is further confirm'd by their being ignorant of the creation out of nothing by an infinite power. They only knew of an univerſal, immenſe, and infinite ſubſtance, from which proceeded their *tai kie*, or primogeneous air, which contains the ſame univerſal ſubſtance, and inveſting itſelf by *motion and ſtillneſs*, with ſeveral qualities and accidents, becomes the immediate matter of all things.

2. This ſubſtance they divide into two parts, *ju* and *vu*. The firſt is all the corporeal ſubſtance with a material figure and *Body.* body, and is condenſe and ſolid; ſo that being ſtruck upon or touch'd, it reſiſts and ſounds. The ſecond is a ſubſtance not ſo material, ſuch as this air they imagine, nor has it any body, ſhape, or ſound, and therefore cannot be ſeen or felt, for which reaſon they call it nothing and emptineſs, in *China vu kung*, *hiu*, *vu hing*, *vu ſe*, &c. And advancing ſtill further in the conſideration of this ſubſtance, as far as only concerns its entity, abſtracting from any quality or accident, they call it *tai vu*, *tai kung*, and other names which ſhew it to be moſt pure, moſt abſolute, ſimple, and rarify'd in the higheſt degree, as we repreſent the ſpiritual ſubſtance.

3. But let no man imagine that this ſubſtance which the *Chineſes* aſſign, can be ſpiritual in the ſenſe that we take ſpiritual things. For in the firſt place, it cannot *exiſt of itſelf* but in that primogeneous air, from which it can never be ſeparated. 2. Becauſe it ſupports all the material accidents and qualities, and therefore makes the being of all things, or to ſpeak more properly, is the being and ſubſtance of them all. 3. Becauſe they call thoſe things which ſeem ſpiritual both to ancients and moderns, *ki*, that is air, or airy qualities. And particularly *Confucius* being aſk'd by one of his diſciples what angels or ſpirits were; he anſwer'd, they were air. See the ſixteenth chapter of *chung jung*, which treats of this ſubject, and *ſing li*, tract. 28.

NOTES.

1. Other ancients held that opinion. S. *Thomas* mentions it, *opuſc.* 15. *cap.* 7.

2. From this doctrine of the learned ſect I infer, that we cannot make uſe of the word *vu*, to expreſs the mere nothing and creation of the world, becauſe the ſaid word does not exclude the *materia prima*; and if I ſay GOD created heaven and earth out of *vu*, I ſhall ſay he created them, not out of mere nothing, but out of that matter. Nor can we uſe the word *jeu*, to expreſs the nature of GOD, angels, and our ſoul, becauſe it ſignifies a corporeal ſubſtance. This point requires much attention.

3. The *Chineſe* books themſelves own, that *li*, the univerſal ſubſtance, cannot exiſt of itſelf. F. *Matthew Riccius*, *Julius Aleni*, and others, aſſert the ſame. Hence they infer it is a very imperfect accident or ſubſtance; but the *Chineſes* own it is no actuality or intelligence. Nevertheleſs *Clement Chu Fi Chi* a Chriſtian, contended with me that *li* was our GOD; if he is to be ſav'd by him, bad will be his lot. This is the benefit of following the *Chineſe* texts.

PRELUDE XI.

Of the Spirits or Gods the Chineſes *adore, according to the Sect of the Learned.*

1. THO' by what has been already ſaid, it is eaſy to conceive what ſort of ſpirits thoſe are, which they reckon after their manner as gods; nevertheleſs becauſe this is the principal point as to theſe controverſies, 'tis fit to handle it a little more at large, laying down what it is the learned ſect ſays of theſe ſpirits which relate to our purpoſe.

2. It

NAVARETTE.

2. It is to be obſerv'd, that according to this ſect, all there is or can be in this world proceeds from *li*, which comprehends *tai kie*, *i. e.* the *materia prima*, or univerſal ſubſtance of all things; and the primogeneous air, which is the *materia proxima* of all; and that from *li*, *quatenus li*, flow the five virtues, which are piety, juſtice, religion or worſhip, prudence, and credit or faith, with all their habits, and other ſpiritual matters. From the ſame *li*, qualified by the primogeneous air, flow the five elements we mention'd, with all other corporeal qualities and figures. So that with the *Chineſes*, as well the moral as phyſical part proceeds from the ſame ſource, that is their *li*, which is the being of all things, as has been ſaid. Whence came that ſentence of *Confucius*, that all his doctrine was reducible to one point, *viz. li*, the moſt univerſal reaſon and ſubſtance.

3. Thirdly obſerve, that as *li* does not produce the things of this world but by means of *kie*, which is its conjunct inſtrument, ſo neither does it govern them but by the ſame means; whence it is that the operations as well relating to the production as to the government of things, are commonly attributed to *kie*, as the inſtrumental and formal cauſe to *li*. As for inſtance, we ſay, the underſtanding conceives, and the will loves, whereas it is the ſoul that conceives and loves by means of thoſe her faculties.

4. Obſerve further, that according to this ſect, when the years of the world's continuance are at an end, this univerſe will expire, with all that is in it, and all return to its firſt principle from whence it flowed; ſo that nothing will remain but only the pure *li*, accompanied by its helpmate *kie*. Then the ſame *li* ſhall produce another univerſe after the ſame manner, which ending, another will ſucceed, and ſo another without end.

Spirits.

5. Obſerve yet further, that the firſt ground of aſſigning ſpirits in *China*, as well as in other heathen countries, was for two reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe they ſaw that heaven and earth, with the other univerſal cauſes, performed their operations very ſure and orderly, and thence they conjectur'd there was ſome inviſible author or principle that govern'd within them, which they call *cheu*, that is, *lord*; *cheu zai*, that is, *preſident*; *xin cuei*, that is, *the ſpirit going out and returning*; *ti kiun*, that is, *king or emperor*. The ſecond cauſe was, the great benefits they perceiv'd men receiv'd by means of thoſe ſpirits, and therefore they thought themſelves oblig'd to honour and worſhip them with ſeveral ſacrifices, as is ſaid in the book *li ki*, lib. VIII. pag. 47. which is the name of their book of rites and ceremonies.

6. It is yet further to be obſerv'd, that the *Chineſes*, even from the origin of their empire, which properly had its beginning in the emperors *Jao* and *Xun*, ador'd thoſe ſpirits, as appears by their doctrine call'd *xu king*, lib. I. pag. 11. where four ſorts of ſacrifices are ſet down, which us'd to be offer'd to four kinds of ſpirits. The firſt call'd *lui*, was offer'd to heaven, and to its ſpirit, which is *Xang Ti*. The ſecond term'd *in*, was to the ſpirit of the ſix principal things, that is, of the four ſeaſons of the year, of heat, cold, ſun, moon, ſtars, rain, and drought. The third they ſtile *vuang*, to the ſpirits of mountains and rivers of note. The fourth *pien*, was offer'd to all the multitude of other ſpirits, belonging to all the ſmall parts of the univerſe, and to the men of note in the commonwealth.

Xang Ti.

7. All the ſpirits the *Chineſes* adore, are the ſame identical ſubſtance with the things in which they are. This is made out; 1. By the common axiom, all things are the ſame. 2. Becauſe *Chung Zu* a claſſick author, ſpeaking of *xang ti*, the ſpirit of heaven, poſitively ſays, it is the very ſame thing as heaven; then *a fortiori*, or at leaſt *a ſimile*, the ſame muſt be ſaid of the ſpirits of other things. 3. *Confucius* in *chung jung*, pag. 11. ſays of all ſpirits, that they conſtitute the being and ſubſtance of all things, and cannot be ſeparated from them, but they muſt be deſtroy'd.

8. If any man object, that theſe ſpirits are often taken for the operative virtue and actuality of things: I anſwer, 1. That it is true, yet that does not imply but they are alſo taken for that ſubſtance, adorn'd with that operative virtue; but this rather is the moſt uſual ſenſe, inſomuch, that as I ſaid, according to *Confucius*, they make the very being of things. 2. That taking the ſpirits for the pure virtue and actuality of things, the notion of them becomes the meaner, as of a quality or accident which *cannot ſubſiſt of itſelf*.

9. A ſecond concluſion. All ſpirits had a beginning, becauſe they all proceeded from *tai kie*, and the moſt univerſal ſubſtance of all things, and ſo they are poſterior and inferior to it. Hence it is that the doctor *V. Puen Ju* ſaid, that *xang ti* was the ſon and creature of *tai kie*, and that the ſame muſt be ſaid of our *Tien Cheu*, that is, of our GOD, if he was the ſame as *xang ti*. It evidently appears then, that what the *Chineſes* conceive under this name *xang ti*, cannot be our GOD.

10. Third concluſion. All ſpirits will end when this world ends, and return to their firſt principle. This is prov'd by the doctrine of the third obſervation, and confirm'd by what doctor *Chey Keng Ju* one of the court of exchequer ſays, that as well

tien

tien chu, as *xang ti*, and all other ſpirits, muſt have an end, nothing remaining but *li*, the moſt univerſal ſubſtance; whence he infer'd, that according to the *Chineſe* doctrine, there was nothing greater nor better than the ſaid *li*.

11. Fourth concluſion. All the ſpirits or gods of this ſect are equally perfect as to their being, and are one greater or leſs, with regard to the places and things they preſide over. This is prov'd by the ſimile of water, which is in ſeveral veſſels of gold, ſilver, copper, *&c.* The water is the ſame, the difference is only in the veſſels. The ſame they ſay of ſpirits, which are the very ſame *li*, or *tai kie*, but placed in ſeveral veſſels, as heaven, earth, mountains, *&c.*

12. Fifth concluſion. All theſe ſpirits are void of life, knowledge, underſtanding, or liberty. *Firſt*, Becauſe they all proceed from that moſt univerſal ſubſtance *li*, which according to the principles of this ſect wants all theſe things, as was ſaid *prelude* 5. Numb. 2. *Secondly*, Becauſe in their *xu king*, *lib.* I. p. 35. they poſitively ſay, the heaven, which is the chief thing in the world, neither ſees, hears, underſtands, loves, nor hates, *&c.* Whence it follows, that either there is no ſpirit in heaven, or if there be it is the ſelf-ſame ſubſtance with it, and conſequently neither ſees, hears, nor underſtands.

13. *Thirdly*, This is prov'd, becauſe heaven and earth, as is ſaid in the philoſophy, *lib.* XXVI. *p.* 16, 17. are void of reaſon, that is, of will and deliberation, but do all things by a certain natural propenſion, juſt as fire burns, and a ſtone tends downwards. *Fourthly*, In diſputing upon this ſubject, the earth is parallel'd with heaven. Now the earth, 'tis moſt certain, neither underſtands, nor has life; and conſequently the ſame muſt be ſaid of heaven. And in regard this is ſaid with reſpect to the operations which properly belong to ſpirits, it plainly appears, that when they ſay ſuch operations are not done by choice, or a rational will, it muſt alſo be concluded, that the ſpirits of heaven, earth, and other things, are void of life, underſtanding, or liberty. Which is further confirm'd by the general perſuaſion of the *Chineſes*, that he who does well ſhall be rewarded naturally and of neceſſity; and ſo he that does ill ſhall be puniſhed: as he is warm'd that draws near the fire, and grows cold who is among the ſnow. This implies, that the affairs of this world are not govern'd by a ſupreme providence, but by chance, or according to the courſe of natural cauſes.

For the better clearing of this point, ſome queſtions are here put and anſwer'd.

14. The firſt queſtion is this; if the ſpirits are one and the ſame ſubſtance with the things they are in, why do they aſſign the name of ſpirits apart from the things? The anſwer is; That this name is given to denote the formality of acting, foraſmuch as the ſaid action proceeds from an occult principle, which after ſome manner rules within the things in the nature of a ſpirit. And ſometimes it denotes the very ſubſtance of the things, in as much as it is ſingular, pure, rare, and very near incorporeal, which is the reaſon the operations are wonderful and inſcrutable. NAVARETTE.

15. *Queſt.* 2. If theſe ſpirits, as to their eſſence, are the very univerſal *li*, how can it be ſaid they proceeded from it? Anſwer; They were produced like all other things which proceed from the ſaid *li*, which is ſuperadding ſome accidental form or formality, whereby they become formally another diſtinct thing from the very univerſal *li*; and this is ſufficient to juſtify the ſaying they are produced from it. The ſame argument holds as to what is ſaid, that the ſpirits ſhall have an end, or be deſtroy'd, and the active vertue of *li* ſhall ceaſe at the end of the world; and then only the ſubſtance of *li* ſhall remain, being ſtripped of all the qualities and formalities it was poſſeſt of before.

16. *Queſt.* 3. If *li* of itſelf has not actuality, as has been mention'd before; how comes it to be ſaid, that it is the ſame thing with the ſpirit whoſe nature is to be active? Anſwer; The ſubſtance of *li*, which conſider'd in itſelf had no actuality, begins to have it after producing its *ki*, that is, its primogeneous air, which is its conjunct inſtrument. Thus the operations of the ſpirits radically belong to *li*, inſtrumentally to *ki*, and formally to the ſpirits themſelves.

17. *Queſt.* 4. If there be no ſpirit in things diſtinct from their ſubſtance, when ſacrifices are offer'd to heaven, earth, *&c.* Who are theſe ſacrifices directed to? Anſwer; The *Chineſes* generally follow the cuſtoms they receiv'd from their anceſtors, without examining who it is they offer ſacrifice to, whether to the things they ſee, or to their operative vertue, or to ſome ſpirit that may perhaps be in them, inſomuch that *Confucius* ſet it down as a general rule to them, that they ſhould not enquire into what cannot be ſeen. *Anſw.* 2. The moſt learned and beſt read men in their ſect, acknowledge no more in thoſe things they offer ſacrifice to, but the ſubſtance of *li* and its *ki*, as plainly appears by the doctrine of *Confucius*, in the ſixteenth chapter of *chung jung*, where after ſhewing that ſpirits are compoſing parts of the being of things, and that therefore they cannot be ſeparated from them without their deſtruction; he preſently adds concerning the ſaid ſpirits,

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18. *Queſt.* 5. Granting that many think there are ſuch ſpirits, and that they are a living and underſtanding being, and that this was believ'd before the coming of the ſect of the idols, even from the time of the kings *Jao* and *Xun*, and ſo mention is made of them in the ancient doctrines, as if they liv'd and took care of human affairs. Granting this, what ſay the learned *Chineſes* to it? *Anſwer.* All the learned *Chineſes* of note, both ancient and modern, do unanimouſly deny there are any living ſpirits, and of a different ſubſtance from the places and things in which they are, becauſe it would imply a contradiction in the very principles of their philoſophy, according to which *all things are the ſame*, as has been ſaid. As to the multitude, and the ways of ſpeaking and expreſſing themſelves we find in authors, it is to be obſerv'd, that there are two ſorts of ſpirits aſſign'd, one that is call'd of generations and corruptions, the other of ſacrifices. The firſt are phyſical ſpirits, by which they ſay are ſignify'd the natural things of the generations and corruptions there are in the world; and theſe are ſometimes taken for the ſubſtance of the things operating, other times for the qualities and formality of acting. The others are the civil ſpirits which were brought into the commonwealth, to reſtrain the multitude and keep them in awe, by believing there are ſeveral ſpirits in heaven, the earth, mountains, *&c.* which can do harm to men, as the ancients ſaid of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c.

19. In ſhort, it is requiſite all our miſſioners be acquainted with ſo eſſential a point of theſe controverſies, which is, that in theſe ſects there is a ſecret doctrine for the wiſe which they account true, and a plain doctrine for the ignorant which they look upon as falſe. For which reaſon there is no laying any ſtreſs on the texts of their doctrines, in which they deſignedly expreſs themſelves, ſo as the multitude may imagine there are living ſpirits and gods, and accordingly may reverence and fear them.

20. But it is requiſite to hold faſt to the principles of their philoſophy, underſtanding every thing as the maſters of the ſects do, that is, according to the ſenſe and direction of the claſſick expoſitors. And to ſhew this is the true *Chineſe* doctrine, I will mention ſome famous authors, who handle this article *ex profeſſo*, and conclude, there are no other ſpirits beſides natural things themſelves.

NOTES.

1. From what has been and ſhall be ſaid it follows, that the ſect of the learned has a religious worſhip; which is agreed to by the fathers *Gouvea* in his hiſtory, *Semedo* in his *Chineſe* empire, *pag.* 73, and 115. and other authors. It is alſo a plain inference that the learned are idolaters. What matter tho' this man or the other of their own head deny it? S. *Auguſtin*, *lib.* XIX. *cont. Fauſt. Manich. cap.* 1. ſays thus; *Men cannot be united under any name of religion, whether true or falſe, unleſs they are knit together in fellowſhip by ſome certain ſeals or ſacraments.* Since all nations in the world, tho' barbarous, have had their ſorts of religion; why or wherefore will they deny this to the *Chineſe* nation, which they extol above others, and even above the clouds? or what matter is it tho' they ador'd not images, as if the idolatry without images were not the firſt and antienteſt? S. *Paul*, Rom. i. *They worſhipped and ſerv'd the creature rather than the creator.* S. Thomas, lect. 7. *For they worſhip'd the heavenly bodies, and air, and water, and the like, according to that of* Wiſd. xiii. *Either fire or air*, &c. *And herein he blames the folly of the Gentiles, who tho' they never believ'd there was any deity in images, as* Hermes *his followers believ'd; nor did imagine the fabulous ſtories the poets told of the gods to be true; yet they gave divine worſhip to ſome Creatures.* See 2. 2. *q.* 122. *art.* 2. *ad.* 2. and *Cajetan*, in *Rom.* i. on the words, *And they worſhip'd and ſerv'd.* More ſhall be ſaid to this point in another place. Tho' the *Chineſes* were guilty only of obſerving days, hours, *&c.* which S. *Paul*, *Galat.* iv. forbids, it were enough to our purpoſe. S. *Thomas*, lect. 3. *You obſerve fortunate and unfortunate days, months, times, and years; that is, the conſtellations and courſe of the heavenly bodies, all which things take their original from idolatry*, &c. *Therefore they that obſerve ſuch differences of times, worſhip the heavenly bodies, and order their actions according to the judgment of the ſtars, which have no direct impreſſion on the will of man*, &c. *and in theſe to obſerve the courſe of the ſtars, belongs to idolatry.* Can any man in the world excuſe the *Chineſes* from this idolatry?

5. That doctrine is evidently plain in the twenty eighth treatiſe of the great *Chineſe* philoſophy. The ſame error is imputed to *Origen*. Something was ſaid to it above, and more ſhall be added in the ſecond tome.

6. Thence we gather it is groundleſs to ſay, that thoſe are no ſacrifices which are offer'd to *Confucius* and the dead, becauſe they do it in acknowledgment for benefits

receiv'd; for they ſacrifice to heaven, the earth, *&c.* on the ſame account. And this is aſſign'd as the reaſon in the books concerning thoſe ſacrifices. See F. *Semedo*, p. 125.

7. According to that doctrine, the *Chineſes* were idolaters from the beginning. Read the ſame F. *Semedo*, p. 119, 125. and in other places of his empire of *China*. The fathers *Brancato* and *Fabre* may read this, and they will underſtand, that *lui* is to ſacrifice to heaven, not *chai*; and that the *Chineſes* have ſacrificed to famous men many ages ago.

8. That doctrine is ſo plain in the *Chineſe* books, that I think it needleſs to add any more concerning it. In my relations I mention'd what F. *Gouvea* writ to the purpoſe; it is in the foregoing book.

9. For the love of CHRIST ſee what a god has been preach'd in *China*, and there are ſome will ſtill preach him: how is it poſſible the learned ſect ſhould be converted? how can they that are converted be ſaved through faith in ſuch a god? how can our holy faith chuſe but be check'd in *China* and *Japan?* and *Tien Cheu*, whom we have all preach'd up as our GOD, is in effect the ſame as that *King* above, or of the upper region; what can we ſay? in ſhort, it was not for nothing the learned *Chineſes* daily ſaid to us, *In fine, heaven is the Lord*; for thoſe words, according to their ſect, bear that ſound or ſenſe. *Then in vain have we labour'd and run*; light was forſaken, and we were left in the dark. This I ſay, becauſe ſo eſſential a point ought to have been ſent to *Rome*. That god was preached to comply with the opinion of ſome learned *Chineſe* Chriſtians, in order to gain the good will of the profeſſors of the learned ſect. The *bonzo* quoted above, very well obſerv'd and ſet it out, they would gain their good wills, but it ought to have been by enlightning their underſtandings. *Origen, hom.* 3. in *cap.* xiii. *Eſdr.* ſays thus, GOD *deliver us from ſuch maſters, who whereſoever they are, rend and divide the church, ſpeaking according to the inclination of the hearers.* He gives the reaſon, *Becauſe there are more lovers of pleaſure, than of* GOD. What is it to preach him up for god who is not ſo? do they call this prudence and wiſdom? *Wo unto you who are wiſe in your own eyes!* ſays *Iſa.* v. 21. And *Corn. à Lapide, Who govern your ſelves by your own human and politick advice, not by the law and will of* GOD, *not by the divine prudence and counſel; who rely more on your own judgment, than the prophets*, &c. Some ſay, that we Friers ſpoil and diſturb all through our ignorance and indiſcretion. But S. *Thomas* upon S. *Paul, Gal.* vi. *As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh*, lect. 3. *For the Jews perſecuted the diſciples of* CHRIST *for preaching the croſs,* 1 Cor. i. *And this becauſe by preaching of* CHRIST *the rites of the law were aboliſh'd. For if the apoſtles had, together with the croſs of* CHRIST, *preach'd that the ceremonies of the law were to be obſerv'd, they had never perſecuted them*, &c. *Therefore, that they might not be diſturb'd about the faith of* CHRIST, *and might live in peace, they forced them to be circumciſed. But becauſe they may falſly ſay* (S. *Thomas* goes on) *that it was not for this reaſon they introduced circumciſion, but only through zeal of the law; therefore, excluding this, he proves what he ſaid, and adds, but neither they themſelves who are circumciſed keep the law*, &c. *For it is manifeſt, that if thro' zeal of the law they ſhould induce ſome to obſerve the law, they would alſo have commanded the law to be fulfil'd in other reſpects*, viz. *in morals, which are more excellent in the law, and in other obſervances. But therefore it is they will have you circumcis'd, that they may glory among the Jews in your carnal circumciſion for making ſo many proſelytes.* See *Mat.* xxiii. 15. There might be zeal, but it ought to have appear'd in obliging them to confeſs and receive once a year, to hear maſs in that time, to abſtain from fleſh, at leaſt upon *Good Friday*, and ſome other things; and not perſuade us what they do is thro' zeal of gaining ſouls. GOD grant it be not (in ſome I ſay) *That they may glory in their making ſo many proſelytes.* The ſaint, *lect.* 3. *c.* 5. obſerves that CHRIST ſuffer'd, and S. *Paul* was perſecuted for not allowing the ceremonies of the law. It had not been ſo, if they had ſuffer'd them to be obſerv'd together with the evangelical law, but the *Jews* would rather have been pleas'd at it. So the learned ſect of *China* is pleas'd that the obſervation of our holy law be brought to condeſcend to ſacrificing to the dead, *Confucius*, and other things, which they obſerve according to their traditions. I adhere to the good F. *Longobardo*, and thoſe of his mind, who *had no reſpect to fleſh and blood*, nor to other motives, but only to truth.

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11. This number agrees with what *Suarez* ſays, *lib.* II. *de ſuperſtit. c.* 4. *n.* 11. *Whence it is likely they believ'd that every God had a ſupreme power and virtue in ſome employment, preſidency, or efficacy concerning ſome things, tho' ſome were called greater, others leſſer, according to the dignity of the things over which they preſided.*

12. It is the doctrine of S. *Thomas*, that every occult principle is call'd a ſpirit. So ſay the *Chineſes*, and add, that if the plants had not a ſpirit they could not grow, and be productive. Then the ſpirit they have is the operative virtue, which is the ſame I mention'd out of F. *Gouvea*. PRE-

PRELUDE XII.

Of ſeveral Authorities of claſſick Authors, who treat of the Chineſe *Spirits and Gods.*

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1. *Hing Zu* upon *Chung Jung*, p. 11. explaining the nature and being of ſpirits, ſays, they are the operations of heaven and earth, and certain footſteps of the natural generations and corruptions. Where it is to be obſerv'd, that under the name of operations, he comprehends the operative power or vertue, and under the name of tokens or fooſteps, he alſo means the being and eſſence of natural things.

2. The ſame author, *lib.* XXVIII. of the great philoſophy, *p.* 37. ſays, that the ſpirits, *Je King* ſpeaks of, are the generations and corruptions; that is, are the cauſes of generations and corruptions, which is the proper ſubject of that book.

3. Here this author aſks, what the clouds and rain are, which proceed from the waters? He anſwers, they are effects of the ſmokes and vapours of the air; and giving this for granted, he further infers, that when men ſacrifice to the ſpirit of rain, they only ſacrifice to the air, which is the true cauſe of it; and he further proves, that it is ignorance to go to aſk rain at the temples of the ſtatues of wood or clay, which have no rain, and to leave the mountains and water, which are the proper place for it. By which it plainly appears, that this author acknowledges no other ſpirits, but the air, of which the ſubſtance of the mountains and waters is compos'd.

4. The ſame author, *lib.* XXIX. *p.* 11. ſpeaking of the difference betwixt heaven,, and the king above, or of the upper region, ſays: Taken as to its ſhape, and celeſtial body, it is call'd heaven; in reſpect to its government it is call'd a governor: in regard to its great ſubtility, it is call'd imperceptible: in regard to its operations it's call'd a ſpirit: in reſpect to its nature and property, it is call'd ſtrong; and all theſe things in reality are the ſame, and are only diſtinguiſh'd by name and formality. This place ought to be taken particular notice of, becauſe ſince it ſays that the king above, or of the upper region, which is the ſpirit of heaven, is the very ſame thing with heaven, the ſame muſt of conſequence be ſaid of the ſpirits of the mountains, waters, *&c.*

5. *Chang Zu* in the twenty eighth book of philoſophy, *pag.* 38. ſays, the ſpirits are nothing but ſolidity and fulneſs; that is, the univerſal ſubſtance of the aforementioned *li*, and its primogeneous air, which is immenſe and infinite, and conſequently fills all things. Therefore the expoſitor *Liu Kien Chung* applies to it that of *Chung Jung*, *pag.* 11. that he is above on the right and left hand, that is, every where, as air is in all places, ſince there is no vacuum in nature.

6. The ſame author upon *Chung Jung*, *pag.* 11. ſays, that ſpirits are the power or actuality of the hot or cold air, which they call *in jang*, and are the cauſe of the generations and corruptions that happen in the world.

7. *Chu Zu*, *lib.* XXVIII. of the philoſophy, *pag.* 2. aſks the queſtion, Are the ſpirits air? He anſwers, They ſeem to be the life, vigour, and actuality that is in the air.

8. *Page* 3. the ſame author ſays, that rain, wind, dew, hail, ſun, moon, day and night, are all tokens and effects of ſpirits; and that there are clear, univerſal and good ſpirits. As for thoſe that are ſaid to ſound upon bridges, and beat in the breaſt (ſuch as are in people poſſeſt) theſe are they that are call'd crooked, falſe and dark ſpirits, which ſometimes are, ſometimes are not, go and come, diſperſe and gather. There are alſo ſome ſpirits of whom it is ſaid, that if you aſk them, they anſwer; and if you intreat them, they grant. Theſe are alſo call'd ſpirits, and are the very *li*, that is, the univerſal ſubſtance and being of all things, as they are all this ſame ſubſtance; and all the difference betwixt them is, that one is groſs, the other rare, one great, the other ſmall.

9. The ſame author, *pag.* 38. proves there are ſpirits, thus: if there were no ſpirits, the ancients would not aſk any thing of them; now we ſee they abſtain'd ſeven days from the uſe of matrimony, and faſted three days, in order to make their prayers to the things that are ſeen, or are not ſeen; then of neceſſity we muſt ſuppoſe there are ſuch things. Now the emperor ſacrifices *Sacrifices.* to heaven and earth, therefore it is certain there is heaven and earth. Princes and dukes offer ſacrifice to the famous mountains and rivers. Gentlemen offer the five ſacrifices, therefore it is certain, that there is the great gate of two leaves, there is the way, there is the little gate of one leaf; there is a hearth and inward court. When any thing is ſeen now that is wonderful in the temples of our forefathers, it is nothing but the air of the mountains and waters that is gather'd there. After much time paſt, if thoſe temples were deſtroy'd and caſt down by men, then thoſe wonders would ceaſe. The cauſe of it may be, that the air of thoſe places is ſpent. Hence it is plainly

plainly to be infer'd, that ſpirits are nothing but the actuality of the air, and to it are directed the ſacrifices which are made to heaven, earth, mountains, rivers, bridges, the hearth, and the temples of the dead.

10. The ſame author puts the queſtion further: when ſacrifice is offer'd to heaven, earth, mountains, and waters, and victims are ſlain, pieces of ſilk burnt, and wine poured forth; is this done to ſhew the affection of the heart, or becauſe there is really any ſuch air, which comes to receive thoſe offerings? He anſwers, If we ſhould ſay, there is nothing comes to receive what is offer'd, to whom then do we ſacrifice? and what thing is it that is above, which moves to reſpect, and makes men offer ſacrifice to, and fear it? nevertheleſs if we ſhould ſay there is ſome chariot of clouds in which that thing comes down, it will be a great falſhood and lie.

11. *Pag.* 39. ſpeaking of the name of the ſpirit of heaven, which is the ſame with the king of the upper region, he ſays it is call'd *xin*, becauſe the air of heaven always ſpreads. By which it plainly appears there is no living or intelligent ſpirit in heaven, but only the ſubſtance of the air with its actuality and influence.

12. He further aſks in the ſame place: When ſons ſacrifice to their parents and grandfathers, is it certain they look for them, as the very air of themſelves? (that is, do they conſider them as one and the ſame thing with the air within themſelves?) When they ſacrifice to the ſpirits of other perſons or things, how is this done? do they come to receive the ſacrifices, or no? He anſwers, that children are undoubtedly the ſame immutable ſubſtance with their fathers and grandfathers. When they ſacrifice to other perſons or things, they are oblig'd on ſome juſt account to do it. Wherefore *Confucius* ſays, ſacrifice to your parents as if they were preſent. When the emperor ſacrifices to heaven, heaven is a thing he ought to ſacrifice to, and its very air reſembles the emperor. Then how can it forbear coming and accepting of the ſacrifice? When the dukes and princes ſacrifice to the houſhold-gods, and to the gods of the five nouriſhments, they offer equal ſacrifice to them, becauſe of the reſemblance of the ſame air that is common to them; then how can they but come to accept the ſacrifices? At preſent they ſacrifice to *Confucius*, but this is only done in the ſchools of the univerſities, that they may conceit the likeneſs of his air. If any ſhall ſay, that heaven, earth, mountains, *&c.* are things permanent, and therefore when ſacrifices are offer'd to them, it may be that their ſpirits may come to the ſacrifices; but as for dead-men, their air is now diſpers'd, can it then be made to come to receive the ſacrifice? He anſwers, that there is only one and the ſame air, which from the beginning was imparted to grandfathers, fathers, and thro' them to ſons and grandſons. All this is taken from the aforeſaid author, by which it manifeſtly appears, that according to the ſect of the learned, all ſpirits, as well of men, as of heaven, earth, *&c.* are nothing but air, an homogeneous body, and common beings of all things, and conſequently that they know of no ſpiritual ſubſtance diſtinct from the corporeal, exiſting of itſelf, living and underſtanding. NAVARETTE.

13. *Chin Pe Ki, lib.* XXVIII. of the philoſophy, *p.* 40. ſays, that when the ancients ſacrificed to heaven, earth, *&c.* they always placed a ſtatue; the reaſon was, becauſe heaven, earth, *&c.* are only the being of the hot and cold air, which they call *in jang*; and by uſing this ſtatue, they intended that the hot or cold air ſhould gather in that ſtatue, that ſo their ſacrifice might not be offer'd in vain. When they ſhed the wine, burnt perfumes, ſlew victims, and offer'd pieces of ſilk, all was to expreſs the true reſpect of their heart. This being done, immediately the air of heaven and earth met to fulfil the deſires of thoſe that ſacrificed. *Idols.*

14. *Chu Kung Zien* upon *chung jung*, *pag.* 48. ſays, the ſpirits the learned ſect ſpeaks of, are of two ſorts; the firſt is that of natural generations and corruptions. We have already ſpoke of it.

NOTES.

1. All the author mentions in this place, I have often heard and ſeen, I wiſh others had done ſo too. It is a thing well known that the *Chineſe* ſacrifices are offer'd to the air; let him that denies it make out what he ſays, and anſwer the author.

2. Had he call'd thoſe only that are offer'd to the dead, and to *Confucius*, ſacrifices, we might have done the ſame, without deſerving to be reflected on; and many others of the ſame ſociety having done the ſame, who can juſtly blame or complain of the two religious orders? The ſame holds as to their temples.

3. Whoſoever juſtifies the ſacrifices we have ſpoken of, and what is contain'd in the third paragraph anſwering to this, will alſo juſtify thoſe which are offer'd to the dead; either they are all good, or all bad. Let it be well conſider'd whether this may paſs as a political ceremony; we ſay it cannot, and very grave miſſioners of the ſociety are of the ſame opinion. Others ſay it may, and practiſe it; *let them look to it.*

PRELUDE XIII.

That all the Spirits, or Gods of China, *are reduced to one, that is, their* Li, *or* Tai Kie.

NAVARETTE. 1. WE muſt obſerve in this place, that the *Chineſe* idolatry in a great meaſure reſembles that of *Europe*; and laying aſide at preſent other things wherein they agree together, I will only mention that which relates to aſſigning one only GOD, which they imagin'd to be the ſubſtance and being of the univerſe. S. *Aug.* 4. *de civit. Dei, cap.* 10, 11, 12. proves out of the ancient *Roman, Greek* and *Egyptian* writers, that ſeveral gods the old philoſophers introduced were in effect one and the ſame thing; that is, that there is but one thing, which is all things, all the gods, the ſoul of the world, and the world itſelf. Whence we may gather that the ancients thought all to proceed from the infinite chaos, as they imagin'd it to be the firſt material principle, and *materia prima*, perſuading themſelves it was the ſame thing with the particular parts of the world: and thus they grounded all their multitude of gods and idolatries on theſe phyſical notions. And it is evident, as the ſame ſaint ſays, that this opinion was receiv'd and current in *Aſia*, thence communicated to the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, and from them to the *Romans*. Read the ſaint's own words.

2. *Lewis Vives* upon the words of the ſaint, *cap.* 12. *If the ſpirit of the world is* GOD, &c. ſays, it was *Pythagoras* his opinion, that all things were part of GOD, which implies, that there is but one thing in the world, that is, the chaos, or *materia prima*, which they call'd GOD, or the mind. *This*, ſays he, *was the opinion of* Pythagoras, *which* Virgil *expreſſes*, Æneid. 6. *Principio cœlum ac terras*, &c.

3. This plainly ſhews what opinion they held concerning all things being one and the ſame, from which they proceed, and to which they return; which made them call it GOD, as knowing nothing ſuperior to it. The *Chineſes* have the ſame notion of their *li*, which is the ſame as, *the nature of a mind, and the directing rule of all nature*, &c. or their *tai kie*, which is the ſame as, *the boſom of all nature, containing in itſelf vertually or confuſely all poſſible things*; imagining that the ſaid *li* is the univerſal ſubſtance, which fills and governs the univerſe. They have a thouſand paſſages in their books upon this ſubject, I will here inſert two or three of the chiefeſt.

Li.

Tai Kie.

4. (1.) To prevent any miſtake in the names, it is to be obſerv'd, that their *li*, together with their *tai kie*, are the ſame ſubſtance of the firſt principle, only diſtinguiſhable in ſome certain formality proper to every thing: for *li* denotes the entity in particular, without any other circumſtance; and *tai kie* denotes the ſame entity, in as much as it is the ground and root of all things, being in the midſt of them, as the north pole is in the midſt of heaven, and the king in the midſt of his kingdom.

5. (2.) In the twenty ſixth book of the philoſophy, *pag.* 28. *tai kie* is ſaid to be the cauſe why the heaven moves, and the earth always ſtands ſtill, and men and cauſes perform their operations without ceaſing; and ſhewing the reaſon of it, ſays, that the *li*, or *tai kie* is within the ſaid things, as governor and director of them, which is the very office aſſign'd to ſpirits. *Ching Zu* expreſſes it in the definition of the king above, or of the upper region, ſaying, he is ſo call'd becauſe he governs.

6. (3.) In the firſt book of the ſaid philoſophy, *pag.* 31. it is ſhewn how the *li* predominates over the things of the world, and therefore there is no defect in them, ſo that when the heat goes away the cold comes; when the ſun draws off, the moon comes up: in ſpring things ſprout, in ſummer they grow, in autumn they come to perfection, and in winter are preſerv'd; which was ever ſo, becauſe there was a predominancy and government of the ſolid and true *li*.

7. It is alſo ſaid in *lib.* XXVI. *pag.* 9. that the *tai kie* is the ground and cauſe of the production, and end of the world. Before the world was produced, *tai kie* was the cauſe of heaven, earth, men and other things. *Tai kie* ſhall again be the cauſe at the end of the world, that men and things ſhould have an end, and heaven and earth ſhould again be united in the chaos. But *tai kie* is always the ſame at the beginning or end, it can neither increaſe nor diminiſh. From theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes there are in the *Chineſe* books concerning *li* and *tai kie*, it may be gather'd, that there neither is, nor can be any thing greater in the opinion of the *Chineſes*. Some queries of conſequence may occur in this place.

8. (1.) If *tai kie*, or *li*, is ſo great, as has been ſaid, why do not the *Chineſes* ſacrifice to it, and commend their affairs to it, as they do to leſſer things? They anſwer, firſt, That ſacrifices being inſtituted for the well governing of the people, it was thought convenient they ſhould be offer'd to things that could be ſeen, and underſtood

derſtood by the multitude, ſuch as heaven, earth, mountains, *&c.* with the ſpirits, and operative virtues they acknowledge to be in thoſe things. As for *tai kie*, they leave it aſide without any ſort of worſhip, as being moſt occult, and which is not to be enquir'd into by the people, according to *Confucius* his rule. They anſwer in the ſecond place, That the wiſeſt of the learned ſect think not themſelves oblig'd to theſe ſacrifices, judging them to be a mere political ceremony, or are ſatisfy'd with offering them to particular ſpirits, ſuppoſing them to be parts of the univerſal ſpirit. Therefore doctor *V. Puen Su* ſaid, he might well adore the diſh of *cha* he then held in his hand, as knowing that *tai kie* was in it, after the ſame manner as it is heaven, and in all other parts of the world.

9. (2.) The queſtion is, how is it to be underſtood that *tai kie* is the univerſal ſpirit, and the ſpirits of heaven, earth, *&c.* are as it were parts of it? *Anſw.* According to the doctrine of the learned ſect ſeveral compariſons may be brought to make it out. 1. Of water in general, compar'd with particular waters, as the ſea with rivers and fountains. 2. Of our ſoul which governs the whole body in general, and each limb in particular. 3. Of nature, and the univerſal eſſence, which may be look'd upon in its being abſtracted from individuals, and conjunct, or concrete in regard to them. 4. Of the *materia prima*, which being a general *ens*, is divided into ſeveral ſecond matters, according to the variety of qualities it puts on. 5. Of a lump of wax, which being melted, may be chang'd into ſeveral ſhapes of trees, flowers, beaſts, *&c.* and after that being again diſſolv'd, remains ſtill the ſame original wax it was at firſt.

10. By theſe compariſons it may be eaſily underſtood, that *tai kie* is the univerſal ſubſtance and ſpirit of the whole world, and the particular ſpirit and ſubſtance of each part of it, which their philoſophy in one place expreſly declares thus: All things are one and the ſame *tai kie*; upon which the comment adds a more univerſal clauſe to this effect, which is that every thing has its *tai kie*. The very ſame thing *in terminis*, is ſaid of the *li*, *lib.* XXVI. *p.* 1. *Li* is one, but its parts are many: ſpeaking in general of heaven, earth and all things, there is but one *li*; but ſpeaking of men, and other things in particular, each of them has its *li*.

11. The third query. By what has been ſaid, it is only prov'd that there is one univerſal ſubſtance in the world, and all its parts; but it does not ſo plainly appear, that the univerſal ſpirit is one and the ſame with the particular ſpirits; therefore the queſtion is now aſk'd, wherein conſiſts the formal reaſon of a ſpirit according to the *Chineſes* anſwer? It being prov'd that there is but one ſubſtance in the world, the ſame argument proves there is one univerſal ſpirit. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubſtance and ſpirit are not two things, but one and the ſame, taken under two formalities, one of the proper entity, the other of its operation, or of the entity it ſelf, in as much as it is the principle of operation; therefore as the ſubſtance is the ſame throughout the univerſe, and in each of its parts, ſo the ſpirit is equally one and the ſame, tho' it be univerſal, in as much as it governs the univerſe, and particularly in as much as it governs its parts. This point I heard very well handled by doctor *Hoang Jun Tai*, and doctor *Cheu Mo Kien*, both great *mandarines*, and by others well vers'd in the affairs of their ſects. NAVARETTE.

12. The fourth query: Allowing what has been ſaid concerning the univerſal ſpirit, the queſtion is now concerning the ſpirit of heaven, call'd the king of the upper region, what proportion it bears to the other ſpirits? *Anſw.* In ſome points they agree, and in ſome they differ. They agree firſt in the ſubſtantial entity, which is the ſame in them all with that of the firſt principle, for which among them there is no greater or leſs nobility or perfection, but they are all equal. 2. In their origin, becauſe they were all produced from the *tai kie*, when heaven, earth, and other things were produced, and are the ſame thing with them, ſo that they cannot be parted. 3. In their final determination, becauſe they muſt all have an end, when thoſe things end whoſe ſpirits they were, which will be at the end of the world, when the great year ſhall expire, as has been ſaid.

13. They differ, 1. As to the places in which they reſide, for ſome are greater, ſome leſs. 2. In their qualities and other accidental diſpoſitions, which are agreeable to the places they belong to. 3. In their operations, which are more or leſs perfect according to the places and qualities on which they depend. Let this ſuffice to ſhew that all the ſpirits or gods of the *Chineſes* are reduced to one only, which is the firſt principle, call'd *li*, or *tai kie*; which being the *materia prima*, or the air, according to the learned ſect, is a lively image of the *European Jupiter*, and therefore thoſe verſes of *Valerius Sorianus*, *Jupiter omnipotens*, &c. may be apply'd to them both.

NOTE.

NAVARETTE.

NOTE.

The ſame queſtion, and with much more reaſon, may be put to F. *Trigaucius*, and others who ſay the *Chineſes* had the knowledge of the true GOD. Notwithſtanding all this, *lib.* I. *cap.* 10. *fol.* 52. he ſays, Tho' the learned *Chineſes*, as I have ſaid, know one ſupreme GOD, yet they erect no temple to him, nor appoint any place to worſhip him, nor have they any prieſts or miniſters of their religion, or any ſolemn or ſet ceremonies, *&c.* But he gives not the reaſon of it. It ſeems impoſſible and incredible, that if they knew GOD, they ſhould have no form or ceremonies to worſhip him. They have them for a thouſand other purpoſes, and erect temples to heaven, earth, other ſpirits, and the dead; and is it likely they would erect none to GOD? The god that father ſpeaks of in this place, is the *li*, or *tai kie*; but I believe in no ſuch god. In reference to the anſwer that *mandarin* gave, read cardinal *Hugo de incarn. diſp.* 37. *ſect.* 1. *num.* 2.

In the firſt treatiſe of philoſophy, there is the ſimile of a piece of quickſilver, which divides it ſelf into a great many parts, and again unites, the piece remaining as whole as at firſt. It ſeems to me pat to the purpoſe. All theſe points ſhall be handled in the ſecond tome.

PRELUDE XIV.

Of ſeveral Attributes the Chineſes *aſſign to this firſt Principle, we have already explained.*

FOR the better underſtanding the nature of the firſt principle and univerſal ſubſtance of all things, I will here ſet down the names the learned ſect gives it.

1. In the firſt place they call it *li*, by which they ſignify it is the being and ſubſtance of things, imagining there is an infinite, eternal, ingenerable ſubſtance, without beginning or end. This ſubſtance with the *Chineſes*, is not only the phyſical principle of heaven, earth, and other corporeal things, but alſo the moral principle of virtues, habits, and other ſpiritual things, whence came the axiom ſo generally receiv'd, *All things are one and the ſame*; and the other, *viz.* To go to the bottom of things, is to exhauſt their nature and being.

2. They call it inviſible principle, becauſe that univerſal ſubſtance, conſider'd of it ſelf, before it became viſible by ſome change or quality, was altogether inviſible, and is ſo ſtill, if we look upon it with a metaphyſical abſtraction, in as much as it only regards its entity, ſtrip'd of all qualities and individuating conditions.

3. It is call'd the firſt and ſupreme principle, becauſe from it all things flow'd, and muſt be reduced to it at the end of the world. In its own being it is perfect in the higheſt degree, and perfection it ſelf.

4. It is call'd the great *vacuum*, and vaſt capaciouſneſs, becauſe in that univerſal being are the beings of all particular things, as the waters of ſeveral rivers are in the ſpring, and in a root is the body, branches, bloſſoms, and fruit of the tree.

5. It is call'd ſingular unity, becauſe as in numbers unity is the beginning of them all, tho' it has no principle it ſelf and is indiviſible; ſo among the ſubſtances and beings of this world, there is one ſingular in the higheſt degree, which is not capable of being divided as to its being, and is the principle of all other beings that are or can be in nature.

6. They call it mix'd and aggregated, becauſe in the being of this principle the beings of all things are virtually together, as it were in the ſeed; and therefore when this aggregation was diſtributed in producing this world, the light and pure ſubſtance aſcended, and became heaven, and the groſs ſubſtance ſunk down and became earth.

7. They call it conglobated and round, becauſe before the production of the world, the firſt principle was like a round ball which has neither beginning nor end.

8. They call it great *vacuum* and emptineſs, becauſe it can receive and entertain all things within it ſelf, and there is nothing without it.

9. They call it primogeneous or original air, which is at firſt that univerſal ſubſtance, but diſpos'd and prepar'd by the five changes the *Chineſes* imagine (as was ſaid *prelude* 5. *num.* 3.) that it may act. So that this air on one ſide denotes the firſt quality which flow'd from the *li*, and ſerves it as an inſtrument conjunct; and on the other hand it ſignifies the very ſubſtance of the *li* already diſpos'd to act, ſo far as according to the rules of good philoſophy, *actiones ſunt ſuppoſitorum.*

10. They call it, a thing that is in heaven, or contain'd in heaven; becauſe tho' the univerſal ſubſtance of the firſt principle be in all things in the world as in its indivi-

individuals, yet it is ſaid to be chiefly in heaven, which is the moſt excellent thing in the univerſe, and more than any other ſhews its mighty efficiency and cauſality.

11. They call it the gift of heaven, becauſe heaven (with regard to ſecond cauſes) being the moſt general cauſe which always concurs, and has the greateſt ſhare in the cauſality of the production of things, it is ſaid to communicate to them the univerſal nature and ſubſtance of the *li*, and therefore it is call'd the gift of heaven.

12. They call it the natural condition and rule of heaven, for as much as it cauſes all things to be guided and governed in due method or order; yet not by any intellectual ſenſe or rational choice, but only by a natural order and propenſion.

13. They call it the nature of things, that is, in as much as that univerſal nature of the firſt principle is communicated to particular things; as for inſtance, if we ſhould regard the matter of any metal as it is in ſeveral veſſels.

14. They call it the ſupreme ſolidity and fulneſs, becauſe nature and the univerſal entity fills all things, nay, is the entity and being of them all. This is diſcours'd upon from the twentieth to the twenty fifth chapter of their *chung jung*; where it is to be obſerv'd, that the ſaid univerſal nature of the firſt principle is ſtretch'd out within and without the univerſe, giving their being to all things, both in a phyſical and moral ſenſe.

15. To this ſolidity, or univerſal entity, the *Chineſes* attribute what we do to the *ens commune*, that is, unity, truth and goodneſs. All which the author makes out by poſitive quotations of the claſſick books of the learned ſect, to *number 18*.

16. They attribute to it all manner of perfection, as that nothing can be greater; that it is the ſupreme *medium*, ſupreme rectitude, ſupreme cleanneſs, ſupreme purity, ſupremely ſpiritual, and ſupremely imperceptible; in ſhort, it is ſupreme and perfect in all reſpects, ſo that it is capable of no addition.

17. On account of theſe perfections they ſaid, it is of an incomparable excellency, not to be equal'd, as appears in their *lun ju*, lib. II. c. v. And tho' in this place the ſaid commendation be given to heaven, yet regard muſt be had to the ſtile the learned ſect uſe in their *li*, that when they would magnify the king of the upper region, they ſay he is the ſame thing with heaven; and when they magnify heaven, they ſay it is the ſame thing as the *li*; but when they ſpeak of *li*, they ſay it is great of it ſelf, becauſe they imagine it ever was of it ſelf from all eternity, and will be without end; and it is beſides, the beginning and end of all things, even of the king above and heaven, as has been proved. NAVARETTE.

18. Methinks ſome man may entertain a thought, whether this *li*, or *tai kie*, might not be interpreted to be our GOD, ſince they aſſign it ſo many and ſuch excellent properties, which can only ſuit with GOD. *Anſw.* 1. *Take heed, take heed, there's a ſnake in the graſs; and a cruel* Leviathan *lies under the ſmooth water.* No man muſt ſuffer himſelf to be led away by theſe ſeeming ſpecious and honourable titles, but thorowly examine what it is they are apply'd to, which in ſhort is nothing but our *materia prima*; which is manifeſtly made out; for notwithſtanding they aſſign it ſo many perfections, they alſo attribute to it many imperfections, as our philoſophers do.

19. In the firſt place they ſay, *It cannot exiſt of it ſelf*, but ſtands in need of the primogeneous air, which is equivalent to our coeval quantity. 2. They ſay, conſider'd as to it ſelf, it is a ſtupid thing, without life, deſign, or underſtanding. 3. That it can do nothing, but by the means of the air, and our qualities, which accidentally flow from it. 4. That it is the ſubject of all generations and corruptions, taking on it, and caſting off ſeveral qualities, which, like accidental forms, conſtitute and diſtinguiſh the being of things. 5. That all things in the world are material of neceſſity, and there can be none properly ſpiritual. All this may be ſeen in the twenty ſixth and thirty fourth books of their philoſophy.

20. *Anſw.* 2. That from all antiquity, there was never any man in *China* that ador'd the *li*, or *tai kie*, or offer'd ſacrifice to it, they being all of opinion that religious worſhip is not to be given to any but viſible things, according to the doctrine of *li kie*, lib. VIII. pag. 42. Whence a moſt important inference may be made, that the learned *Chineſes* were either very ſtupid, or elſe invented an outward religion, without regard to the interior: For if the *li*, or *tai kie*, according to them, has no divinity, much leſs can heaven have it, which is but an effect of *tai kie*; and ſtill leſs can the king above have any, being nothing but the operating virtue of heaven; and ſtill leſs can other inferior ſpirits or gods have, any which belong to the mountains, waters, and other parts of the world. *Worſhip.*

NOTES.

I muſt inform the reader that whatſoever the author mentions in this place, he proves it by poſitive quotations of the learned ſect, which are writ out in the authentick copies, and in the original, which I have ſeen and read.

The next thing to be obſerv'd is, that as well F. *Matthew Riccius*, as F. *Julius Aleni*,

NAVARETTE. *Aleni*, and the reſt of the ſociety who have writ concerning the *tai kie*, do unanimouſly own with the author, that it is our *materia prima*. Nevertheleſs F. *Intorceta* in his *Chineſe* wiſdom writ, that the ſaid *tai kie* had been our GOD to the antient *Chineſes*. If the brethren of the ſame family differ about ſuch material points, why do they complain of us? F. *Trigaucius* and *Morales*, ſome of thoſe that are now in *China* holding the ſame opinion, ſay, that no ſmall number of the ancient *Chineſes* found their ſalvation in the law of nature, being aſſiſted by that particular grace which GOD does not uſe to deny him that does the beſt that is in his power. It may be ſo, but I know not how it can be prov'd, if they had no god, the *li*, *tai kie*, or king of the upper region. I will make a particular argument upon this ſubject in the ſecond tome.

The author ſays, the learned *Chineſes* were very fooliſh, or feign'd religion. When was not idolatry fooliſh? ſays *Corn. à Lap.* I ſay they were guilty of both, tho' S. *Aug. lib.* II *de doct. Chriſt.* ſays, *If the philoſophers by chance ſpoke any truths agreeable to our faith, they are not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them as from unjuſt poſſeſſors, and to be apply'd to our uſe; as the children of* Iſrael *took gold from the* Egyptians *to put it to a better uſe.* But nothing is to be found in the books of the learned *Chineſes* that makes for our holy faith; ſo that we may ſay of them the ſame that *Faſcic. Temp.* 4. *ætat. fol.* 20. writes of *Numa Pompilius*, and other *Romans*; *It is very much to be admir'd, that theſe men of excellent wits, argu'd ſo ſharply upon almoſt all things that are done under the ſun* (let us freely apply it to the *Chineſes*) *and yet rav'd ſo wildly as to the knowledge of the true* GOD. We may here add the words of S. *Iſidorus*, lib. V. orig. c. 30. *The folly of the* Gentiles, *which had fram'd to it ſelf ſuch ridiculous forgeries.* The fictions and ravings of the *Chineſes* have been ſeen in this and the ſecond book, and ſhall appear plainer in another place.

The *Faſcic. Temp.* in the place above-quoted, ſpeaking further to the ſame purpoſe, adds: *Obſerve, that holy doctors do not make uſe of the ſayings of the* Sibyls *and other heathens to confirm the holy chriſtian faith, but declare they had no prophetick ſpirit, but were poſſeſt or rav'd. Whence* Auguſtin *arguing againſt* Manicheus, *ſays, If it be made out that either the* Sibyls, *or* Orpheus, *or any other of the heathen diviners and philoſophers deliver'd any truth, it may avail for repreſſing the vanity of* Pagans, *but is not to make their authority the more. For as much difference as there is betwixt the preaching of angels, and the confeſſion of devils concerning the coming of* CHRIST; *ſo much odds is there between the authority of prophets, and the curioſity of ſacrilegious men.* S. *Antonine* quoted above handles the ſame point. There are thoſe in *China*, who take chimera's and follies out of the books of that nation, as a principle on which to ground their proof of the incarnation of the Son of GOD. It is a plain caſe ſuch proceeding is not juſtifiable.

PRELUDE XV.

What Life and Death is, according to the Sect of the Learned, to make out whether our Soul be immortal, and after what manner.

1. WE muſt preſuppoſe, firſt, *That all things are the ſame*, and only differ in the outward ſhape or figure, as has been ſaid. 2. That the ſubſtance or entity produces the ſaid qualities, *per emanationem*, as the material cauſe, and therefore they cannot be ſeparated from it without being deſtroy'd. 3. That the univerſal ſubſtance being qualify'd and diſpos'd with its primogeneous air, is diſtributed among the ſecond cauſes, which are heaven, earth, the elements, *&c.* And therefore when the ſecond cauſes operate, the univerſal ſubſtance is operating in the midſt of them as firſt mover, tho' the denomination of the operation is not taken from the univerſal ſubſtance, but from the ſecond cauſes, as is uſual among us; for when they combine to frame mixt bodies, we make no mention of the *materia prima*, tho' it be in the elements.

2. We muſt further take along with us four denominations or formalities that belong to the univerſal ſubſtance relating to the matter in hand. 1. That with regard to its own being, or as it is in heaven, it is call'd *li*. 2. That as it is given by heaven the moſt general cauſe, it is call'd *ming*. 3. As it is receiv'd by things, it has the name of *ſing*. 4. As to its operations, it is term'd *chu*, *chu zai*; and this laſt formality being apply'd to man, they ſay this *chu zai* is the heart, which governs all that is in man, whether phyſical or moral.

3. In the firſt place, I ſay, the life of man conſiſts in the unity and agreement of the parts of the entity of heaven and earth in the ſame man. The entity of heaven is a moſt pure light air, of a fiery nature; of this the ſoul is form'd or the vital or animal ſpirits which they call *oen*, that is,

ſoul. The entity of the earth is a groſs heavy air, and of an earthly nature, of which the body is form'd with all its humours, which they call *pe*, that is, *a human body or carcaſe*.

4. In the next place I ſay, death is the ſeparation of thoſe parts from one another, and they return to thoſe places they belong to: ſo *hoen*, or the ſoul, aſcends towards heaven; *pe*, or the body, goes to the earth. *Xu king*, *lib.* I. *p.* 16. treats of this point, where the death of king *Jao* is deſcrib'd in this manner. He aſcended, and went down; *the comment*, that is, he dy'd; becauſe when man dies, the fiery or airy entity aſcends towards heaven, and the corporeal maſs returns to the earth. It is to be obſerv'd, that the *Chineſe* here gives our ſoul the name of air, and ſo in many other places; therefore it is a corporeal thing, tho' it be very much rarify'd.

5. Thirdly, I ſay, as to immortality, that when the ſoul is ſeparated from the body, both parts loſe the being they enjoy'd as ſuch, and nothing remains but thoſe entities of heaven and earth, as they were before they join'd to compoſe man; for which reaſon the immortality, or permanency belongs no longer to the parts of man that was, but to the two entities of heaven and earth, which as general cauſes ever continue in their ſubſtantial being, and are only chang'd as to accidental form. The ſame and much more is to be underſtood of the *li* and univerſal ſubſtance, which ever continues immoveable in the general cauſes, without ſuffering any change, either as to its being or place. All this is expreſly ſet down, *lib.* XXVIII. *p.* 41. of the philoſophy, out of which I will ſet down but one ſaying of *Ching Ju*, which is this: When man is compos'd and made, which is by the union of the entity of heaven with that of the earth, the univerſal nature does not come; and when he dies, that is, upon the ſeparation of thoſe two entities, the ſame univerſal nature does not depart: but for as much as the pure air, which is the entity of heaven, returns to heaven, and the corporeal maſs, which is the entity of the earth, returns to the earth, therefore it may be ſaid, the univerſal nature departs.

6. By what has been ſaid, we may gather the literal ſenſe of their *xi king*, *lib.* VI. *pag.* 1. where it is written that *Vuen Vuang* going up and down is by the ſides of the king of the upper region; for in the firſt place, *Vuen Vuang* is not there, nor his ſoul, but that part of the heavenly air, which once was the ſoul of that king. 2. It is ſaid of this air that it aſcends and deſcends, and that it is by that king's ſides, to denote that it is of the ſame nature with all the air of heaven; and for this reaſon they call the ſoul of man, after it is ſeparated from the body, *jeu hoen*, that is, a wandering and vagabond ſoul, like the heavenly air which runs through all quarters. 3. The air of heaven is in this place call'd by the name of king of the upper region, to expreſs its ſimilitude with the air of the ſoul; for as that predominates and rules in the heavenly body, ſo does this guide and predominate in man's body; ſo that this is the formality thro' which the ſubſtance of the thing comes to be call'd a ſpirit, as was ſaid *prelude* 11. *n.* 15. NAVARETTE.

7. Fourthly, I ſay, that true immortality is not by the *Chineſes* aſcrib'd to any thing but the *li*, or the univerſal ſubſtance, which was before all things, and will remain after they are extinct, after the manner our philoſophers us'd to ſay the ſame of the *materia prima*. What the author adds in this place has been ſet down already. Let *Trigaucius* and *Morales* read this anſwer to it.

NOTES.

1. F. *Catanius* in his *Chineſe* dictionary, which is famous among the fathers of the ſociety, ſays the ſame word for word, and with much reaſon.

2. Add to what has been ſaid, that there is a place in their philoſophy, which poſitively aſſerts, that the airy part which aſcends to heaven, becomes the ſame thing with it, which makes our author's deſign more plain.

3. The *Chineſe* books explicate that place concerning *Vuen Vuang*, and others like it, very plain; how can we turn them to a ſenſe contrary to all their ſect?

PRELUDE XVI.

That the wiſeſt Men of all the learned Sect do all of them at laſt conclude in Atheiſm.

Atheiſts. 1. I Will here treat, as well of the ancients as moderns. As for the latter, F. *Matthew Riccius* in his hiſtory, *lib.* I. *c.* 10. affirms, that they are almoſt all of them atheiſts. *Ages afterwards paſſing on, that firſt light was ſo darkned, that if any happen to abſtain from the vain worſhip of their gods, there are few of them but make a greater fall into atheiſm.* At the end of the ſame chapter he expreſſes it more plainly; ſee F. *Trigaucius* in this place. This is in relation to the modern *Chineſes*, in which we

NAVARETTE. we all agree without the leaſt difference. Of the ancients, the father ſays in the ſame place, that they own'd and worſhip'd one Xang Ti. ſupreme deity, call'd *Xang Ti*, that is, king of the upper region, and other inferior ſpirits, and that conſequently they had knowledge of the true GOD. But I, with the good father's leave, and the leave of others of our ſociety who follow his opinion, am perſuaded, that the ancients were as much atheiſts as they.

2. (1.) By reaſon of their moſt univerſal principle, *omnia unum ſunt*, all things are the ſame; which may convince the maſters of this ſect, that either they did not believe there was a GOD, or elſe they aſſign'd a chimerical and monſtrous thing for a GOD, which is as bad as aſſigning none.

3. (2.) An account of another principle receiv'd in all their ſchools, that all things in the world proceeded from the *tai kie*, and are to return to it; whence it follows that the king of the upper region, and other ſpirits, had a beginning, and will have an end, which is all repugnant to tke Deity.

4. (3.) Becauſe of the common opinion of the learned, that this world was produced by chance, and is all govern'd by fate. As alſo, that men after death return to the *vacuum* of the firſt principle, without any reward for the good, or puniſhment for the bad; whence it is gather'd, that the gods they aſſign'd for the good government of the ſtate, are to them gods of wood, or ſtone, without any thing but the outward ſhew of a deity.

5. To prove that the ancients were atheiſts, it is enough to ſay, the modern *Chineſes* are ſo, becauſe theſe are but the mere eccho of the ancients, on whom they build, and whom they quote in their diſcourſes, as well relating to ſciences as virtues, but chiefly in matters of religion. And to ſhew how good grounds I have for what I ſay, I will ſet down what I found practis'd, by converſing with ſeveral learned men and *mandarines*.

PRELUDE XVII.

Of what ſeveral learned Men of note ſaid, with whom I diſcours'd upon the Subject of theſe Controverſies.

SECT. I.

Of the Heathen learned Chineſes.

1. AMONG theſe, our author ſays, that doctor *V Puen Ju*, a great Tien Chu. *mandarin*, made out, that our *Tien Chu*, that is, our GOD, as we call him in *China*, allowing that he has ſome reſemblance with the king of the upper region, could not chuſe but be a creature of *tai kie:* that all things are one and the ſame ſubſtance; and tho' it is ſaid there are ſeveral ſpirits, yet in truth there is but one univerſal ſubſtance; *Spirit.* nor is the ſpirit a thing really diſtinct from the ſubſtance, but the very ſubſtance itſelf look'd upon under the formality, as it is acting and ruling within the things. Upon this I aſk'd him, ſays he, concerning the difference aſſign'd betwixt theſe ſpirits, whereof ſome are ſuperior, others inferior. He anſwer'd, that as to their ſubſtance and entity, it was the ſame as well in heaven as upon earth; but with regard to the operation and efficacy there was ſome difference, according to the ſeveral qualities and diſpoſitions of things, as has been ſaid.

2. Doctor *Cheu Mo Kien*, a *mandarin* of the court of rites, having read F. *Riccius* his books, aſk'd us upon occaſion, What GOD. we meant by *Tien Chu* (ſo we call GOD) and we explaining it as we uſe to do, that he is a living intelligent ſubſtance, without beginning or end, *&c.* and that he had created all things, and govern'd all things from heaven, as a king does from his palace: he laugh'd at us, and ſaid, we made uſe of very coarſe compariſons, in as much as *Tien Chu*, or the king of the upper region, is not in reality one like a living man that ſits in heaven, but the virtue that has dominion and governs heaven, and is in us and in all things, and therefore we muſt imagine our heart is the very ſelf-ſame thing as *tien chu*, or *xang ti*. Tho' we labour'd never ſo much to proceed in explicating our *Tien Chu*, he would not permit us, ſaying, He very well knew what *tien chu* was, ſince we ſaid he was the ſame thing as the king of the upper region. Our F. vice-provincial was preſent at this diſcourſe.

3. Doctor *Cien Lin Vu*, tho' he was our friend, and had often heard our fathers diſcourſe concerning the true GOD, who came into the world to ſave us, yet he could never frame any other notion of it than that he might be then like their *Confucius*; which they ground on their erroneous opinion, that there is but one univerſal nature, which is ſo abſolutely the principle of all things, that it is all of them. And as for what relates to men, they who are more perfect, either by their good natural diſpoſition, or by their own induſtry, do beſt repreſent that univerſal nature of the firſt principle; and therefore it is ſaid, they are one and the ſame thing with it: ſo that ſpeaking according to this doctrine, our JESUS in *Europe* is no more than their *Confucius* in *China*, and *Foe* in *India*.

4. I will not omit relating what happen'd to me one day with the ſaid doctor, and doctor *Michael*. We coming to the point of diſcourſing how in *Europe* we follow the law given by GOD; the doctor preſently put in his opinion, ſaying, It was probable it might be like that the *Chineſes* have given by *Confucius*, ſince both legiſlators were the ſame thing as heaven and the firſt principle. I would have anſwer'd to this, but doctor *Michael* in a low voice preſs'd me to forbear at that time, that I might not trouble his friend, eſpecially for that it was not eaſy to confute ſuch an opinion in *China*: Obſerve this till another time.

5. Doctor *Sui Jo Ko* told me very poſitively, That there was but one only ſubſtance in the world, call'd *li*, or *tai kie*, which of it ſelf is immenſe, without any limit or bound. Granting this, it follows of neceſſity, that the king of the upper region, and all other ſpirits, are only the operative virtue of things, or the ſubſtance of the things themſelves, taken as it operates. He ſaid further, that the government and order of things in this world, came altogether from the *lie*; but naturally and of neceſſity, according to the connexion of univerſal cauſes, and to the diſpoſition of the particular objects, which is what we properly call fate.

6. Doctor *Cheu Keng Su* ſpoke theſe very words to me, That our GOD, call'd *Tien Chu*, ſhall end with the world. Then how can you ſay, that man ſhall enjoy him for ever in heaven? he ſaid it for two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe he conceived that *Tien Chu* was like the king of the upper region, conſidering the reſemblance there is between the two names. 2. Becauſe he knew the king of the upper region, or ſpirit of heaven, muſt end with the world, as has been ſaid. I anſwer'd him, That if our *Tien Chu* had proceeded from the *tai kie*, as does the king of the upper region and other ſpirits, then his argument were good; but that it was not ſo, and then I laid before him the order of the four cauſes.

7. Doctor *Li Sung Jo*, preſident of the exchequer-court, told us ſeveral times, That after death there was neither reward nor puniſhment, but that men return'd to the *vacuum* from whence they came. And when we told him, that there is an immortal, living, and omnipotent GOD, who rewards every man according to his actions; he poſitively deny'd there was any ſuch GOD, heaven, or hell, as things never heard of in his ſect.

Future ſtate.

8. We aſk'd doctor *Ching Lun Ju*, a *mandarin* of the court of rites, Whether according to the ſect of the learned there was any reward or puniſhment in the other life? he laugh'd at the queſtion, then anſwer'd, That it could not be deny'd but there were virtues and vices in this world, but that all ended with death, when the man in whom thoſe things were expir'd, and therefore there was no need of providing for the next life, but for this.

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9. I accidentally met with *Cheu Jang Tien*, who was well vers'd in all three ſects, and ſo was a maſter, gathering many ſcholars in all parts. Finding him ſo well read, I aſk'd him firſt, What the king of the upper region was according to the learned ſect? He anſwer'd, It was the ſpirit or god they adore, and diſtinct from *jo hoang*, ador'd by the ſect *Lao Zu*, and from *Foe*, the god of the *bonzes*. (2.) I aſk'd, whether that king was the ſame thing as heaven, or diſtinct? He anſwer'd, It was the very ſame thing with heaven, as was ſaid *prelude* 12. *num.* 4. as alſo, that he is the very ſame as the *li*, *tai kie*, *juen ki*, *tien xin*, *tien ming*, and *nan jin*, that is, the earth's huſband. So that theſe and other epithets are only the ſeveral formalities of the ſubſtance, or entity it ſelf.

10. (3.) I aſk'd, Whether this king was of equal ſtanding with heaven, or before or after it? He anſwer'd, It was co-eval, and both of them proceeded from *tai kie*. (4.) I aſk'd, whether this king was a living and intelligent being, ſo as to know the good or ill men do, to reward or puniſh them? He anſwer'd in the negative, but that he operates as if he were ſo, according to the words of *Xu King*, *lib.* I. *p.* 35. that heaven neither ſees nor hears, loves nor hates, but does all theſe things by means of the multitude, with whom it has an inward conjunction in the *li* itſelf.

11. (5.) I aſk'd, Whether the king of the upper region were only one? He anſwer'd in the affirmative, and that he is the ſpirit of heaven.

12. (6.) I aſk'd, Whether there be one like a king, who proceeds from the parts of heaven, as is imply'd by the doctrine call'd *je king*? He anſwer'd, That king is the air, which cauſes the generation of things, 'till they are perfected, as is evidently gather'd from the changes the ſaid air cauſes in the eight parts of the horizon; and this is the literal ſenſe of that place under the metaphor of a king.

13. (7.) I aſk'd, If the king of the upper region is not a living creature, but only the air, or virtue of heaven, how comes it to be ſaid in ſome authors, that he convers'd with kings, who ſaid, they had his orders for doing ſome things? He anſwer'd, There never was any ſuch converſation in that nature the words ſound, but that it is all a metaphor and figure, for as much as the ſaid kings have an inward

NAVARETTE. correſpondence with the *li* of heaven, and therefore they acted as if they had receiv'd orders from heaven.

14. (8.) I aſk'd, Whether the ſacrifice the emperor yearly offers to heaven, be alſo offer'd to the king of the upper region? He anſwer'd, That heaven and the king of the upper region were one and the ſame ſubſtance under two formalities, and therefore when ſacrifice is offer'd to heaven, it is offer'd at the ſame time to the king of the upper region; and the ſame may be ſaid of the ſacrifices offer'd to mountains, rivers, valleys, *&c.*

Confucius 15. (9.) I ask'd, Why would not *Confucius*, when he was ſick, ſuffer his diſciple *Zu Lu* to pray for him? He anſwer'd, Becauſe he was perſuaded, heaven and its ſpirit and he were the ſame thing; and beſides, he never did any thing oppoſite to reaſon, and therefore there was no occaſion to pray for him.

16. (10.) I ask'd, If the wiſe men of the learned ſect do not believe there are real ſpirits, why did they bring them up among the people? He anſwer'd, To curb the multitude, that they may not be unruly. Thus far the ſaid doctor, which of it ſelf were ſufficient to clear all theſe difficulties.

17. In this paragraph he names eight *mandarines* more, all of the court and ſeveral provinces; and concludes, And others no leſs famous and learned at this court, whom I paſs by for brevity ſake. Nor do I mention another great multitude of learned men and *mandarines*, with whom I convers'd in other parts of *China*, during the many years I liv'd there, for I perceive they all agree unanimouſly.

NOTE.

1. I ſhall ſay ſomething to theſe points in another place. Here I cannot but take notice, that if the doctor who was ſo learned had ſo mean a notion of the god the fathers preach'd to him, what idea could ignorant perſons frame? Our GOD is as much in *Europe* as *Confucius* is in *China*. It ſeems our holy faith is well advanced in that kingdom.

SECT. II.

The opinion of the learned Chineſe *Chriſtians.*

1. Not only the heathens, but even the Chriſtians, when the queſtion is categorically put to them, confirm what has been ſaid, as appears by what follows.

2. In the firſt place doctor *Michael*, whom I work'd upon to lay open to me all the ſecrets of his heart, without his being ſenſible what I was doing. I made uſe of this ſtratagem: I acquainted him that our fathers in *Japan* and *Cochinchina* ſtudy'd the *Chineſe* books as they did in *China*, and ſome doubts occurring to them, which they could not ſolve, they deſir'd us, and it was really true, to ſend them the expoſition of them, receiving our information from learned men of note and eſteem. But that he muſt obſerve, thoſe fathers deſir'd to know the pure doctrine of the learned ſect, without any mixture of interpretations given by us Chriſtians. He was very well pleas'd to hear this, and bid me propoſe their doubts, and he would anſwer them, as underſtood by the learned.

3. (1.) I aſk'd, Which were the authentick and claſſick books of the ſect? He anſwer'd, The five doctrines, *zu ku*, with its comments, *Sing Li's* philoſophy, and the chronicle *tien chien*; and took notice, that in theſe books very often the words run one way, and the ſenſe is taken in another. By which he would expreſs that they made uſe of tropes and figures, to be underſtood only by thoſe who are vers'd in the myſteries of their ſect.

4. (2.) I aſk'd, Whether the expoſitors of thoſe doctrines, and particularly the learned that liv'd while the family *Sung* reign'd, were reputed of good authority at preſent in *China*? He anſwer'd, Their authority was very great, becauſe they had corrected the text of the ancient doctrines, and had moreover commented upon them, without which they would be all in the dark. And therefore with good cauſe it is eſtabliſh'd, that at examinations no compoſition be allow'd, that is oppoſite to the common explication of expoſitors. And though theſe ſometimes vary among themſelves, and err in matters of ſmall conſequence, yet they all agree in eſſential points, and hit the deſign of the ancients. He obſerv'd further, that the learned men of *China* diſcourſe excellently upon thoſe things they ſee; as for inſtance, the five ranks of men, the five univerſal virtues, the government of the ſtate, *&c.* But of all things that are not ſeen, as of angels, the rational ſoul, *&c.* they ſpoke very wild and falſly, ſo that there is no relying on them. All which ought to be mark'd with capital letters, for the better deciding of theſe controverſies.

5. (3.) I aſk'd, If the *Chineſes* can give no account of inviſible things, to whom do they offer their ſacrifices? At this he *Sacrifices.* ſhak'd his head, and ſmiling ſaid, The *Chineſes* properly offer ſacrifice to the univerſal heaven, and to the earth, mountains, *&c.* which they all ſee, thanking them for the benefits and advantages they receive from them. As for the ſpirits, they don't *Spirits.* certainly know there are any, but gueſſing there

there may be, they honour and reſpect them, together with the aforeſaid parts of the univerſe, believing they are the ſame ſubſtance and entity with them.

Future ſtate. 6. (4.) I aſk'd, Whether after death there be any reward or puniſhment for good or wicked men, according to the doctrine of the learned ſect? He anſwer'd, That they make no mention of any ſuch things. Here he ſigh'd and complain'd of the profeſſors of this ſect, for falling ſo ſhort, in not teaching the things of the other life; which is the cauſe the multitude is not encourag'd to practiſe virtue in earneſt. He commended *Foe*'s ſect, which preaches up heaven and hell.

Immortality. 7. (5.) I ask'd concerning the immortality of the ſoul, and the place of *Vuen Vuang*, who is by the ſide of the king of the upper region? He anſwer'd, There was no further myſtery in it, than that the earthly part return'd to the earth, and the airy aſcended to heaven, uniting it ſelf to that king, who is the heaven it ſelf. The poet endeavours to magnify *Vuen Vuang*, feigning that the heavenly body is like a king, and he ſits by his ſide like a loyal and well-belov'd ſubject.

8. By what has been ſaid it appears that according to the doctrine of the learned, there is no GOD, angels, immortal ſoul, *&c.*

9. Being afterwards in the imperial city, he ſhew'd us ſeveral treatiſes he had compos'd of things relating to our religion, with an expoſition of the *ten commandments*; in which tho' he treats of many things he has heard from our fathers, yet every foot he flys out into other things taken from the *Chineſe* doctrine, which more fully makes out the true opinion of the learned. I will here inſert ſome of them. 1. In the introduction to the commandments, he ſays, that all things are one and the ſame ſubſtance, which is their *li*, not differing from one another, any otherwiſe than by the outward ſhape, and accidental qualities; whence follow all the abſurdities our *Europeans* deduce from the principle, *omnia ſunt unum*, or all things are the ſame, till at laſt they come to downright atheiſm.

Li.

10. In the ſame introduction, he ſays, that all the ancient wiſe men of *China* were ſpirits, or angels incarnate, continued one after another. Which according to the notion of the *Chineſes*, is thus, that the *li*, or univerſal ſubſtance, as on the one ſide it performs its wonderful operations, and on the other thoſe that are beneficial to man, is call'd a ſpirit; and for as much as its operations are obſerv'd in heaven, the earth, mountains, and other parts of the univerſe, as alſo in man; therefore ſeveral ſpirits are aſſign'd to thoſe things, all which to the wiſe men are but one, as the ſubſtance is but one. NAVARETTE.

11. *Je Ko Lao* in the preface he writ to this very book, alludes to the ſame, when he ſays, the king of the upper region, or *tien chu*, was incarnate upon our earth. Which he proves thus: the king of the upper region did incarnate ſeveral things here in the eaſt in the perſons of *Jao*, *Xun*, *Confucius*, and many others, as well kings as ſubjects; *ergo*, he might as well incarnate in *Europe*, as the fathers of the ſociety ſay he did in the perſon of JESUS. By which it plainly appears, that to the *Chineſes* CHRIST in *Europe* is no more than *Confucius*, or any other wiſe man in *China*. This was the reaſon why doctor *Michael* would not permit me to reply to doctor *Cien*, as I obſerv'd, §. 1. *num.* 4. becauſe he himſelf ſtill entertains this *Chineſe*, or rather this confuſed notion.

12. (3.) In the ſame place he ſays, That *Confucius* his doctrine is perfect in all reſpects, and the very ſame with gods, which is an inference naturally deduced from the two points we ſpoke of laſt, *viz.* That all wiſe men are ſpirits incarnate, and all ſpirits are the very ſelf-ſame ſubſtance, and therefore have the ſame wiſdom, power, *&c.*

13. In the expoſition of the firſt commandment, he ſays, we are to worſhip heaven and earth; and in the expoſition of the third, that ſacrifices may be offer'd to our ſaints, as is done in *China* to heaven, earth, maſters, and other dead perſons. All which is grounded on the receiv'd opinion of the learned that all things are the ſame ſubſtance, or parts of it, as has been ſeveral times ſaid.

14. In regard this opinion, that all things are the ſame ſubſtance, is common to the three ſects; he endeavours in this treatiſe to ſpeak well of them all, ſhewing that all of them have the ſame end and deſign, which is to aſſign a principle to the univerſe; and that therefore they border upon our holy faith, and come to be the ſame thing with it in eſſentials. And if any man ſhould object the many errors there are in the ſects, all of them very oppoſite to our holy law: He anſwers, There were not at the beginning, when the ſects flouriſh'd in their true and pure doctrine, but that they crept in afterwards by means of the comments made by diſciples, who did not reach the deſign of ancient authors; therefore he often adviſ'd us in explicating things, to uſe a two-fold, or amphibological method, which may be eaſily apply'd to either part of the controverſy; and thus, he ſays, we may pleaſe, and ſo gain all. This is the method and advice Dr. *Michael*

Three Sects.

NAVARRTEE. *chael* gives us to preach the gospel in *China*. Let every wise man consider what consequences we may and must deduce from hence.

15. I also ask'd our M. *Athanasius*, who had so much study'd the learned sect, and perus'd several of the best libraries in *China*. He answer'd in some short and comprehensive sentences: His words are these; 1. The learned treat of men, not of heaven; of human, not of divine things. 2. They treat of life, not of death. 3. They treat of this, not of a future life. 4. They treat of corporeal, not of spiritual things. 5. They treat of one principle, not of diversity of species. 6. They say, things must be done without any design, and that there is no reward nor punishment. 7. They say, men and heaven are the same *li*; and that for man to exhaust himself, is to serve heaven. 8. They say, that the height of goodness and perfection is the height of nature, and that there is nothing beyond her. 9. That the directive rule of heaven is the entity of the supreme goodness, which has neither scent, nor sound, that is, it is imperceptible. 10. That nature supremely good has neither beginning nor end, and is only in the body and heart of man. 11. That if a man does his duty, his life will be happy, and his end easy. All these are the words of *Athanasius*, who says, it is requisite to oppose these tenets vigorously.

Xang Ti. 16. I put the same question to doctor *Paul*, who answer'd very ingeniously, that he was of opinion, the king of the upper region could not be our GOD, and he believ'd neither the antient nor modern *Chineses* had any knowledge of GOD. But since the fathers upon good motives call that king GOD, that the learned *Chineses* might make no objections, and because this epithet was decent, he judg'd it good and requisite to give him the attributes we give to GOD. As for the soul, he said, he fancy'd the *Chineses* had some knowledge of it, but imperfect.

Atheists. 17. Doctor *Leo*, the licentiate *Ignatius*, and generally the rest of the learned *Chinese* Christians, ingeniously confess, that all the modern learned sect are atheists, and build on the common opinion of the expositors. But they further say, they are of opinion, that to comply with the *Chineses*, we ought to stick to the text of the old *Chinese* doctrines which make for us, without minding the modern expositors. On this very point depends the whole difficulty of these controversies, for deciding of which rightly we must beg the light of the holy ghost. It being a matter of such consequence, I will here add some considerations of my own which occur at present, as shall appear in the following *prelude*.

This *prelude*, which would be of great consequence, is wanting; so that the treatise remains lopt, and imperfect, tho' it contains enough for those that have an insight into the matter.

NOTES.

1. What the bishop of *Nan King*, *disp.* 5. *c.* 4. *sect.* 3. quotes out of S. *Augustin*, suits well in this place; *The philosophers themselves who profess learning, scarce deliver'd any thing relating to the worship and love of* GOD; *and tho' many of them diligently employ'd themselves in suiting the manners of men to civil and political virtue, and writ long treatises concerning the same civil virtue, yet they either very lightly touch'd those that concern'd the worship of* GOD, *or refer'd their disciples to the country worship practis'd by the idolaters.*

2. The fathers *Morales* and *Martin Martinez*, call doctor *Michael* the pillar of the *Chinese* church. If the pillar and his doctrine were no better, how could the structure chuse but fall?

3. Doctor *Michael* compares and unites our holy law with that of *Confucius*, and consequently with the other two, for they all three *grow into one*, as F. *Matthew Riccius* confesses. We will here set down what *Corn. à Lapide* writes in *Encom. Sac. Script. sect.* 2. *num.* 15. *Our age, which has seen all sorts of monsters, saw a fanatick, who publish'd a blasphemous triumvirate of the three impostors of the world*, Moses, CHRIST, *and* Mahomet. In *China* they assign us a *Quadrumvirate*; *Confucius*, *Foe*, *Lao Zu*, and CHRIST. Note that according to the opinion of the society, as was said in my presence, Dr. *Michael* was one of the best Christian learned *Chineses*.

4. He gives all the sects a good word, he will be at peace with them all, and is against disputes or persecutions. This is not the peace of CHRIST; *I came not to bring peace, but the sword.* The bishop of *Nan King*, disp. 5. sect. 1. num. 2. *Most, if not all the professors of superstition and false religions, were generally of opinion, that several religions might be allow'd of, nor did they altogether condemn others which they did not follow. But the true and lawful religion even condemn'd all others, in so much that the followers of it would never entertain any commerce with those who deny'd, tho' it were but one tenet of faith and religion.* Which he there proves sufficiently. In *China* order is taken not to oppose the sect of the learned, not to speak ill of *Foe*, to use double-dealing to gain all men (to undo all men were better express'd) not to provoke the infidels, to prevent persecution, *&c.* This

was

NAVARETTE. was great prudence in doctor *Michael.* But the greateſt miſchief is, that his advice prevails with ſome men. A miſſioner in a book of his ſpeaks thus; Tho' there are in this kingdom three laws, yet that of CHRIST is moſt holy and perfect. You ſhould ſay, father miſſioner, That only the law of GOD and his Son JESUS CHRIST, is good and holy, that only that can ſave, that the reſt are wicked and peſtilential; otherwiſe I muſt ſay, you deſire to be at peace with them all, and grant them to be good and holy.

5. So that it ſeems good motives and policy are allow'd ſome weight in theſe caſes. Human policy and prudence has ſtretch'd ſo far, as to make him a true god who is not ſo, nay, even that which is deſtitute of vegetative life. The heathen policy extendeth not ſo far, for tho' it made and unmade gods, yet it knew no true deity; yet they that know one, take away its divinity to beſtow it on a mere creature. This is the great power *Triſmegiſtus* ſpoke of; *And that men had taken that great and wonderful power of making gods.* We have ſeen it of late years in *China*, as ſhall appear in another place.

6. I highly approve of *Athanaſius* his opinion, that the learned ſect ought to be vigorouſly oppos'd, yet it is not receiv'd nor made uſe of.

7. The learned ſect is here excellently laid open and made known; it is expreſly forbid to ſay it agrees either in the whole or in part with our holy law. If we obſerve the prohibition, and others do not, and any trouble or perſecution ſhould ariſe thereupon, we will give GOD thanks, and bear with it for his ſake, rather lying under the ſcandal, than conceal or forſake the truth. Of how great authority all that has been writ by F. *Longobardo* is, may be gather'd by his many quotations out of the claſſick books of the learned ſect, and the ſayings of ſo many doctors, as well Chriſtians as heathens, ſo that I do not ſee what could be added to it; our adverſaries alledging for themſelves none but the fathers, *Riccius* and *Pantoja*, and doctor *Michael*, it plainly appears they are far from ballancing of him. One thing I obſerv'd in *China*, which was, that tho' F. *Longobardo* was ſo great a miſſioner, ſo holy a man as all people own; and in method, ſtile, diſtribution, and variety of this treatiſe, ſhews himſelf to be a metaphyſician, divine, humaniſt, and well vers'd in the *Chineſe* ſciences; yet thoſe of his family who will not follow him, leſſen his reputation, by ſaying, he was no great divine. Here the words of *Boetius* are to the purpoſe; *Many men have often gain'd a great name by the falſe conceit of the multitude.* But allowing that others might excel him in divinity, does it therefore follow that they have more knowledge of the learned *Chineſe* ſect? Not at all; for then it would follow that any miſſioner muſt underſtand the ſaid ſect better than all the doctors and authors of it, in regard he muſt out do them all in divinity. I muſt add further, that this point may not be argued any more, that all the author quotes is in their books, and ſo underſtood by the *Chineſes.*

Let us call it a little name.

8. I muſt add, that I was the firſt cauſe that brought all at length to agree, that the *Chineſe* king of the upper region, neither is, nor can be our god. The compaſſing of this only thing makes me think all my ſufferings well beſtow'd.

9. In this place, among others one conſiderable point might be argu'd, which is, Whether the *Chineſes*, who have hitherto believ'd this king of the upper region to be our god, have had a ſupernatural faith concerning him? according to what has been premis'd, I am ſomething confident they had not. It will be requiſite to diſcourſe upon this ſubject in the ſecond tome; for the preſent it will ſuffice to ſee what divines teach as to this point: They, as S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *q.* 1. *diſp.* 2. *art.* 4. §. *reſolutio hujus dubii*, are of the ſame opinion I have declar'd my ſelf. *Serra*, art. 3. q. 1. decides the ſame with S. *Thomas*; ſo *Gonet*, *Ferre*, and others. What the conſequences are may eaſily be infer'd, I will write them in another place. The chiefeſt, to which all the others tend and are reduc'd, is, Whether thoſe who liv'd and dy'd in no other faith, but that that ſupreme king was our god, could be ſav'd. I propos'd ſome doubts concerning it at *Rome*, drawn from the doctrine of this treatiſe, which I and others look upon as moſt true; but they at that court not underſtanding the *Chineſe* letter, nothing was decided: I will ſet them down in my ſecond tome.

It might alſo be here diſcuſt, whether the *Chineſes*, being as they are really atheiſts, and having no knowledge of GOD, angels, rational ſoul, reward or puniſhment in the life to come, are capable of oaths, or the like? The occaſion of the doubt is taken from S. *Paul*, Heb. vi. that thoſe who ſwear, *do ſwear by one greater than themſelves.* The atheiſts own no ſuperior being, or greater than themſelves, and conſequently are not capable of an oath. This is the opinion of *Leander*, *tract.* 1. *de juram. diſp.* 6. *q.* 44. where he quotes, to confirm his opinion, *Suarez*, *Fagundez*, and *Palao.*

I muſt ſay I have ſeen the contrary, and taken notice of it in the *Chineſe* atheiſts ſpoken of in this treatiſe. Which may be prov'd, firſt, becauſe they ſacrifice, pray

NAVARRETTE. to, and beg of heaven, the ſun, moon, and other things already mention'd; whence it follows they own a ſuperiority in them. The conſequence to me ſeems good: Then why may not this ſuperiority ſuffice for an oath? We ſee that notwithſtanding their atheiſm, they worſhip the heaven, earth, *&c.* as ſuperior beings, as ſuch they honour, reverence, and fear them; and in reality they ſwear and have certain ceremonies to render the oath more ſolemn. Nor do the *Chineſe* atheiſts imagine there is nothing greater than themſelves, none of them are ſo extravagant; then conſequently they own a ſuperior, which ſuffices for them to bring him as a witneſs: this will hold in general, or abſolutely, not if we come to determine of the nature of an oath. And if this be deny'd, why may not the ſacrifices, prayers, and ſupplications be as well deny'd? have not theſe too reſpect to a ſuperior? I find all the ſeveral ſpecies of oaths among thoſe heathens, that for aſſerting what they ſay, that for threatning, and that for execrating.

The End of the Fifth Book.

BOOK.

BOOK VI.

The AUTHOR's Travels.

CHAP. I.

His Voyage to New Spain.

1. MY holy father S. *Thomas*, *lect.* 2. in *Rom.* i. teaches that only great things are to be written, that they may be continu'd in the memory of men. *It has not been the cuſtom to write any but great things which are worthy to be remembred, and ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity.* Theſe words have much diſcourag'd me from writing this book, nevertheleſs the rarity of ſome things, and the novelty of others, made me reſolve to take pen in hand, and give an account of what I my ſelf have ſeen. Our *Oleaſter in princip. num.* 33. ſays thus, *Poſterity is pleas'd to hear, not only the famous actions of their anceſtors, but alſo their dangers, ſufferings, and other things of that nature, tho' they be toilſome.* I cannot truly ſay, that *I have compaſſed the earth, and walk'd over the ſea and dry land.* But it was not thro' curioſity or covetouſneſs, which uſually encourage many to ſuch undertakings. This work was much forwarded by the ſuperfluous ſpare time I had in the iſland *Madagaſcar*, where, to divert it, and be leſs ſenſible of my long ſtay there, I made my benefit of the words of *Eccluſ.* xxxviii. 25. *Write in time of leiſure.*

2. I have read ſome printed travels, and obſerv'd ſeveral things in them, which as being common and trivial, deſerve no reflection, nor making a myſtery of, or magnifying them. I read an account of a journey certain perſons made from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, which does ſo magnify the difficulties, hardſhips, ſufferings, hunger, cold, and other calamities, that the author makes it ſufficiently appear, he has far outdone the truth of what it really is: and if he takes ſuch liberty to launch out in ſpeaking of a road ſo well known, ſo much beaten, and ſo common, and than which there are certainly ſome worſe in *Spain*, what will he do when he writes of travels through places leſs known to, and more remote from us? I will not follow this method, nor make a myſtery where there is none; I will endeavour not to tire the reader with needleſs extolling of things, and crying up that which is ordinary and common. NAVARETTE.

3. That certain and generally receiv'd opinion all men had conceiv'd (and no man either here or there does at all queſtion) of the rigid and moſt exact regular obſervance of our province of the holy *Roſary* in the *Philippine* iſlands, was the motive that made me reſolve to leave my kindred, country, and friends, and undertake ſo tedious a journey, and two ſuch long voyages, as there are from *Spain* to the utmoſt bounds of *Aſia*. This great part of the world commences at thoſe iſlands. It is no ſmall contradiction to human nature, to leave ones country. *Nazianz. epiſt.* 108. calls it, *The common mother. Lyra* in 2 *Reg. cap.* xx. ſays the ſame. 'Tis true, that to religious men, all the world is their country. The ſame ſaint ſays ſo, *epiſt.* 28. *To me every land, and never an one is my country.* And *Hugo de Sanc. Vict. lib.* 3. *de diſdaſc. cap. ult.* writes thus: *He is ſtill very tender to whom his country is ſweet; he is brave who accounts all nations his country; he is perfect to whom the world is a baniſhment.* Here the words of St. *Paul* ſuit well; *We have here no ſettled city, but we ſeek after one to come.* So that of *Tertullian de martyr. cap.* 2. where he teaches and proves, by what St. *Cyprian* ſays, *epiſt.* 18. that this world rather deſerves the name of a priſon and dungeon, than of a habitation and native country. *Diogenes* was almoſt of the ſame opinion; *A worldly man*, ſo he call'd himſelf, *becauſe I am a citizen and inhabitant of all the world.* To leave friends and kindred is more, a truth that requires not any proof, no more than to ſay, all this is nothing in regard of our duty to GOD. I do not mean in caſe they obſtruct ſerving of him, for what St. *Jerome* teaches in this caſe is well known. *Go on trampling on your father, proceed treading on your mother, and fly with dry eyes to the banner of the croſs.* S. Bern. epiſt. 351. *In this reſpect it is the higheſt piece of compaſſion, to be cruel for the ſake of* CHRIST. *Be not mov'd by the tears of mad people*, &c.

Read

NAVARETTE. Read *Sylv. tom.* 2. *lib.* IV. *c.* 8. *q.* 18. *n.* 137. Being then actually profeſſor of philoſophy in the famous and renown'd college of St. *Gregory* in *Valladolid*, I ſet forwards upon
1646. my journey on the 26th of *January*, 1646. Little remarkable happened then, though there wanted not ſome matter of merit. The author of the book that treats *de converſione gentium*, ſays, the firſt thing a miſſioner is to arm and provide himſelf with is patience, and truly he is much in the right. So many provocations occur every moment, that if this virtue be wanting, the braveſt and moſt reſolv'd ſpirit will ſoon diſmay. *It is patience*, ſays he, *which cauſes the mind in adverſity not to depart from the love of* God, *and the righteouſneſs of juſtice. And when the manners of others are inſupportable, ſays the apoſtle, bearing up one another, granting, that is ſparing.* Read *Tertullian, cap.* 8. *de patien.* where he has much to this purpoſe; and let every man endeavour to provide ſo good a companion.

4. The ſecond night we lay at *Salamanca*; the ſcholars were at variance, and that night one of them was kill'd. I look upon it as moſt certain, that no ſcholar has dy'd a violent death in *China* theſe two thouſand years, tho' there are above three millions of them in that kingdom. I ſpoke of their modeſty and good carriage in the ſecond book, in this place I might write of the leudneſs and debauchery of the *Europeans*. If that were obſerv'd in *Europe* which is in *China*, as I have mention'd before, many miſchiefs would be prevented. That murder caus'd trouble, ſome fled, others abſconded; the dead man was bury'd, I ſaw him in the church of our lady *de la Vega*.

5. Two or three days we travell'd in rain and cold, and the comfort we had the laſt night, was to lie upon the ſtones. On the firſt of *February* we ſet out from *Placentia*, to lie that night at a lone inn, call'd *Venta de la Serrana*. We ſoon met with a trooper, who began to moleſt us; he committed barbarities in the inn, abus'd the innkeeper and his wife, and two poor youths that were there much worſe; becauſe at eleven at night they would not waſh their hands and faces; he turn'd them out of doors, the ground being then cover'd with ſnow. The fellow did ſuch things, as a wild *Arab* would not have been guilty of, and there was no poſſibility of bringing him to hear reaſon. God mortify'd him a little, or elſe neither I nor my companions had far'd well. After this two other religious men came the ſame way, they had a little aſs betwixt them, and barely as much money as would ſerve them to *Sevil*; they met with two ſoldiers, who took all from them. Theſe workmen of our Lord begin to ſuffer before they preach in *China* or *Japan*. When I travell'd in ſo much ſafety among infidels, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, I call'd to mind theſe paſſages, and reflected on them by my ſelf; in ſhort it is, *A man's own family are his enemies.*

6. Being to croſs the river *Guadiana*, we met two watermen with each of them his ſword and piſtol; they freely offer'd us our paſſage, but when half way over, they gave us to underſtand, that as for our ſelves the paſſage was *gratis*, but each beaſt was to pay a piece of eight. There was no appeal from them, nor any writ of error to be brought. We had recourſe to intreaties and tears, through which God ſoftned their hearts, and it was brought about that they ſhould be ſatisfy'd with half a piece of eight a head. At *Villanueva* no body would give us a lodging, they were ſo kept under by the ſoldiers. Coming one evening in *China* with a great number of paſſengers to a village where lodgings were ſcarce, the maſter of one of them turning away his own countrymen, entertain'd me and three ſervants I had with me. I then remember'd what happen'd at *Villanueva*, how well thoſe two paſſages agree. Having ſpent that night uneaſily enough, next day we went to dinner to a reaſonable good town. As we came to the inn, the innkeeper came out to meet us very gravely, and with tokens of great admiration, aſk'd, Fathers, whence came ye? We ſatisfy'd his curioſity, and he clapping his hands together, ſaid, Bleſſed be God, I have gone out of my houſe three times, and return'd home every time beaten, rob'd, and ſtript, and your reverences and thoſe gentlemen come ſafe and ſound in all reſpects. Bleſſed be God: We gave God thanks, and had compaſſion on him.

7. As we came into *Berlanga*, we ſaw a troop of horſe marching along another ſtreet: the captain was a man of a graceful preſence. The chaplain rode with his church-ſtaff before him; and the captain's miſtreſs veil'd, follow'd the chaplain upon another horſe. I like it very well that there ſhould be publick prayers in time of war to implore the divine aſſiſtance, without which no victory can be obtain'd. Read *Corn. à Lapide* in *Exod.* xvii. 15. but *One praying, and another curſing; whoſe voice will* God *hear? one building and another pulling down, what does it avail, but mere labour?* Why ſhould God hear the voice of prieſts, and not the crys of open and ſcandalous ſins? If the ſoldiers with their wickedneſs pull down all that the ſervants of God build with their prayers, what can we expect, or what can follow, but labour, toil, and wearineſs? Some ſay, it cannot be remedy'd, or that the redreſſing of it will cauſe greater inconveniences.

It is a great misfortune that the *Chineſes*, *Mogols*, and others can remedy it, and in our parts they cannot. Something to this effect has been ſaid in the fourth book. *Ferdinand* the firſt, and S. *Pius Quintus* were us'd to ſay, *Let juſtice be done, and let the world periſh*; what a happy end it would have. There is no doubt, but the *Spaniſh* nation is more fierce and unruly than ſome others; there are inſtances of this truth. It is but a few years ſince two ſoldiers ſhort of *Badajox* met a father and his ſon, who carry'd a little ſaffron to ſell; they took it away, and reſolv'd to murder them. The ſon pray'd them to kill him and ſpare his father to be a comfort to his mother and brethren. The father deſir'd them to be ſatisfy'd with his life, and to let go his ſon, that he might maintain his mother and brethren. They would not compound, but inhumanly butcher'd both the father and the ſon. One of them paid for it with his life, and confeſs'd what has been ſaid, the other fled. If ſuch an account were ſent from the *Mogols* country, *Siam*, *Japan*, or *China*, ſhould we find ever a man amongſt us that would not abhor ſuch nations, and rail at them, ſaying, they were barbarians, pagans, and had no fear of GOD? then let them be very well aſſur'd that theſe and the like barbarities are to be found among us, but not there. Here we might apply what in another place I quoted out of *Euguvinus* and *Oleaſter*.

8. We come to *Santillana*, our ſupper there was light, our breakfaſt next morning none at all, for our *viaticum* was quite ſpent. At the paſſage of the river we took no notice of our condition, till we were over, and this contrivance ſtood us in good ſtead. I told the waterman how things were with us, a companion of his was offended at it; but the firſt of them who ſeem'd to be more courteous and pliable, ſaid to him, Theſe fathers have it not, what can we do to them? There are many paſſage-boats in *China*, and ſome over deep and wide rivers, but there is no obligation of paying at any of them; they aſk ſomething as free gift, and none give but ſuch as pleaſe. We made haſte to get to dinner to *Sevil*; by the help of GOD we got thither, hungry enough. We continued but a few days in *Sevil*, and kept for the moſt part within. *It is better to be at home, but it is hurtful to ſtray abroad*, ſays *Heſiod*. And S. *Anthony*, *A Monk out of his cell is like a fiſh out of the water*. There our vicar gather'd ſome alms. At S. *Lucar* we got ſome more, and his excellency the duke of *Medina Cœli* reliev'd us according to his generoſity, and the particular affection he bears our order. We had need enough of all this, for tho' his majeſty ſupplies us bountifully, and orders we ſhould have decent accommodation in his ſhips, nevertheleſs we are at incredible expence to get ſome little hole, where we may be by our ſelves, and free from the noiſe of the ſailors. The gun-room cabbin coſt us two thouſand pieces of eight. Who would imagin it? Where ſhall we have it, if we do not beg and pinch our ſelves for it? They kept us ſeventeen days aboard in the river S. *Lucar*, ſpending our proviſion, melting with heat, and eaten up with flies and mice. Every day they ſounded the bar, orders came from the council to put to ſea, but they did it not for want of water. A good clergy-man of *Saldanna*, who had experience in ſea-affairs, came to me one day, and ſaid: Father, your reverence may aſſure your ſelf, that till the admiral has his wine, there will not be water enough to carry out the ſhips. He proved a prophet. As ſoon as ever he had got ſix-thouſand jars of wine he wanted, the water roſe wonderfully, ſo that we got to ſea to the great ſatisfaction of us all. The council, added that good clergy-man, is very ſenſible of theſe contrivances, and that is the reaſon they ſend ſuch poſitive orders. True it is they avail but little, and theſe men are the cauſe that the king's revenue is waſted, and paſſengers conſume their proviſion; and what is worſt of all, theſe delays upon their private account ſometimes endanger a fleet. Allowance was then given for officers and ſeamen to ſhip a certain quantity of wine. *D. John de Manſilla* one of the directors of the trade went aboard, I waited upon him, as being my country-man and friend. He examin'd them upon oath, whether they had ſtowage of their own to carry the allowance that was made them. They ſwore they had. *D. John* ſaid to me, I am ſatisfy'd they are forſworn, but I do my duty. The admiral took up all the ſhip; even the gunners made their complaint to us, that the cabbin of the gun-room was taken from them, to ſell it to us; they had as little mind to part with it, as we to give two thouſand pieces of eight for it. We put to ſea in *June*, and had we ſail'd as they did before the flood, it had certainly been a great diverſion. S. *Thomas* from the gloſs on 2 S. *Pet. chap.* iii. ſays, *Then the air was more ſerene and ſtill than now, for then there were no ſtorms:* Tho' there are ſome of another opinion. Our method was, at break of day we ſang the *Te Deum*. After ſunriſing, having firſt conſulted the maſter, four or five maſſes were ſaid, and all the crew reſorted to them; in the afternoon the *Salve Regina* and litany of our Lady was ſang, then the roſary was ſaid by gangs, ſome miraculous ſtories were read, and there was ſome diſcourſe of religious matters. On

NAVARETTE.

NAVARETTE. ſundays and holidays there was a ſermon. An hour after the *Angelus Domini*, (which is before night-fall) a man went out at the hatch (for he was continually almoſt under deck) and having rang a little bell in the ſaddeſt and moſt doleful voice that ever I heard, ſaid, *Death is certain, the hour uncertain, the judge ſevere. Wo unto thee who art ſlothful! do that thou couldſt wiſh thou hadſt done when thou dieſt.* He rang the bell again, and praying for the ſouls departed, withdrew, and all the crew repenting for their ſins went to reſt without the leaſt noiſe. During the voyage there was frequent confeſſing and receiving, little gaming, ſcarce any ſwearing, ſave only the maſter who tranſgreſs'd in this particular; he certainly faſted every ſaturday upon bread and water. The purſer us'd to ſay to him, What are you the better for faſting, when you ſwear every moment? Honeſt *Lazaro Beato*, that was is name, anſwer'd, And what would become of me, if I did not faſt? That employment is provoking; but I have obſerv'd aboard *Portugueſe*, *French* and *Dutch* ſhips, that their maſters command with more eaſe and calmneſs than ours, nor are they ſo ſevere towards the ſteerſmen as with us.

9. We were once talking of the diſorders there had been in the *Weſt-Indies*, about diſtribution and propriety of the *Indians*, things little talk'd of in old *Caſtile*, eſpecially but little known among young people; the *Spaniards* call every diviſion ſubject to a lord or proprietor, under whoſe command the *Indians* are, a vicarage. Several opinions are deliver'd, at laſt the clerk of the check deliver'd his thus: *If I were the king, all the vicarages ſhould be in the hands of religious men, for it is certain it would be more for his majeſty's, and the* Indians *advantage. If I were general of the religious orders, religious men ſhould poſſeſs never a vicarage, for it is better for religious men to be in their monaſteries, free from troubles and diſputes.* I have ſince read what the lord *Solorzano* writes upon this ſubject. I have heard others ſay, and found it to be true by experience, that the clerk of the check was in the right, and in few words decided the caſe, which I think all men muſt of neceſſity own, if they conſider the point with the leaſt piety.

10. The firſt day we diſcover'd four ſail, we gave them chaſe, they ſoon put out their boat and came aboard. They prov'd to be *Dunkirkers*, who had taken two *French* Ships, and were carrying them to *S. Lucar*. The eighth day we had ſight of the iſland *Lanzarote*, and left it a-ſtern. On S. *John*'s or *Midſummer* day, we made great rejoicing, all our colours and ſtreamers were hung out, the cannon were fir'd, there was high maſs, and an excellent ſermon preach'd by the father commiſſary of the order of our father S. *Francis*, in the afternoon. There was a bull-feaſt aboard our ſhip, and ſo diverting, that I never ſaw the like in all my life. A *Mulatto* handſomely dreſs'd went out to ſtrike the bull with his ſpear; he rode upon two foremaſt men ty'd back to back, betwixt them he had placed a ſaddle, which one of *Peru* carry'd over; the *Mulatto* did wonders. The bull, tho' he had but two feet, was well furniſh'd with horns, and laid about him at ſuch a rate, that no man could ſtand upon the deck: all this while we were under ſail, which was the beſt of it, the day paſs'd away very merrily. This may ſerve to divert the reader. We read in 2 *Macc.* xv. 40. *For as it is hurtful always to drink wine, or always water, but it is pleaſant to drink ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other; even ſo, if ſpeech be always finely fram'd, it will not pleaſe the reader.* There muſt of neceſſity be variety in a voyage, and that of it ſelf is agreeable, and ſharpens the appetite of reading. On the feaſt of the ſeraphick doctor S. *Bonaventure*, in regard the father commiſſary, to whom we were much oblig'd, bore that name; and to honour the ſaint, the day was ſolemniz'd, we all ſaid maſs (being twenty nine prieſts) there was high maſs, an excellent ſermon preach'd by one of our order, a profeſſor of divinity of S. *Thomas* in *Sevil*, a man great in all reſpects. He dy'd the firſt year he came into the *Philippine* iſlands; but, *Being perfect he ſoon run out a long time.*

11. Captain *Balladares*, a *Galician* by birth, being ſomewhat a head of the fleet, took two ſmall *French* veſſels. That captain was much applauded by all men; his joy was not laſting, for another day giving chaſe to a great *French* ſhip, he ſpent his main-maſt, and all men rail'd at him without mercy or modeſty. He went into *Vera Cruz* with drums beating, colours flying, and his prizes a-ſtern, and within three or four days dy'd lamented by many.

12. The feaſt of our father S. *Dominick* was kept ſolemn. On the eve veſpers and compline were ſung, with as much grandeur, as if we had been in *Sevil*. The chapel was ſo beautify'd both within and without, that we all admir'd it. The officers and paſſengers vy'd in bringing all they had to adorn it. That night they ſpent in honour of the ſaint, with muſick and hymns. Next day there was high maſs, the father commiſſary was to have preach'd, but excus'd himſelf upon account of indiſpoſition, and it fell to my lot to diſhonour the feaſt.

13. We

13. We arriv'd at *Vera Cruz* after ſixty days ſail, having endur'd but little fatigue, no ſtorm, aboard our ſhip only one dy'd, aboard all the reſt I think none but one dropt over board. There was ſcarce any diſtemper, ſave a little ſea-ſickneſs at firſt, all the voyages I have made ſince I have never been ſubject to it. We endur'd ſome thirſt becauſe we took in no water upon the voyage; the reaſon they alledg'd was, that his majeſty had given ſtrict orders that no time ſhould be loſt: thus they diſguiſe their contrivances. It is likely the delay we made ſeventeen days at *San Lucar*, was the king's pleaſure too. *Lice.* The vermin man uſes to breed, as ſoon as we came to the Leeward iſland, dy'd all away, ſo that there was not one left; it is very ſtrange but common to all *Europeans*. I am ſufficiently inform'd concerning it by *French* and *Portugueſes*, ſo that when they had paſs'd that ſea no *European* breeds lice. This I can ſafely vouch of my ſelf, that during twenty ſix years I liv'd in the ſeveral parts I ſhall mention in this paper, I never bred one; whether I wore cotton, or woollen, whether I ſhifted me once a fortnight, or oftner, or ſeldomer, I was always in the ſame condition without ſo much as a nit. After I return'd through *Portugal* to *Caſtile*, the old habit of body return'd. I cannot dive into the ſecret of it. If the natives of the *Philippine* iſlands, *China* and *India* bred none, it were reaſonable; but that they ſhould breed them, and yet the *Europeans* go free, I can give no reaſon for it, it is ſome particular influence. A religious man of the barefooted friers of our father St. *Auguſtin* happened to embark at *Manila*, deſigning for *Spain*, and *Rome*; *Tetters.* he was troubled with ſeveral tetters, which many *Europeans* are ſubject to in that country; but having ſail'd forty leagues northward, he on a ſudden found himſelf free from that diſtemper. Five years after he return'd to the iſlands, and before he could get aſhore, that ill habit of body return'd upon him, and he had the diſtemper, tho' during that time he had been wholly clear of it. This is certainly very ſingular. NAVARETTE.

14. Another thing no leſs ſtrange happened to another religious man of the ſame order, which I will inſert here that I may not forget it. He ſail'd to *Perſia*, and travel'd thence by land. One day he alighted from his camel haſtily to eaſe nature, and did it as haſtily becauſe the *Caravans* never ſtop; he happened to find a leaf of ſome plant at hand, which he made uſe of inſtead of paper; and he prov'd ſo fortunate, that it abſolutely cur'd him of terrible *Hemorrhoids* that tormented him, ſo that he continu'd ſome years in *Europe*, and return'd to the iſlands, yet never had more of that diſeaſe. *Hemorrhoids,* When he obſerved how he was mended, and reflected on the cauſe, he could never find what leaf or plant that ſhould be, which he was much concern'd at, and blam'd his overſight, tho' the eagerneſs of overtaking his company was his excuſe; it was pity he knew it not, it being a loſs to thoſe who labour under this diſtemper. Theſe two paſſages, and what I ſaid before, prove there are unaccountable influences. On S. *Laurence* his day we landed, dirty, full of tar, and in a ſcurvy poſture, but well pleas'd we left ſo much ſea behind us. We thank'd all that belong'd to the ſhip for the kindneſs they had ſhew'd us. To ſay the truth, we did them all the ſervice we could, and they deſerv'd it for their kind entertainment and civility towards us, the Lord reward them for it.

CHAP. II.

The Journey to Mexico, *ſtay there, and further progreſs to* Acapulco.

1. IT cannot be deny'd, but that the *Spaniſh* nation has been renown'd for extending the faith of JESUS CHRIST, and making it known to mortals. This truth is plainly made out by the many converſions they have made, the blood it has ſhed in defence of the doctrine it preaches, and the great number that daily leave their country and parents on this account. This ſeems to be peculiar to *Spain*, ſays *Gilbertus Genebrardus* a *French* man, *lib.* VIII. *Chronolog. An.* 1492. *Which year*, ſays this grave author, *the war of the* Spaniards *againſt the* Moors *was begun, and their expedition to the* Weſt-Indies *began, as if it were the work of the* Spaniards *to ſubdue pagans and infidels.* The ſame ſpirit continues to this day; and ſo we ſee that almoſt every year religious men go to ſeveral countries and provinces, without being diſcouraged by long voyages, difference of climates, and other great inconveniencies they meet with every moment. My order has had no ſmall ſhare in this undertaking, as is well known to the world, for much is written of it, which I allow as receiv'd. To this purpoſe twenty eight religious men of us came into *New-Spain* in the year 1646. Four and twenty upon his majeſty's charge, the reſt upon charity, and retrenching our allowance. Being come to *Vera Cruz*, we ſoon found lodging upon charity tillwe went from thence, which was a great goodneſs of GOD. We preſently borrow'd

Navarette. borrow'd a thouſand pieces of eight to pay for the gun-room cabbin, for it was our bargain to pay a thouſand at S. *Lucar*, and a thouſand at *Vera Cruz*. They were lent us without any intereſt, and the owner waited till we found means at *Mexico* to get the ſum, which we honeſtly repaid. For the better conveniency of travelling, we divided our ſelves into three companies. All was new to us, the country, the trees, the fruits, and all other things. We paſs'd through places infeſted with moſquito's, or gnats, which are very troubleſome over mighty waters, heard terrible thunder, but met not with thoſe uncouth roads, or mighty cold, which others who travel'd the ſame way the next year ſo mightily magnify'd; much whereof I mention'd at the beginning of the firſt chapter of this book.

Puebla de los Angelos. 2. At *Puebla de los Angelos* we repos'd our ſelves a little, and were very charitably entertain'd in the monaſtery and college of our order. We ſaw the city, the church of our holy father S. *Auguſtin*, which is one of the beſt in the world; we had the bleſſing of the moſt illuſtrious lord D. *John de Pallofax y Mendoza*, a prelate great in all reſpects, inſomuch that it will not be in the power of any man to eclipſe his grandeur: He was mighty obliging to us, and behav'd himſelf like a loving father. We went on to our *hoſpitium* of S. *Hiacinth de Tacuba*, without the walls of *Mexico*, where we found the very learned and venerable F. *F. Sebaſtian de Oquendo*, of the monaſtery of *Oviedo* in *Aſturias*; he had been ſome years before at *Manila*, where he was long profeſſor of divinity, preach'd much, and that with ſingular ſpirit and fervour. He was prior of the monaſtery of S. *Dominick*, and labour'd indefatigably in that province, honouring it with his learning and virtue. He had writ a comment on S. *Thomas*, ſeveral tracts of morality, and likewiſe matter for ſermons; was a man ſingular in all things, never drank chocolate, never eat fleſh, ſpent moſt part of the night in prayer, was held in great eſteem in that country: after death his reputation ſtill increas'd, for when he had been bury'd ſix years, his body was found uncorrupted. At this time he was vicar of that houſe; it is eaſy to gueſs how he receiv'd us, and what tender affection he ſhew'd us. Being altogether there, we began to live according to the cuſtom of our holy province, without any other bed but only two blankets upon boards, two hours mental prayer, our choir duty, time of ſtudy, and the reſt that belongs to our profeſſion. On ſundays and holidays we preach'd and heard confeſſions, and every week had publick diſputes. It was our misfortune that the following year

1647. 1647, the ſhips from *Manila* miſs'd coming, ſo that we were forc'd to ſtay till the year 1648. That country was govern'd by the count *de Salvatierra*, a religious and affable perſon, who did us great honour. We made uſe of a precedent that had been to furniſh the ſecond year's maintenance and clothing; and the viceroy in purſuance of it reſolv'd to relieve us. The aſſeſſor who was to paſs the order, expected we ſhould preſent him. Among the reſt of the king's officers, there was one D. *Peter Zarate*, a man uncorrupted and conſequently poor; he had a great kindneſs for us, and was wont to ſay, Theſe gentlemen here underſtand their own methods; but I don't conceive nor comprehend them, let them look to it, for I hope in God I ſhall not go to hell for leaving my heirs plate. Three of us went to ſee the deſart of the barefooted *Carmelites*, who entertain'd us as might be expected from their great charity, and the affection they have for our order. We ſaw it all, and judg'd it to be what it really was: Every part exhal'd virtue and ſanctity. In our return we call'd at *Santa Fe*, and ſaw the houſe of that prodigy and wonder of virtue, the venerable *Gregory Lopez*.

3. At this time happen'd that terrible ſtorm againſt the lord biſhop *Palafox*; God bleſs me, what was it they did not lay to his charge! Theſe are things well known, and therefore I will not inſiſt upon them. Two things I could never dive into, tho' I took pains about it; one is, the maſk made by the ſcholars belonging to the ſociety (it is a plain caſe, that the fathers who are ſo circumſpect in all their actions had no hand in it) in which one of them carried a croſier ty'd to a horſe's tail; another a mitre at the ſtirrup, and the figure of the biſhop with the men he had on his head. All men diſlik'd, and none could approve of it; the ſcholars deſerv'd to be ſeverely puniſh'd. The other thing is, that I make no doubt of the many privileges granted to the *Mendicant* orders to preach, and hear confeſſions; which grants have been made by popes, who have done it upon mature deliberation, in regard to the extraordinary ſervices they have done and daily do the church. Now what I obſerve is, that in *Japan* and *China*, the fathers of the ſociety have, and do ſtill pretend that the orders of S. *Auguſtin*, S. *Francis*, and S. *Dominick* can neither preach to, nor hear the confeſſions of even the *Gentiles*, without leave had of their order, who are *Vicarii Foranei*; upon which church-cenſures have been let fly: And that they attempt to do the ſame in *Puebla de los Angelos*, contrary to the will of the biſhop of that dioceſs. I ſay again I do not underſtand, nor can I dive into it, and yet this does not imply that they have acted wrongfully.

fully. There was a great diſturbance, and no little ſcandal given in that country at this time; who was the cauſe of it does not belong to me to determine. I look upon what S. *Bernard* ſays, *Epiſt.* 78. to be true, *He is to himſelf a cauſe of ſcandal, who did that which ought to be reprov'd, not he who reproves it.* No doubt but the good biſhop ſuffer'd very much. Some boaſted afterwards at *Manila* (there are always impertinent people) that they had got the better, and thruſt up the ſaid biſhop into a hole at *Oſma*. All I know of it is, that he liv'd and dy'd in that hole as they call it, with great reputation of piety, and that his body is at this time held in great veneration. The reſt is left to GOD.

4. Leaving aſide many things which are not material to the reader, I will go on with my travels. In *Novemb.* 1647. three of us ſet out for *Acapulco*, to expect the ſhips from *Manila*, and provide neceſſaries for our voyage. We went no doubt too ſoon, but our eagerneſs to be at the end of our journey made things appear rather as we wiſh'd, than as they were. We ſoon came to *Cuernabaca*, from the top of which place we diſcover'd that famous vale from which the marqueſſes *del Valle* take name. It look'd like a terreſtial paradiſe, and *Cuernabaca* ſeem'd no leſs. In every ſtreet there were two cryſtalline brooks, ſhaded on both ſides with moſt beautiful plantane trees; theſe are not planes, as was obſerv'd before. A little beyond this place, upon croſſing a ſmall brook, the temperate air changes into exceſſive heat. This road is indeed bad and troubleſome, there are mountains that reach up to the clouds, and as uncouth as may be; mighty rivers, and the ſummer then beginning, high ſwoln. Bridges there are none, but abundance of muſqueto's, or gnats, that ſting cruelly; ſome nights travellers lie in the open air. To ſecure our ſelves againſt the ſnakes, we beat the graſs very well all about, and then ſet fire to it a good diſtance round; then got into the middle of it, where we reſted as long as time would permit. We came to the place of the two brooks, where we paſs'd the heat of the day expos'd to the ſun. There are infinite gnats in that place; I placed my ſelf in a ſmall iſland between the two brooks to ſay my office, arm'd my ſelf with gloves, and a cloth before my face, yet was it impoſſible to continue there two minutes. I us'd other methods, which avail'd neither my companions nor me, ſo that we were forc'd to make haſte away; ſome places were tolerable. Being come to the river *de las Balſas*, we arm'd our ſelves again with patience; it is well known that river is very large, people paſs over it on canes, which are ſupported by only four calabaſhes they are faſtned to; at firſt it is frightful to ſee ſo ridiculous and weak an invention; an *Indian* lays hold of one end of it, and the paſſenger being upon it with his mules furniture, he ſwims, and draws it over after him. There I ſaw a thing that appear'd odd to me, every *Indian* wears a long towel over his ſhoulders, and with the end of it are continually driving away the gnats, and yet I ſaw their legs were raw with their ſtings.

5. I was told another thing no leſs ſtrange: One of my companions went down the river to ſee for ſome fowl, he found the curate of a town, who, to eſcape the gnats, was in a little room cloſe ſhut, and covered all round with clothes; they go not into any dark place. The heat was intolerable; diſcourſing of it, the curate ſaid, That a few years before it had been ſo violent, that the thatch of the houſes took fire, and the whole town was burnt. They were thatch'd with ſtraw, and palm-tree leaves. Nothing could be beyond this.

6. We paſt by night through the cane grove of *Apango*; in ſummer no body paſſes it, becauſe the heat is ſo great people are ſtifled with it; it is ſix leagues long, and as many over, two cannot go abreaſt. At break of day my mule ſpy'd a lion, which made her ſtart, ſo that ſhe had like to have thrown me; at our ſhouts the lion went away ſlowly into the thickeſt part. At ſun-riſing we came to the town, where we were well receiv'd by the curate who was born in *old Caſtile*, his name *Santoyo*. He wore a cloth upon his ſhoulder to defend himſelf againſt the gnats, and ceas'd not beating with it a moment. Diſcourſing about the cane grove we came through, he told us how troubleſome and dangerous it was to paſs when the waters were out, as well becauſe they met there, as by reaſon of the ſnakes that bred in the trees; ſo that when he went to the town on the other ſide of it to ſay maſs, or to any ſick perſon, he carry'd two *Indians* before him with hatchets to cut down the boughs, or could not go through, becauſe certain ſmall green ſnakes bred upon the boughs among the leaves, which by reaſon of their colour were hard to be diſcern'd, and as any one paſs'd, would let themſelves down upon his hat or cap, and then make to the face, ſting, and immediately a man falls down dead. Their poiſon muſt needs be very ſtrong.

7. Short of the river *del Papagaio*, or of the parrot, there are ſome ſugar-works; we arriv'd at them juſt as a poor *Indian* putting the cane into the mill, had his arm drawn in and ground to maſh: He made his confeſſion, with the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, becauſe he would have it ſo, and dy'd ſoon after.

Cuernabaca.

R. de las Balſas.

NAVARETTE.

Heat.

Apango.

R. del Papagaio.

NAVARETTE. Tiſtla.

8. At *Tiſtla*, becauſe the place was commodious, we reſted two days and a half, without ſpending our time idly. We viſited the curate, who then kept his bed, having been ſore wounded with a ſpear by a villanous *Mulatto*, and the curate being old was very weak. The governor *D. Joſeph de Caſtejon* was not able to turn himſelf in his bed, becauſe his leg was broke. Other *Spaniards* labour'd under ſpiritual diſtempers, becauſe all of them having had a great falling out with the curate, they would not be reconcil'd to him, tho' he from his bed heartily begg'd their pardon for any diſpleaſure he had done them. The governor was willing to comply, as believing the misfortune he labour'd under had befallen him for having quarrell'd with the curate. Fathers, ſaid he to us, I was going to a ſmall town, and rode my mule, which is a good temper'd beaſt, the road as plain as my hand; I was diſcourſing with my friend concerning our quarrel with the curate, and ſaid, before *George* I will furniſh the curate with matter of merit. No ſooner had I ſpoke the words but my mule ſtumbled, down I came in a moment, and my leg was broke. It was certainly a judgment, I'll have no more falling out with prieſts. The enſign *Valenzuela*, who was as deep in the mire as any, prov'd obſtinate, ill-natur'd, and inflexible to all our exhortations to him to ſpeak but a word or two to the curate, by way of condoling with him for his diſtemper, which was as much as we deſir'd of him. He agreed to it with an ill will, and we went together to the poor curate's houſe. The enſign went in ſtamping, and in a haughty tone ſaid; No more quarrelling, maſter curate, let every man ſtay in his own houſe and look to it, let us not ſcandalize the town. We were out of countenance, and the curate was ſtruck dumb, that he had not a word to ſay for himſelf. In this poſture we left that buſineſs. The *Mulatto* was fled, and we continu'd our journey on the day of the conception of the bleſſed Virgin, when there was a bull-feaſt. I ſhall never forget *Valenzuela*'s perverſe temper. D. *Joſeph* the governor was of a generous diſpoſition, and was a genteel perſon; I heard ſome years after that he was not cur'd, but walk'd about *Mexico* upon crutches; it is likely he did not forget what he ſaid to us when he was in bed. Remembring the very words *Valenzuela* ſpoke to the curate when he viſited him with us, I thought good to ſet them down, for it is no ſmall rarity that I ſhould keep them in mind twenty five years. Maſter curate, ſaid he, ſince what's paſt is paſt, let us have no more trouble about it. An excellent way of begging pardon, eſpecially conſidering his way of delivering himſelf, which cannot be deſcrib'd.

7. We ſaw abundance of pheaſants by the way, and ſome trees peculiar to that country; particularly one the *Spaniards* call the organ-tree: It is a very proper name, for the ſhape of it is exactly like an organ. I never ſaw ſuch a tree in all my travels but only on that road. At a little town the *Indian* governor ſpoke to us; among other things he told us in broken *Spaniſh*, That he had a ſon whoſe name was *D. Franciſco de Aragon*, *Portugal*, *Mendoza*, *Gulman*, *Manrique*, *y Campuzano*. We were pleas'd at his noble ſirnames, and the *Indian*'s vanity. It pleas'd GOD we came ſafe to *Acapulco*, which in the country language ſignifies *mouth of hell*. I muſt here inſert one thing which I happen'd to omit in the foregoing chapter: The monaſtery of the religious men of the order of S. *John of God* was at this time building at *Mexico*. The church was finiſh'd and finely contriv'd; the work went on, and yet it was not known who was at the charge. Some endeavours were us'd to diſcover it, but without ſucceſs. Only the prior knew the founder, under this tie of ſecrecy, that whenſoever he diſcover'd him the work ſhould ceaſe. I ever lik'd this action, he ſought for no reward in this world who ſo carefully conceal'd his charity, he reſerv'd all for the next life, where doubtleſs he receiv'd great intereſt: Read *Oleaſt.* in *Exod.* XXV. *ad mores* to this point. I have often ask'd, whether this benefactor was yet known, and was at laſt told that after his death he was, and that he was an honeſt man of no great account in that new world. About that ſame time *Lorenzana* built the renowned monaſtery of the incarnation. I am inform'd others have been built ſince. *Mexico* is one of the nobleſt cities in the world. I ſaw and handled another rarity, which is the crown of our Lady of the roſary at our monaſtery, it coſt twenty four thouſand pieces of eight. They tell me another of the very ſame ſort, tho' leſs, is made for the child JESUS, which ſhe holds in her arms. A religious man of note gather'd alms to pay for this work.

Acapulco.

CHAP. III.

The Author's ſtay at Acapulco, *and Voyage to the* Philippine *Iſlands.*

1. WE had a houſe hir'd for us at *Acapulco* ever ſince the laſt year, againſt the ſeaſon came to go to ſea: It is uſually hired for eight or ten days, the religious

religious men uſe to ſtay there for two months to provide neceſſaries. The houſes are all low, without any upper floor at all; the beſt of them are mud-walls, and all thatch'd; nevertheleſs they made us pay four hundred pieces of eight for ours; this ſeems incredible, but to me who paid it, is moſt certain. Our landlady was a good ancient widow, whoſe name was *Mary de Eſquibel*; ſhe had a ſon a prieſt of a moſt exemplary life. He was excellent company for us: the curate's name was *N. Anejo*, born near *Oſorno*, above ſeventy years of age, he was ſomething poor, yet the report went, that he had hoarded above twenty thouſand pieces of eight. He once own'd to me, that one year his benefice had been worth to him four thouſand pieces of eight. The governor of the fort was *D. John de Bracamonte Santiſtevan*, born at *Avila de los Cavalleros*, an affable, meek, courteous and accompliſh'd gentleman. *He held not that poſt as proprietor.* The port is the beſt and ſafeſt in the world, as they who had ſeen many others affirm'd. Of all I ever ſaw, and they are not a few, none can compare to it. The fort is good, has a battery of excellent cannon; no ſhip can come into the harbour, but they can ſink her. The temperature of the air is helliſh, according to the name it bears; and therefore in the rainy ſeaſon, which is the ſummer in *Spain*, all perſons retire up the country for better air, excepting the blacks, ſome poor people, and the ſoldiers. Whilſt I was there my two companions fell ſick, and I continu'd in health to attend them, and do our other buſineſs. That is ſuch a country, that if a man will keep a ſervant, it will coſt him at leaſt a crown a day, beſides his diet; and if there are ſhips in the harbour, three pieces of eight will not do. I never ſaw a dearer country in all my travels. I was forc'd to do all our buſineſs my ſelf, becauſe our money would not reach to ſervants, and therefore I took care of the poultry, and fed them. The drinking water was brought from a little ſpring, about a muſket-ſhot from our houſe; they call it *Chorrillo*, the little ſtream. Every earthen veſſel coſt me two ryals (a ſhilling.)

2. Two misfortunes befel us in that place. One was the death of the governor of the caſtle, who was a real friend. I heard his confeſſion, and attended him as much as I could. He dy'd in my arms, and was a great loſs to us. They went about burying of him, and five hundred pieces of eight were demanded. I was aſtoniſh'd at it, eſpecially becauſe there was but one prieſt belonging to the church: at laſt they agreed for a hundred and fifty. At his funeral the cannon were fir'd, and it was ſtrange that it was heard fourteen leagues up the country. I would not have believ'd it, had not the man who heard it, and was a perſon of worth, vouch'd it in my hearing. He was a particular friend to the deceas'd, and was going to viſit him that very day the cannon were fir'd. He had lain fourteen leagues from the port, and hearing the cannon, ſaid, Either D. *John* is dead, or ſome ſhip is come from *Manila*. This he told us after his arrival there. Several made intereſt for that employment: the viceroy gave it to a *Biſcainer*, whoſe name was D. *Martin*——he prov'd a good man; he had been before at *Manila*, and liv'd not long, as ſhall ſoon appear. NAVARETTE.

3. The ſecond and greateſt misfortune was, that the church of St. *Nicholas*, which was at the end of the town, a great way from our houſe, took fire. It broke out about one of the clock, and about four all the town was almoſt reduced to aſhes. The wind carry'd the fire, the houſes were thatch'd, and dry as tinder, there is no doubt but it burnt fiercely. The rarity was, that the wind would carry a ſpark two hundred paces, which no ſooner fell upon a houſe, but the flame blaz'd up to the clouds. The bells of the monaſtery of St. *Francis* fell down; their fall and the hole they made in the ground, were the cauſe of diſcovering eight pieces of cannon hid there by *D. Sebaſtian de Corcuera*, who had been governor of the *Philippine* iſlands, and was then kept priſoner at *Manila* by *D. James Faxardo*, who ſucceeded him in that goverment. The loſs of the royal apothecary's ſhop was deplorable, all the pots and veſſels were of fine *China* ware; and tho' the houſe was ſlated, yet that would not ſave it from utter ruin. In the yard of our houſe there was a ſhed in which there were thirty ſix long heavy cheſts belonging to *D. Sebaſti de Corcuera*, the ſix leaſt were ſav'd with much trouble, the other thirty were burnt, and the fire held there three days. All that was braſs remain'd, but much disfigur'd; a thouſand curioſities were burnt, abundance of rich *China* ware, which to ſave it from breaking, was pack'd up with cloves, pepper, and *China* ink. *Corcuera* loſt ſeveral thouſand ducats. Some have writ great commendations of this gentleman, as well in regard to his being uncorrupted, as upon other accounts, which might be very well ſav'd; many truths may be conceal'd, but it is not lawful to maintain and publiſh the contrary, eſpecially when the fact is notorious. To undertake for private ends, to give the lie to all the world, who were eye-witneſſes of what was done, is to convict one's ſelf of flattery and deceitfulneſs. According to the vogue of all men in the *Philippine* iſlands, he was no good man;

ſome

Navarette. ſome in theſe parts will have him to be ſo, God reſt his ſoul, and give us grace. The fire went ſo far, that it got into our henrooſt, and burnt near three hundred. ſo that we loſt the refreſhment of our voyage. One thing mov'd me to compaſſion, and made me ſhed ſome tears. Every man upon ſuch occaſions looks to his own houſe, without regarding his neighbours. The guardian was left alone in his monaſtry, and being ſenſible of the danger of the fire, put a ſtole about his neck, and carry'd out the bleſſed ſacrament. The old man walk'd about weeping, without knowing where to ſecure his heavenly treaſure. He went away to our houſe; we placed our Lord in our oratory. The fire came on, F. guardian took him up again. We ſet a chair under a tree, where it ſtood ſome time, till at night it was carry'd to the governour of the caſtle's houſe. We three, with what little we had, ſtay'd in the open field, expecting ſome body would give us houſe-room. The governour was every where, he walk'd afoot, and being fat overheated himſelf, which turn'd to a fever, of which he dy'd after we were gone to ſea, as we were afterwards inform'd. That town was ſo ruin'd and all men ſo ſad, that no body ſpoke a word. Near to our houſe there were two large ſtately trees, the fruit they bear is like dry beans, they are an excellent purge: we ſaw the experiment try'd upon a little black; it was very remarkable, it never ceas'd working till he waſh'd his hands in cold water, which ſtops it. Oppoſite to the houſe in the old fort were, as I ſuppoſe

Tamarind. there ſtill are, the tamarind trees, which are beautiful, and the fruit wholeſome and very medicinal; there I took proviſion of it for the ſhip. In that place I ſeveral

Zopilotes, or Vultures. times ſaw the king of the *Zopilotes*, which are the ſame we call *Vultures*, it is one of the fineſt birds that may be ſeen. I had often heard it prais'd, and, as I thought, they over-did it; but when I ſaw the creature, I thought the deſcription far ſhort of it. I mention'd it in my firſt book. There are in that country abundance of terrible

Scorpions. ſcorpions. We were told a good and eaſy remedy againſt them, which was when we went to bed to make a commemoration of St. *George*. I continu'd this devotion many years. God be prais'd: the ſaint always deliver'd me both there and in other countries from thoſe and ſuch like inſects. We uſed another remedy beſides, which was to rub all about the beds with garlick. We were aſſur'd there, that it was a try'd and certain remedy againſt this ſting, and the pain of it, to ſtroke the part that was hurt with a child's private member, which immediately takes away the anguiſh, and then the venom exhales. The moiſture that comes from a hen's mouth is good for the ſame. I once catch'd another little inſect that diſturb'd the poultry, it was very deform'd, and of a ſtrange ſhape. As ſoon as it was known, ſeveral women came to beg its tail; I gave it them, and they told me, that it was of excellent uſe dry'd, and made into powder, being a prodigious help to women in labour, to forward their deliſvery, if they drank it in a little wine.

4. There is another little creature in *Mexico*, which they call *zorrillo*, of a hel- Zorrillo. liſh nature, for when it breaks wind, it infects all the ground about with the ſtench. The greateſt trouble we all of us had during this time, was, that no ſhip came from *Manila*, tho' the ſeaſon was well advanced. At night whales would come into the bay, and make ſuch a noiſe in the water, that it ſounded like cannon; at firſt we fancy'd ſome ſhip was coming in, the neighbours undeceiv'd us, ſo that we took no more notice of that noiſe. About the middle of *March* a ſhip paſs'd before the harbour to the northward, every body was alarm'd; we expected it ſhould tack about, as being of opinion they had not made the mouth of the harbour. It accordingly tack'd, a boat went out and brought it in, but it came from *Panama* to fetch the viceroy, who was prefer'd to the government of *Peru*. There was ſome diſpute, whether the viceroy ſhould go away to *Peru* in that veſſel, or ſhould ſend relief in it to the *Philippine* iſlands, whence no ſhips had come in two years. There were ſome troubles in *Peru* at the ſame time. A conſultation being held, they agreed it was beſt to relieve the iſlands. The plain truth is, they had no mind the biſhop of *Campeche*, who had been at *Mexico* ſome time to that purpoſe, ſhould take the government upon him. What the conſult had decreed, was put in execution; the pink was taken up for the king's uſe, for thirty ſix thouſand pieces of eight. There is no doubt but in the *Eaſt-Indies* they would build four veſſels as big again as that for the money.

5. This ſecur'd our voyage. I began with freſh courage to make my proviſion, and ſecure water, which is a main point; there was enough of it, but the putting it aboard only coſt me thirty ſix pieces of eight. The blacks monopolize this trade, and it muſt be as they pleaſe. The veſſel was ſmall; the men, merchandiſe, commodities ſent by the king, proviſion, water, wine, *&c.* in ſo great a quantity, it ſeem'd impoſſible ſo little a ſhip ſhould contain; and in ſhort many bails were again brought aſhore for want of ſtowage. The commander was our friend; he made the beſt proviſion for us he could, and we were much

much better accommodated than we had been the firſt voyage. Thirty prieſts of us went aboard upon Palm-ſunday, the 8th of *April*, 1648. One of the king's officers never return'd me twelve fowl I had lent him, tho' he had no manner of right, for he did us no kindneſs, nor had we the leaſt favour from him or his companions. F. guardian kept back ſix upon charity, that was the reward I had for the ſermon I preached upon St. *Joſeph*'s day. As we were going aboard, a letter from the lord biſhop *Palafox* came to our vicar, telling him, he received news from *Spain*, that the iſlands were in the hands of the *Dutch*, that he would do well to look to it. This news was ſpread abroad: I don't doubt but there was ſufficient ground for it, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. And tho' it was enough to diſcourage any man, yet none were diſmay'd the leaſt, but we all reſolutely declar'd we would ſee how it was. If we conſider it rightly, *it was a raſhneſs, at leaſt to human appearance*; but GOD ſeem'd to have a hand in't, we were eager to go, and therefore valued nothing. S. *Thom. in* i. *ad Rom. lect.* 5. ſays, *That whatſoever a man eagerly deſires, he ſeeks to gain it at any rate, whether eaſy or difficult.* He never conſiders obſtacles.

6. On Palm-ſunday we din'd aboard the veſſel upon what our landlady ſent us; for having receiv'd four hundred pieces of eight for the hire of two little pitiful houſes ſhe furniſhed us, after the fire we ſpoke of before, ſhe now ſhew'd her ſelf grateful, and treated us well. There is a lake near that place, which breeds an excellent ſort of
Almojarra. fiſh call'd *almojarra*, this it was we din'd upon that day. I put to ſea with much ſatisfaction, and tho' the land we left aſtern was high enough, yet we loſt ſight of it that afternoon. Eight days we lay by for a wind; the heat during that dead calm was extraordinary. Upon Eaſter-day one maſs was ſaid, the pink was not convenient nor big enough to celebrate that high myſtery, ſo that was the firſt and laſt. We never miſs'd the *Roſary*, *Litanies*, and *Te Deum* at break of day; beſides theſe, other devotions, and ſpiritual diſcourſes. That day the wind freſhen'd, and held without abating the leaſt twenty four days. The ſea beat hard upon the ſide of the little pink, which made it and us very uneaſy. The commander, who was us'd to that voyage, ſaid it was a ſtrong current coming down from *Caliphornia*. And though afterwards diſcourſing on this ſubject with one who thought himſelf ſkilful in navigation, he deny'd that any ſuch thing could be, yet I believe what I heard from him that underſtood it, and am the better ſatisfied in it, in regard how ill the ſaid perſon came off, when his opinion was thwarted. All the jars and pots that were emptied aboard the veſſel, were caſt into the ſea; a cheſt of biſket and hen-coops were immediately burnt to make us ſome more room. We had hardly room to ſtand. No body could live under deck, it was ſo full of proviſions and commodities. All men lay expos'd to the ſun and air. We had the ſteer-ridge, which was no ſmall comfort; the cabbin was very little, yet a great eaſe. Having ſail'd eight hundred leagues, we left St. *Bartholomew*'s iſland to the northward, but ſaw it not; they ſay it is ſmall, and deſtitute of all things. We had a dead calm for eight days again. The ſeamen and ſoldiers would leap into the ſea to cool themſelves, but would ſometimes return haſtily to eſcape the ſharks they diſcover'd. A very ſtrange, and to appearance miraculous accident befel us. Some men went down for water, to give all people their allowance; when they came up, I and many others obſerv'd they were as pale as a clout, we aſcrib'd it to the great heat under deck. They kept their counſel, without taking notice there was any thing more than ordinary; among the reſt one *Belaſtain* a captain of foot had been down: when we were aſhore, we underſtood that they going to look with a candle what water there was in the caſk, lit upon a barrel of powder, in which the candle went out, without giving fire to it. This ſeems incredible, but certain it is, that had it taken fire, we had all flown up into the air, before we could ſay, LORD have mercy upon us. When we do not watch, our guardian angels watch for us, and ſuccour us in diſtreſs. When they told it us, though we were aſhore, it made our hair ſtand an end.

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7. There was another extraordinary accident, but of no danger. The maſter was a *Portugueſe*, his name *Antunez*, who no doubt underſtood his buſineſs; he daily computed how many leagues we ran, according to his judgment, for in ſailing from eaſt to weſt there is no certain rule. This is a ſubject has employ'd many, and does at preſent, to find the fixt longitude, but I believe to no purpoſe. Some who ſlept more than the maſter, would have it we had run more leagues, and ſaid, we were paſt the iſlands *de los Ladrones*, or of thieves, now call'd *Marcanas*: there was much debate, and wagers laid. The maſter was netled, and ſwore they ſhould not be ſeen till next ſunday. Every body look'd upon it as a piece of *Portugueſe* poſitiveneſs. Trinity ſunday came, at ſun riſing he ſent up to the round-top, and ſaid, This day before eight of the clock we ſhall diſcover the iſlands *de los Ladrones*. It was very ſtrange; about half an hour after, he that

NAVARRETTE. was at the top-maſt cry'd out, Land a head, land. They all ſtood amaz'd, and not without cauſe. That afternoon they diſcover'd four ſail from the topmaſt-head, which caus'd a great conſternation, but it was a miſtake of the ſailor. A ſmall veſſel made up to us; we lay by for it, to take in ſome refreſhment it likely brought, which the natives of thoſe iſlands exchange for nails and old iron. About night-fall it quite vaniſh'd aſtern of us. How that came to paſs, and who was aboard, ſhall be ſaid in another place. Three days after was a great calm, and after it follow'd a terrible ſtorm. They lower'd the top-maſts, and the commander was for cutting down the maſts by the board. The maſter's mate, who was an excellent ſeaman, oppos'd it. The violence of the wind put us by our courſe. We ſtood for the channel of St. *Bernardine*, and were forced to ſteer away for *New Segovia*. Having diſcover'd the land of the iſlands, we kept our coaſting along, and towards the ſhore perceiv'd high ſand-banks, ſhoals, and rocks. The maſter gave the ſteerſman directions what courſe to hold, and lay down to ſleep a little. Freſh iſlands and ſhoals were diſcover'd ahead, and our commander order'd the man at helm to ſtand in to ſhoar. The purſer preſently ſtept up and cry'd, A ſhoal ahead. They ſhifted the helm, and we weather'd it wonderfully, the veſſel almoſt glancing upon it. The maſter wak'd with the noiſe, was in a mighty paſſion, and he had good reaſon, becauſe they had not follow'd his orders. He ſtood directly from the land till we came into fourteen degrees and a half latitude. Thus we arriv'd ſafe on mid-ſummer-day at *Caſigura de Baler*. Next day ſome people went aſhoar, but late, for which the commander was blam'd. They advanced to hear how things ſtood, the *Dutch* having been there with four ſail, which had not the ſtorm prevented it, had certainly taken us; the natives thought our men were enemies; being ſatisfy'd they were not, they receiv'd them. There they had a ſhort account of the poſture the iſlands were in, of the victories his majeſty's forces had obtain'd over the *Dutch*, and that the enemy ſtill infeſted thoſe ſeas. They brought aboard with them two *Indians* who ſpoke ſeveral languages, and knew how to carry a ſhip to *Lampon*. Having heard this news, and receiv'd theſe pilots, we ſail'd that night, and the next day within muſket-ſhot of the ſhoar, which was very delightful. That afternoon we came to an anchor in the port. About midnight the wind blew furiouſly at ſouth weſt, and tho' it came over the land, it made our anchors give way, and was driving us out to ſea. That wind ſeems to have been the effect of a ſpecial providence, to keep off the enemy. Next day the plate, and other goods belonging to his majeſty and private perſons, were ſecur'd, and it was propos'd to lay up the pink upon the back of a ſmall iſland, that the enemy might not diſcover it, tho' he ſhould come into the port. We ſet out for *Manila*, and by the way were inform'd how much all men were overjoy'd at our unexpected arrival. That great ſatisfaction was in ſome meaſure allay'd, for the enemy by mere accident diſcover'd the pink, and made to it. Our men being ill provided, at variance, and the commander but an indifferent ſoldier, they ſet fire to it ſooner than there was occaſion; ſo that in half an hour's time his majeſty loſt thirty ſix thouſand pieces of eight, and they that were aboard ſome reputation.

8. We travel'd four days afoot, not along a road, for there is none, but over hills, rocks, and inacceſſible places. Some rivers we ſwam over, others we waded breaſt-high. On the mountains, which are very high and thick of trees, we found ſuch multitudes of leeches, that there was no poſſibility of avoiding them; the blood ran from us all as we went. I declare it for a certain truth, that I ſaw one making its way thro' a ſhoe; I call'd upon others to obſerve that ſtrange ſight, as accordingly they did, and ſtood amaz'd at it. It rain'd very hard; we halted wherever night overtook us. The *Indians* made huts cover'd with the leaves of palm-trees, in which we lay upon the graſs with the water flowing over it. The laſt day we went down a hill, whoſe aſcent was two leagues, ſome ſaid more; that day we deſcended as much as we had aſcended in three. Some part of it was very rough, the rain continual, ſo that we tumbled every ſtep, and could not avoid it; and I avouch it for a truth, that I ſaw ſome of my companions ſitting down carry'd ſome little way by the water, and yet ſo well pleas'd it is hard to be imagin'd. *Leeches.*

9. We came to *Apanguiel*, where there is a fine monaſtry of our father St. *Francis*, but were ſo wet, dirty, weary, and hungry, that nothing leſs than all the kind entertainment we met with there could have made us appear like men. Our chear was ſuch as agreed with thoſe holy men's charity. The next day two fathers arriv'd there from *Manila*, which was ſtill freſh comfort to us. Another F. guardian, who was F. *Luke*, carried four of us to his monaſtry; the church was beautiful, the houſe indifferent, the ſeat the fineſt and moſt delicious that can be imagin'd. It ſtands high, and from a balcony there was a full proſpect of all the lake *Bai*, which is thir- *Manila.*

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ty leagues in circumference, has ſome iſlands in the middle, and is encompaſs'd on all ſides with mountains, groves, palm and plantane trees, rivers and marſhes, extremely pleaſing to the eye. We afterwards viſited other monaſtries, and ſtill found every thing new and rare. We ſet out in two veſſels for *Manila*, croſs'd the lake, lay that night at *Binangoa*, where the guardian F. *Francis* made very much of us. The next night we continued our voyage to the mouth of the lake, where ten veſſels from *Manila* expected us; in them there were *Chineſes*, *Indians*, and the *Mungrels*. We ſaid maſs, and getting aboard, ſail'd down the river, being notably entertain'd with fireworks, beating of baſons, and firing of muſkets. The *Chineſe* baſons made us gaze, for tho' they are no bigger than an ordinary baſon, they ſound like a great bell. It is a ſtrange inſtrument. The river is one of the fineſt in the world. That of *Goa* is wider and deeper, but this is better ſet out with great houſes, orchards, towns and churches. We went into ſome palaces, which would ſurprize any *European*. Being come to the bridge of *Manila*, a notable ſtructure, we ſaw it cover'd with people of ſeveral nations. We were receiv'd into our monaſtry with ringing of bells, where we immediately viſited the miraculous image of our Lady of the *Roſary*, the comfort of that and all the other iſlands in their afflictions and diſtreſſes. The ſight of it rejoiced our ſouls, and made us forget all paſt toils. The father provincial, as a ſingular favour and indulgence, granted us eight days exemption from mattins. Thoſe that came at other times ſaid, he had diſpens'd with them but for three days, and that the privilege granted was very great. To ſay the truth, there wanted not ſome that went to the choir that very night, but I had not ſo much fervor of ſpirit as to perform ſo much. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's Stay at Manila.

1. D. *James Faxardo Chacon* govern'd the iſlands at this time; this gentleman was excellently qualify'd for government, becauſe he hated money and women. F. *Andrew Gomez*, a religious man of my order, carry'd him a little bit of the holy croſs ſet in gold. He valued it at a great rate, but would not accept of the relick till the gold was taken off. He retir'd too much, and gave ear to none but *Emanuel Eſtacio de Venegas*, who grew ſo proud of his power and preferment, that he govern'd abſolutely. He was no leſs dreaded by all men, than *Nero* was in his time, but he ſuffer'd for it afterwards. *D. James Faxardo* had now kept *D. Sebaſtian de Corcuera* in priſon five years. A ſtrange turn of fortune! *D. Sebaſtian* had been the moſt abſolute, the moſt dreaded lord in the world. In his time happen'd the baniſhment of that archbiſhop ſo much talk'd of throughout all thoſe nations. He undertook the war of *Iolo*, where the gentry of *Manila* periſh'd. The iſland *Hermoſa* was loſt, by his neglecting to relieve it, as all men there ſay. He gather'd vaſt wealth. He was ſent a priſoner to *New Spain*, and afterwards to *Madrid*, where it is ſaid he came off well. They expected other ſort of news than they heard of him at *Manila*. Some body has writ that he was a man that regarded not intereſt, but the author gives no proof of it but his bare word. I read it in a pamphlet that *D. Sebaſtian de Corcuera* clear'd himſelf, alledging, he had gather'd his riches out of his majeſty's allowance. But another pamphlet argues againſt him thus. Firſt, That governors cannot deal or trade with his majeſty's allowance. 2. That it is impoſſible he could with his allowance gain as much as the *Cuſtodium* coſt, which was lately brought to his majeſty; what he loſt in the ſhip that was caſt away upon the iſlands *de los Ladrones*; what was burnt at *Acapulco*; the plate he had at *Mexico*; and what was taken of his at *Burgos*. Nor does it follow that he was a good governor, becauſe he has ſince behav'd himſelf like a good Chriſtian: nor is there any ill conſequence can follow of ſpeaking the truth out of a true zeal, only that they are diſpleas'd to hear it, who do not deſire to know it. *Eſtacio de Venegas*, whilſt a private man in *Manila*, was belov'd by all men, when a favourite he was hated: there is a great deal of difference between being in a poſt, or being in none, to make a man's actions be the rule of honeſty. *D. Sebaſtian* was the inventor of the *vandalas*, (it is a name given by the natives, and ſignifies a diviſion, or rather aſſeſſment) which has been the ruin of all men. For the better underſtanding of it, I will explain it in a few words. In the firſt place I muſt declare it is a great piece of ignorance to make *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* the author of this diviſion. How could this gentleman be the author of the *vandalas*, when there was fourteen years pay of the *vandalas* due to the *Indians* when he enter'd upon the government? The revolt of *Pampanga* for want of paying theſe diviſions, happening

Navarrete. ing during this gentleman's government, perhaps was the cauſe ſome men talk'd as they did. True it is, that inſurrection oblig'd *D. Sabiniano* to give them a great number of pieces of eight, in part of what was due, as they told me afterwards; but this was paying; and what was that to prove him the inventor? in ſhort, after the *Indians* have paid their taxes, attended the *cortes*, and other perſonal duties, which are many, they rate every province yearly; as for inſtance, that of *Pampanga* at twenty four thouſand buſhels of rice, at two ryals, or two and a half, a buſhel, becauſe it is for his majeſty, and this they are to truſt God knows how long. The *Indians* of the province are rated how much every one is to furniſh to make up this quantity, which is exacted with great rigour, beſides the frauds of the maſters of veſſels who carry it; ſo that he who is aſſeſs'd three buſhels, muſt give half a buſhel over; and he who is aſſeſs'd ſix, pays ſeven, *&c.* This is it they call *vandalas*, and this is what was not paid for ſo many years, which makes the *Indians* quit the iſlands, and go to other places, and forbear ſowing, as I my ſelf have heard them confeſs; and it is moſt certain, that if this aſſeſſment were ſometimes taken in lieu of the other taxes, or they were exempted ſome perſonal duty, they would be very well pleas'd. But it is hard that this ſhould be continued every year, and that there ſhould be plate to pay miniſters, officers civil and military, and other expences, and never any to pay what is bought of the *Indians*. If theſe and the like proceedings cauſe the *Indians* to quit the country, where will be the advantage of thoſe lands, or what will the *Spaniards* do there?

3. The greateſt trouble we religious men meet with in the towns of the *Indies*, is to ſee their ſufferings, and find out how to comfort them. It ſometimes happens, as it did in my time, that the rice is deſtroy'd in ſome parts (this is frequent, ſometimes the mice eat it, ſometimes for want of rain, and ſometimes the ſea breaks in and drowns it) ſo that there was no poſſibility of paying the uſual tax. This was made known to the lieutenant of the province, the governor of the iſland was petition'd, but to no purpoſe; ſo that the *Indians* bought rice at four ryals the buſhel, and ſold it to his majeſty for two and a half upon truſt never to be paid. It is plain our catholick kings bowels of compaſſion would not allow of ſuch practices, were they ſenſible of them. It were better for the *Indians*, that the governors ſhould maintain them, and they work all the year for the taxes and *vandalas*, than to be handled as they are now. It is a great misfortune that the *Tartar* ſhould take ſuch care of his *Chineſe* ſubjects, and that we ſhould make it our buſineſs to take no care of our ſovereign lord the king's ſubjects, having receiv'd ſuch frequent intimations of his will. It is no wonder thoſe iſlands are ſo exhauſted, though the ſoil is as good, as fruitful, and as kind as can be wiſh'd.

4. It were endleſs to deſcend to particulars. I know that in my time a governor of *Ilocos* in two years made fourteen thouſand pieces of eight of his government; what a condition did he leave the *Indians* and their country in? It were well that thoſe who write from thence would ſpeak plain, and point at perſons and things, and not do in general terms, leaving room to blame thoſe that are innocent, and clear the guilty. This muſt be either a deſign, or malice. All the world knows how clear our province has always been, and ſtill is, from ſeeking after any worldly intereſt in that country; they have never conſented to poſſeſs the leaſt revenue, they have never receiv'd duties from the *Indians* they ſerve, they have always been ſatisfied with the alms freely given by *Spaniards*, or natives: thus have they been maintain'd, and have cloth'd themſelves out of the alms his majeſty gives them, and have wanted for nothing. It is requiſite to diſcover who are guilty, that all may not ſuffer. Read *Oleaſt. in* xxv. *Num. & nomen viri Iſrael*, &c. One year a certain governor writ a complaint againſt our fathers at *Pagaſinam* (one while he was for us, another againſt us, ſo changeable is man) that they had burnt ſome woods, whence timber was to be had to build ſhipping. It is eaſy to imagine the effects this letter from a governor produced in the council of the *Indies*. Now if this man would go about to burn the hundredth part of one wood, he would not be able to compaſs it in a year with the aſſiſtance of ten thouſand *Indians*. This is well known to thoſe who have ſeen the woods in the *Philippine* iſlands, and the proofs are convincing. The blacks who live in the midſt of thoſe woods are very numerous, and burn a great deal, yet it is never miſs'd. In the iſland *Mindoro*, where I was twice, I was an eye-witneſs to what the *Indians* practiſe. They have no lands to ſow, and to get ſome little rice they fire part of a wood; after they have labour'd at it ſome days, they clear and cut down the under-wood, they heap them together, and ſet fire to them again; when all that is burnt, they ſet fire to the great trees, till they waſte them by degrees; and they are ſo hard, that the *Indians* are forc'd to ply it eight days or longer, ſtiring and raking up the fire. When an *Indian* has labour'd two months from morning

Ilocos. Pagaſinam. Mindoro.

ing to night, he has clear'd about as much land as he alone can manure. How then could a vicar with four *Indians* burn whole woods? Were not this true I would not write it, but would rather have paſs'd it over ſince it is now forgot, but it is fit to be known in caſe any thing of the ſame nature may happen again that no man may raſhly give credit to that which is in it ſelf incredible. *D. Sebaſtian Cavallero de Medina*, being his majeſty's attorney general, either to ſhew great zeal, or gain reputation, ſent a complaint of the exceſſive duties religious men exacted from the *Indians* in theſe parts; there is no doubt they were all thought guilty. He ought to have explain'd it, and not make the innocent liable to be blam'd for the fault of ſome.

5. Eight days after our arrival, we were diſtributed into ſeveral provinces to learn languages, that we might adminiſter to the *Indians*. I remain'd in the province of *Manila*, where with ſome others I learn'd the language *Tagala*, without much difficulty. If in *Europe* grammar and other arts were follow'd with ſuch application, as we there learnt languages, Men would ſoon be learned. At the end of five months we all heard confeſſions and preach'd, and at the year's end did both with great eaſe, and convers'd with the *Indians* about their affairs. During this time we employ our ſelves no other way ſave only in the buſineſs of the church and choir. Our whole time is taken up in deſcending to caſes and tenſes of ſtrange tongues, for the benefit of ſouls. If the climate were not ſo oppoſite to that of our country, we ſhould take double the pains. The heat is exceſſive, to eaſe it we uſe baths, and the fruit which is moſt delicious, but in time we grow ſickly. I always lik'd the *Indians*, they are not harſh and ſtern, like thoſe we ſaw at *Mexico*, but civil and tractable; they have wit enough, and are very dextrous at any thing. There are among them excellent penmen, painters, carvers. They are apt to learn any mechanick trade, and above all very willing to learn, and ſubmiſſive to prieſts; as for their underſtanding in what concerns our holy faith, they may vie with moſt of our countrymen, and out-do them all. They have excellent books in their language, which the religious have printed, and they love to read them; ſo this is owing to our labour, and their aptneſs to learn. The *Indian* women are very devout and modeſt, and frequent the ſacraments with great zeal. There is no holy-day great or ſmall but abundance go to confeſſion, and receive the bleſſed ſacrament. I us'd to ſay, that the fervour of the ancient people of *Caſtile* was gone over to the *Indian* men and women at *Manila*. The *Indians* celebrate feſtival days very well, there are few among them but dance very well; and ſo in proceſſions they uſe dancing and play well on the harp and guitar. His majeſty allows every church eight ſinging men, who enjoy privileges, are employ'd at the divine office, and ſing well; there being always ſome aiming at thoſe places, the number is greater, but only the eight that are appointed enjoy the privileges granted. The ornament of the churches is decent, curious and cleanly; and there being abundance of roſes, flowers, and ſweet herbs all the year, theſe things are great helps to ſet out the churches.

Philippine-Natives.

Navarette.

6. The *Indians* are great archers, eſpecially thoſe they call *Zambales*, and thoſe that live in the mountains; they have no other arms offenſive or defenſive. I heard ancient men tell ſuch feats of them, as I judg'd incredible, till I had an opportunity of convincing my ſelf. Men ought not preſently to believe all they hear, nor ſhould they be as incredulous as I have been. I once met a company of mountain-*Indians*, and among them four, of about ſeven or eight years of age. I took an orange, which are very plentiful there, and threw it up into the air, as high as I could, ſaying, ſhoot that orange, my lads. They all four hit it in the air, and beat it to pieces. Another new comer and I were aſtoniſh'd, and he who had been longer there, and told us of it, laugh'd at us. This I was my ſelf an eye-witneſs to in the little town they call *Abucanamtaas*. This ſhews they are good archers.

Archers.

7. Whilſt I continued in the iſlands I perform'd all the duties obedience laid upon me; I miniſtred to the *Indians*, I taught in our college and univerſity of S. *Thomas*, and preach'd, tho' I was never healthy; for after two years being there, the country diſagreed with me very much. During this time ſome particular accidents happen'd, a few whereof I will put down, that I may not extend too far. Col. *D. Lorenzo Laſo*, a good ſoldier, very brave, and of a gigantick ſtature and preſence, was governor of *Terranate*; he was at variance with *Emanuel Eſtacio*, and was impeach'd of holding correſpondence with the *Dutch*, a mere foppery. He was brought away priſoner, and dy'd aboard the ſhip ſomewhat ſuddenly. His death was laid to *Eſtacio*'s charge, I know not how he clear'd himſelf. His death was much lamented, and the manner of it ſuſpected, for he was very well belov'd, and much fear'd and honour'd by the *Chineſe* infidels; becauſe at the riſing under *Corcuera*, he alone with his ſword and buckler on a bridge, ſtop'd a world of *Chineſes* he met there, as *Horatius Cocles* did upon the like occaſion. Admiral *Sebaſtian Lopez* a *Portugueſe*, and brave ſoldier, liv'd at

Navarette. at *Manila*, and did wonders in the victories we obtain'd over the *Dutch*. He dy'd ſuddenly, and was thought to be poiſon'd. This alſo was laid to the charge of *Emanuel Eſtacio*, beſides many other things ſent into *Spain*.

8. The *Hollanders* ſome years before having done much harm in that country, entered the territory of *Batan*, where thoſe of my order exercis'd the ſpiritual function, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the churches, rather through our fault, than any valour of theirs; the governor reſolv'd they ſhould be demoliſh'd. The greateſt miſtake was in ſuffering them to be built, but once finiſh'd, they could ſtand the enemy in no ſtead, as having no harbour, or ſo much as water enough for their ſhips within a league, nor any ſafe way to travel by land. Our cowardice gave them the opportunity to break in, and was the occaſion of demoliſhing thoſe buildings, in which the natives ſuffer'd much, becauſe they did not only work, but all the timber, which was very good, a conſiderable quantity, and their own, was taken from them, without allowing them a croſs for it, and *Emanuel Eſtacio* made his preſents of the very ſtone. If the materials had been left to the *Indians*, ſince they were their own, they would have demoliſh'd the churches for the value of them, have had money to ſpare, and time to attend their tillage, and other labour. This brought thoſe poor people into ſome diſtreſs, and among their other misfortunes the enemy took ſome of them, and two religious men of ours well vers'd in the *Tagala* language.

9. Upon the death of *D. Lorenzo Laſo*, *D. Lorenzo de Ayala* ſucceeded as colonel; he was a *Caſtellan*, or governor of fort *Santiago*, or S. *James*, a moſt amiable perſon; there was no body in *Manila* but lov'd him tenderly. The lady *Anne Tellez* his wife was a ſaint-like woman, they were call'd the loving couple, and each was above ſeventy years of age. *Eſtacio* took not this in good part; a proud man cannot endure that any body ſhould riſe above him, he thwarted the old gentleman, which ſoon put an end to his life, to the great regret of all that knew him. From him that command went to *D. Peter de Almonte*. This gentleman had been ſome time baniſh'd *Manila*, he was not of *Eſtacio*'s faction, and therefore it was fear'd he ſhould be chous'd of the poſt; but the governor having by this time a jealouſy of *Eſtacio*, becauſe *D. John de Saraos* had done him an ill turn, he ſent for *D. Peter* and gave him his commiſſion, and made him knight of the order of *Santiago* at the ſame time. The publick rejoic'd at this, and *Eſtacio* was very much troubled and in care for his fortune, which having rais'd him ſo high through ſo many wrongs, he had cauſe to fear would ſoon caſt him down. St. *Thomas* in *Pſal.* xxxvi. ſays thus, *The order of falling is, becauſe they are lifted up that they may fall the heavier; but the manner is like ſmoke, which once ſcatter'd is no more to be retriev'd.* So it prov'd with this man. On the fourteenth of *September*, being the feaſt of the exaltation of the holy croſs, it was whiſper'd about the city that he was apprehended. Every man was ſtruck dumb without daring to ſpeak out; for had it not prov'd true, any man that had mention'd the leaſt word would have paid for it. The news grew hotter, and it appear'd they had carry'd him away priſoner to the fort of *Santiago*, or S. *James*. The city began to breathe, and was eas'd of the heavy croſs it had bore ſome years, and that day he began to bear that which God ſent him: *When he was in honour he did not underſtand.* He neither underſtood himſelf, nor knew how to ſit faſt in the ſaddle. Much of what he had was ſeiz'd, but he had much more conceal'd, as well in *Manila*, as at *Mexico*. He ſuffer'd and came to miſery, and ſome years after dy'd in the dungeon. It were better for him to have been contented with his firſt fortune of a merchant, and inhabitant of *Manila*, in which quality he was belov'd by all men. This is he who ſaid he would ſtop the mouth of any governor that ſhould ſucceed *D. James* with one or two hundred thouſand pieces of eight. He was very much deceiv'd.

10. Upon *Corpus Chriſti* day, in the year 1653, a conſiderable misfortune befel me, which was that a flaſh of lightning fell upon the houſe of *Batan*, where I then was; our Lord deliver'd me, the religious men and others belonging to the monaſtery. That day ſevennight another flaſh of lightning fell two muſquet-ſhot from the houſe, where it kill'd a black and an *Indian*, who were gone out a hunting. That diſaſter ſtruck a great terror into me; till then I own I dreaded thunder but little, or not at all, but ever ſince nothing can be more fearful than I am. Soon after upon S. *Barnabas*'s eve, as I was carrying our collegiates of S. *Thomas* out to recreation, in croſſing the river, the wind blew hard, overſet the boat, and we were all in the water. The waves were ſo ſtrong that we holding faſt by the ſides of the little champan which was overſet, they drove us away as if we had been but a ſtraw. The danger was great, therefore I took care to abſolve them all, tho' with great trouble and anxiety. There was no body to abſolve me, and I had ſcarce preſence of mind enough to lift up my heart to God. An infinite number of people look'd on without being able

to

to ſuccour us. It pleas'd GOD ſome canoos ventur'd out, which tho' they overſet too, yet they ſav'd our lives. I was in moſt danger becauſe of the weight of my habits. Two blacks who ſtuck by me, under GOD ſav'd my life. We all returned ſafe to the place where we took boat, clothes and other things were loſt; but the bottle of wine to ſay maſs, being two fingers breadth empty'd, was thrown aſhore. GOD in his mercy was pleas'd to deliver me from all theſe dangers.

11. About the ſame time we receiv'd the news of a diſmal accident which had happened at *Cagayan*, to one of my fellow travellers, whoſe name was F. *Luiz Gutierrez*, born at *Almagro*, and a very good religious man. On *Candlemas*-day that year he had ſaid two maſſes in two ſeveral towns; there was another three leagues off, and therefore for the ſatisfaction of thoſe *Indians, that they might not be left without maſs on ſo great a day*, he reſolv'd to go thither and ſay the third. He was ſailing along a creek very dangerous, becauſe of the *alligators*; they obſerv'd one ſtirring in ſome particular place, the *Indians* in the boat took heart, and endeavour'd to keep on their way, making a noiſe with their oars and ſhouting; but it avail'd nothing, for at the ſecond terrible ſtroke the *alligator* gave with his tail, he overſet the veſſel, ſo that they were all in the water. The *Indians* being more active, and having leſs hindrance from clothes, eaſily got to ſhore. The poor religious man loaded with his habits, and not over ſkilful in ſwimming, became a prey to that cruel bloody monſter, who fed on him, and he was bury'd in his bowels.

12. We know for certain that ſome deaths, which to the eyes of men are unhappy, are happy before GOD, and to them that paſs through them. A good death, ſays St. *Auguſtin*, is that which follows a good life, be it of what ſort it will. It is a bad death which comes after an ill life, tho' it be quiet and peaceable in bed. The good F. *Lewis Gutierrez* having liv'd ſo virtuouſly, ſaid two maſſes that day, and being about to ſay the third, who is there that can doubt of his good diſpoſition? Why GOD ſhould permit that misfortune, is to be try'd in another court, it is our duty to be always ready; *Be ye ready, becauſe ye know neither the day nor the hour.* Read what *A Lapide* writes concerning *Lot*'s wife in *Gen.* xix. 24. and that of the prophets, 3 *reg.* xii.

Alligators

13. I ſeveral times ſaw fierce and terrible *alligators*, eſpecially one morning as I was coming down from ſaying maſs in a town, and went down the river towards the ſea; the *Indians* began to cry out *Caiman, Caiman*, that is; *Alligator, Alligator*; I look'd all about and ſaw him not, they pointed at him, and yet I was not ſatisfy'd; and the truth was I ſaw him, but he being ſo vaſtly big, that I could not perſuade my ſelf it was an *alligator*, or that there were any ſo large in the world as what they ſhew'd me. We drew nearer, and then I plainly diſcover'd and diſtinguiſh'd him: He lay aſleep upon a little iſland of ſand at the mouth of the river, and I thought it as big as the main maſt of a good ſhip; and before I thought that bulk had been ſome tree carry'd thither by the ſtream of that great river. I ſaw others afterwards but not ſo large. They are terrible to look to, and have four eyes, two above and two below; there are abundance of them in the lake *Bai*. In dry ſeaſons they carry the great cattel to feed thereabouts, it being excellent paſture. The horſes and cattel graze; and tho' they are watch'd, yet an *alligator* comes out and carries away one of them every now and then, as a cat does a mouſe.

NAVARRTEE.

14. Some ſmall time before I came to the iſlands, there happen'd a remarkable accident, which was that a couple of *Indians* being marry'd, and ready to go to dinner, the bride took a fancy to go down to the river to waſh her feet, as they do every now and then. The houſe was built, as is common there, partly over the river. As ſhe was waſhing, an *alligator* ſnapt at, and carry'd her away: Her cries brought out the people, who ſaw her betwixt the *alligator*'s teeth, and he making away with his booty. The bridegroom ſeeing that diſmal ſight, blinded by love, and overrul'd by paſſion, raſhly caſt himſelf into the water, with his dagger in his hand, and follow'd the robber that carry'd away his love. He overtook and fought with him, recover'd the woman and return'd victorious with her in his arms, but ſhe was dead. He return'd a widower, ſad, and full of tears: It was a famous and heroick action. Many *Indians* have eſcap'd theſe monſters, they have found by experience that they are very tender in their eyes, therefore thoſe who are not in a conſternation, attack that part, and the *alligator* flies to ſave himſelf. In thoſe countries all people report, that when the female ſpawns, ſhe always does it where there is a current of water: When the young ones come to life, they drive down the water, where the old one expects them with her mouth open, and eats all ſhe can catch, that which ſlips by on either ſide ſaves its life. This they ſay is the reaſon the rivers are not all full of thoſe creatures, tho' there are many of them. I ſhall return to them in another place.

15. I will end this chapter with the account

NAVARETTE. count of a moſt ſtrange accident, tho' of another nature, that fell out in my time in the port of *Cabite*. I was told it, but made a doubt of the truth, inquir'd further of Mr. *Quinnones* the curate of that port, and was ſatisfy'd and aſſur'd of the certainty of it. An *Indian* woman ſent her daughter to the ſea-ſhore, which was about thirty paces diſtant from her houſe, to gather ſome ſticks which the water throws up: The *Indian* girl ſaw ſomething on the ſhore like the paunch of a ſheep or goat. She went and told her mother; her mother bid her fetch it. When the *Indian* woman ſaw it, ſhe perceiv'd it was the off-ſpring of a woman, ſhe open'd it and found the child alive, carry'd it with all ſpeed to the curate *Quinnones*, who baptiz'd it, and it ſoon after died. It was always ſuppos'd, that ſome wicked woman, to conceal her crime when ſhe was deliver'd, had thrown the child after-birth and all, into the ſea; and by the place where it was found, and the time it was computed, it muſt have been at leaſt five or ſix hours in the water; and yet neither the cold nor length of time kill'd it, which is very ſtrange. All men admir'd at it, and I am amaz'd every time I think on it; and as with regard to GOD nothing happens accidentally, we are bound to praiſe and adore the inſcrutable myſteries of his divine providence, which as it preſerv'd *Moſes* in a wicker-baſket on the river *Nile*, ſo it preſerv'd for his glory this child in its natural ſwathing-bands, in which its cruel and wicked mother brought it forth.

CHAP. V.

What Obſervations I made, and how I was employ'd during that time.

Sabiniano Manrique de Lara. 1. IN the year 1653, *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, brother to the earl of *Friginiano*, arriv'd at *Manila* as governor of thoſe iſlands. With him went *D. Miguel de Poblete*, an *American* born at *Puebla de los Angelos*, as archbiſhop: The lord *Cardenas*, a native of *Peru* of my order, a very learned man, and greater preacher, as biſhop of *new Segovia:* The lord *N. S. Gregorio* a *Franciſcan*, as biſhop of *new Caceres*; and doctor *Uclés* dean of the cathedral of *Manila*, as biſhop of *Zibu:* they brought men and plate, which was new life to the iſlands. All men were conſum'd, poor, ſad, and tir'd out with *D. James Faxardo*'s ſeverity, and overmuch retirement. The new governor's familiarity was very pleaſing, he ſpoke to every body, heard all men, walk'd about the city, viſited the monaſteries, never fail'd being preſent at feſtivals and ſermons of note. He was pleaſant, and held a diſcourſe very wittily; he was not the leaſt proud or vain, but religious and godly, and ſeveral times I heard him ſpeak of ſpiritual affairs, and the contempt of the world; I was aſtoniſh'd, as well at the words he ſpoke, as at the ſpirit and energy with which he ſpoke them. He was never partial towards any particular religious order; he honour'd, reſpected, and lov'd them all, behaving himſelf towards them as a prince ought to do. He ſhew'd himſelf very devout upon ſundry occaſions, going himſelf in the proceſſions that were made in the city. He was charitable, and endeavour'd to have the people multiply; to which effect many marriages were concluded through his means, he forwarding them by giving ſome employment. When the new archbiſhop abſolv'd that country from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures it had incurr'd on account of *Corcuera*'s baniſhing the biſhop, as was ſaid above, *D. Sabiniano* himſelf conducted the lord *Poblete* to the poſtern of the ſtore-houſes, which way the archbiſhop had been thruſt out, to give his bleſſing there. When he had done it, *D. Sabiniano* caſt himſelf at the archbiſhop's feet, and ſaid, your moſt illuſtrious lordſhip may be aſſur'd I will not cauſe any ſuch troubles. This action of his gave an excellent example to others.

2. He was unfortunate in ſome things, particularly in ſhips being caſt away in his time, but I don't ſee why he ſhould be blam'd for this. What was *D. Sabiniano* to blame, becauſe the ſhip which *D. Peter de Villaroll* commanded was caſt away? What fault was it of *D. Sabiniano*'s, when the commander *Vgaide*, and *Thomas Ramos* loſt another of great value? All I can ſay is, that this gentleman took a great deal of pains, built good ſhips, and fortify'd the city well to oppoſe the *Chineſes*. I heard afterwards of ſome things which were laid to his charge, when he gave an account of his employment, which are fitter to make a jeſt than any thing elſe of. That little ſharp humour he had, was the beſt thing he could ſhew in that country. I obſerv'd, and carefully took notice of one thing, which was, that if in his haſte and paſſion he happen'd to ſpeak a hard word to any body, he was ſo much concern'd and troubled at it, that he would omit no poſſible means to ſatisfy the party that was griev'd; ſo that for the future he was extreme kind, and expreſs'd his affection to him in all manner of ways; a great proof

of his good temper. Much more might be ſaid, were it ſuitable with my deſign.

3. Yet I cannot bear that this gentleman's ſervices and merits ſhould be altogether buried in oblivion, and therefore I reſolv'd in this place to give ſome ſmall touch upon them. I will not play the panegyriſt, nor the hiſtorian, my pen will reach neither, but will only in plain terms relate what I know of certain. It is not my buſineſs to blazon his family, or deduce the genealogy of *Manrique Lara*, or give an account of its ſeveral branches, which honour many houſes in *Spain*; for beſides that it is an undertaking above my reach, it would be holding a candle to the ſun. *Philo Alexandrinus* ſaid of the ſacrifice of *Abel* and *Cain*, *For neither the ſun, nor moon*, &c. Theſe beautiful planets which govern the day and night, need no orators to commend their beauty; their own light makes them known, and recommends them to all the world.

4. *I muſt alſo own, that if he* I ſpoke of had nothing greater than his birth to recommend him, I ſhould not be ſo much led away by that. It cannot be deny'd but nobility native is commendable, but that which is acquir'd exceeds it, and raiſes a man above the clouds. And tho' *Ovid* in his epiſtle to *Piſo* leſſen'd the former, *Perit omnis in illo gentis honos, cui laus in origine ſola:* yet others with good reaſon extol it; but there is no man who does not cry up that which is gain'd with dangers, labours, troubles and fatigue. Read S. *Thomas* his firſt book, *de erudit. princip.* c. 4, & 5. where he ſays much to the purpoſe. Therefore I ſay this gentleman by his piety, good example, and ſervice done his majeſty, had added new ſplendor to the family of *Manrique de Lara*, and increas'd its glory.

5. Being at the port of *Cabite* in the year 1656, I heard him ſay he was a colonel at nineteen years of age. Some men by their valour and reſolution, gain more in a few years than others do in a great many. S. *Jerom*, and after him *Lyra* in *Dan.* i. ſays, *There is this advantage in a noble birth, that it impoſes a ſort of neceſſity on noble perſons, not to degenerate from the worth of their anceſtors.* Nobility influences men to act as becomes their deſcent. It is no matter tho' a man be young, if courage and reſolution guide him.

6. Her highneſs the princeſs *Margaret* governing *Portugal*, and having fitted out a fleet of eighteen ſail againſt the *French*, *D. Sabiniano* was made admiral of it for eighteen months. This was a poſt of great honour, and imply'd that he who was prefer'd to it was better qualify'd for it than others at that court. There was no action, for tho' the ſtorm threatned *Portugal*, it fell upon *Biſcay*. NAVARETTE.

7. But the time when he ſhew'd the greateſt conſtancy and courage, was, when he carry'd ſupplies to *Portugal*, at the time that crown began to caſt off the dominion of our monarch. How often was his life in danger? How many ſtraits was he reduc'd to? But how great reſolution and valour did he ſhew upon all occaſions? He ſet out of *Cadiz* with the command of two veſſels, in which were three hundred foot, ſix reformed captains, proviſions and ammunition for the caſtle of S. *Julian*, at the mouth of the river of *Lisbon*; there he reſolutely landed, to be inform'd of the ſtate of the place, tho' his officers oppos'd it. It is in vain to withſtand a man who runs on with zeal in his prince's ſervice. He underſtood the caſtle had ſurrendred. He was forced to ſtrip from the waſt downwards to get to his boat, which when in it overſet; *D. Sabiniano* ſav'd his life by ſwimming: they cannonaded his ſhips from the caſtle; and he becauſe they lay by for him, made ſigns to them to make off, without regarding the danger he was in himſelf of falling into the enemies hands. This it is to regard the publick; not one's private good. The ſhips ſet ſail, not knowing how to take up their commander; ſo that he, wet and almoſt naked, together with capt. *Bartholomew Antonio*, took into a little cave to dry himſelf and attend his fate. That little repoſe, ſuch as it was, laſted not long; the danger ſo much increas'd, above three hundred men paſſing that way in a body, that the captain and he gave themſelves for dead. GOD deliver'd them that they might begin to ſuffer afreſh. Here begin the diſaſters of *D. Sabiniano* in that kingdom: He was taken and carried to the caſtle, and tho' the count *de Prado* his friend us'd him well, yet that did not deliver him from what GOD had ordain'd he ſhould endure for his king and for his honour.

8. The news of his being taken coming to *Liſbon*, abundance of people flock'd to ſee him, becauſe he was ſo well known at that court. Being at dinner, one roſe, and drawing his ſword half way, ſaid, I hope in GOD I ſhall enter the *Retiro* (that is, the king of *Spain's* palace at *Madrid*) and kill the king of *Caſtile*, and the count duke. To talk thus in the preſence of a priſoner is great folly. The *Chineſes* ſay, A dog that barks much is ne'er the better for it. That *Portugueſe* was talkative, and without doubt a coward: Had he ſaid that when *D. Sabiniano* was drying himſelf in the cave, and had his little ſword, I ſuppoſe he would have had cauſe to repent it. *D. Sabiniano*, who will put up nothing that con-

NAVARETTE. concerns his king, tho' never ſo inconſiderable, anſwer'd, I truſt in GOD I ſhall ſee you hang'd in the great market-place, call'd *Rocio*, with other impudent traitors like your ſelf. It is no great matter to give ſuch an anſwer, when a man is at liberty with his ſword by his ſide; but it is a ſign of great courage and loyalty to break forth into ſuch expreſſions, being a priſoner among enemies. That paſs'd, and five days after one of the four corregidores of the city carry'd him away priſoner to *Liſbon*. When he entred the city, the mob lording it, threw every thing that came to hand at him. He was committed to the caſtle of S. *George*, where being feveriſh with what he had gone through, he laid down upon a mat. The conſtable of the caſtle took pity on him, gave him a bed, and order'd the officer commanding to uſe him well. A month after he was carry'd to the priſon of the court (it anſwers to our *Marſhalſea*) becauſe there had been a report that certain captains deſign'd to take him out of the caſtle: There he continued five days, was then remov'd to the city goal, lay eight months in a dungeon, which threw him into a dangerous diſtemper. This did not move the goaler to give him the leaſt eaſe, he had certainly baniſh'd all ſenſe of charity. The heathens in *China* treated me and others much better. Money prevail'd, for that is the god of ſuch people; he put him into a little room, where he recovered of his indiſpoſition. Nor was this comfort laſting, for on account that a priſoner had made his eſcape, a new goaler came into place, and the priſoners far'd the worſe. He order'd *D. Sabiniano* back to the dungeon; ſome words paſs'd upon it, ſo that the goaler went to make his complaint to the *Alcaldes de Corte*. One of the alcaldes came down, words paſs'd between them, he commanded him to go into the dungeon. *D. Sabiniano* excus'd himſelf, ſaying, There were orders he ſhould be alone, and that in the dungeon there were a great many. The alcalde ſaid, Go in *fidalgo* (that is, nobleman) for there are other honeſt men there as good as you. Had the alcalde not known *D. Sabiniano* he might have been excuſable, but knowing him, he was certainly very brutal, and deſerv'd the anſwer *D. Sabiniano* made him, who in a rage told him: He was an impudent villain, and that but for dirting his hands, he would beat him to death. It was boldly ſpoke of a priſoner to the judge; but ill uſage provokes generous ſouls.

9. The alcalde being in power, and affronted, order'd him to be put into the hole, to which he was let down through a trap-door, and there lay ſix months in miſery. Theſe ſufferings nothing diſcourag'd him, but rather added to his reſolution; his body ſo tenderly bred, ſuffer'd, but his heart ſurmounted all difficulties. Next follow'd that famous conſpiracy carry'd on by the archbiſhop of *Braga*, marqueſs of *Villareall*, duke of *Caminha*, and others who were executed. *D. Sabiniano*'s opinion was not follow'd in it, I doubt not but his was the juſt and right method, for he was a perſon of excellent judgment. He writ to the late king concerning that affair, and gave a note of directions how his letter ſhould come to the king's hands, but this paper was found out. He was brought before a court compos'd of ſixteen judges, and went with a reſolution to break thro' all that ſtood in his way, if they did not ſhew him the reſpect due to his quality. His reaſon was, that he was not carry'd before that aſſembly as a criminal, but as a priſoner of war, and therefore ought to be treated with all reſpect. At his coming in he found them all bare-headed; it is likely he had declared his intention, and they were acquainted with his reſolution; they all bow'd, and gave him a ſeat. Being examin'd upon oath, he own'd that note was his. Being aſk'd who the letter was for mention'd in the note? He anſwer'd, For a woman. They aſk'd, Whether ſhe was marry'd, or a maid? He wittily reply'd, That queſtion did not belong to the court, but to the confeſſion-ſeat. After ſome other interrogatories, that ceremony ended. He was return'd to the ſame place, and order'd to be taken care of and ſecur'd.

10. A fortnight after the corregidor, with four alguaziles, conducted him to *Santarem*; a great many removes, and all bad ones. He was there delivered to a goaler, who was well qualify'd to execute that place in hell. Five days he kept him in a room convenient enough, but then carry'd him down to a dark and ſtrait dungeon. There he was under two locks, with a guard of twenty five ſoldiers, and their commander, without being allow'd ink, or to converſe with any body. His diet was ſearch'd; a window there was with ſtrong iron bars they ſhut up every night; and us'd ſo many precautions, that he had need of all his courage not to diſmay. Five or ſix months after king *John* the fourth paſs'd that way, the priſoners implor'd his mercy, which they obtain'd, who had no body to oppoſe it. The corregidor had adviſ'd *D. Sabiniano* to do the ſame; but he boldly refuſing the advice, ſhut his window, which was as much as throwing of it in his face that paſs'd by: a reſolute action for one that was in a dungeon. The rabble roſe, and cry'd, Let the traitor die. King *John* order'd the window to be faſt

barr'd

barr'd without, ſo the poor gentleman was immur'd for nine months, without any light but what came in at a little hole he made with a ſmall knife he had, and was ſo cloſe kept, that a captain who was his acquaintance could not give him ſuch relief he deſign'd him.

11. His ſhutting the window was much reſented by the *Portugueſes*. I was told it in *China* by ſome of that nation, and they added, they were about putting of him to death for it. After ſo many misfortunes, he was exchang'd for the count *de Villanova de Portimano*. *D. Sabiniano* was taken on the 25th of *December*, 1640. and releas'd the 8th of *May*, 1645. Who can imagine his ſufferings in five years? Being come to *Madrid*, he was ſoon after made conſtable of the caſtle of *Acapulco*, an honourable poſt, but I often heard it ſaid, there was nothing at that time greater to reward his ſervices. Next he had the government of the *Philippine* iſlands, the beſt and greateſt poſt in the *Indies*. He govern'd as I have related, and ſhall further write hereafter. More he has not had, becauſe he would not. I very well remember he ſaid to me once at *Manila*; F. *Dominick*, if it ſhall pleaſe GOD to ſend us to *Spain*, your reverence ſhall ſee I will retire to *Malaga*, to endeavour ſo to live as I would die, without concerning my ſelf with worldly affairs.

12. About the time the new governor came to the iſland, I diſcover'd upon the mountains of *Batan*, that fruit ſo much eſteem'd, and ſo delicious there is in *China*, which the *Spaniards* call *lechias*, and the *Chineſes*, *li chi*. It is one of the beſt in the world. I carried ſome to *Manila*, and they were the firſt that ever came freſh to that city. Thoſe they carry thither from *China*, are dry'd, and do not ſhew what they are when new gather'd. I ſpoke of this in the firſt book.

13. About the ſame time, I being then gathering ſtrength after a fit of ſickneſs, offer'd to go companion to one of ours, who was deſign'd for the iſland *Luban*, and thence to *Mindoro*, to viſit ſome Chriſtians, and do the beſt ſervice we could to thoſe poor *Indians*. The iſle of *Luban* is twelve leagues diſtant from that of *Manila*, it is ſmall but beautiful, has abundance of cocotrees, much cotton, and very good uſe is made of it; the town contains about two hundred families that pay taxes: it has a very good fort, with an excellent ditch, for the inhabitants to defend themſelves againſt the robbers they call *Camucones*, who, through our great negligence, every year infeſt that and other places, to the great detriment of his majeſty's ſubjects. Whilſt we were there, an alarm was given; we fled to the fort, but it prov'd a falſe one. The church is indifferent, and well adorn'd. The curate had order'd, that as ſoon as the *Angelus Domini* bell had rung, it ſhould ring again to the *Roſary*, and all the town reſorted to it. Some perſons aſſur'd us, that ſince the introducing of that devotion, no enemy had ever come thither, whereas before there were many that infeſted them, and carry'd away all they had. Before they neither ſaid the *Roſary* nor had a fort, afterwards they had both, but the firſt had ſufficed to ſecure them. We heard confeſſions, and preach'd there till after *Chriſtmas*, which was kept with great ſolemnity. About that time a moſt terrible ſtorm roſe, which made us go down to the porch, as believing it would bear the houſe down. Not far from thence one of the king's champans was under ſail, and in it the governor of *Caraga*, with his wife, and three barefooted fathers of St. *Auguſtin*; they ran right before the wind, without knowing whither they went. The night was dark, the ſea ſwell'd, they concluded they ſhould be caſt away, but knew not whether near or far from land. Two of the fathers of St. *Auguſtin* conſulted together in private, and as it is ſuppos'd, ſaid, it was better to be in a readineſs, and not ſtay till all fell into the ſea together, where it is hard to get looſe from one another. Each of them ty'd up his little quilt full of *varo*, which is a thing like cotton, that bears above water a long time, call'd his boy, and ſo they caſt themſelves into the ſea, without being taken notice of by any body; but what we have written was gueſs'd to be done by their being miſſing with their quilts. Their companion and the reſt were much troubled at it, but they were never heard of; it is likely the firſt plunge into the ſea they loſt their quilts, and periſh'd. At break of day the little veſſel was caſt aſhore upon a ſmall iſland, half a league from that of *Luban*. All the people were ſav'd, except one woman-ſlave, who throwing her ſelf into the water to get to ſhore, was drown'd before any body could come to her aſſiſtance. They came to *Luban* ſo thin and poor, that any one might gueſs what they had ſuffer'd. The curate treated them well.

Navarette.

Varo.

Luban.

Camucones.

14. Upon the day of the *Epiphany* we croſs'd over to *Mindoro*. That afternoon we went up to the town of *Calavit*, it is above a league from the ſea, and all the way ſteep and craggy. Three days after we came down to go to *Guiſtin*, where we were to reſide, thence to repair wherever there was occaſion. That day we travell'd above ſix leagues afoot, along the helliſheſt road imaginable. In ſome places we climb'd up the rocks, in others we could ſcarce get

Mindoro.

up

NAVARETTE. up with the help of the *Indians*. We ſaw a place where the rocks were pointed, and ſo ſharp and piercing, that in truth they pierced the ſoles of our ſhoes, and the poor *Indians* feet, which were bare, really ran blood, that it broke our hearts to ſee them. We came to the foot of the mountain of *Guiſtin*, without having broken our faſt: there we found ſome *Indians*, who had roaſted *batatas*, but cold; we eat a little of that dainty, and began to mount the hill: it is as high as the other, but much more craggy. For a good ſpace we did nothing but crawl upon all four, holding by the roots of trees, then we walk'd, but every now and then laid our ſelves on the ground to get breath. By GOD's aſſiſtance we came to the top, found the church, but without being able to get into it, fell down at the very door flat upon our faces, where we lay a great while to reſt. That done, we found our ſelves in ſuch a ſweat, that our very outward habits were all wet. The wind was cold, and blew very hard; that night's lodging was in a little thatch'd houſe, where the air came in at every corner; our ſupper was a morſel of biſket dipp'd in the wine we had to ſay maſs, becauſe of the cold; we ſlept ſitting, and one leaning againſt another. The next day, which prov'd fair, we made uſe of the ſun to dry us. Having ſaid maſs, we went about our buſineſs, which was to take care of the ſouls of thoſe *Indians*. All our cheer was ſome eggs, rice, and *batatas*, whereof there is abundance, and good ones in thoſe mountains. Upon *Candlemas*, after ſaying maſs, and preaching, I return'd to *Calavit*, all the ſame day travelling the ſecond time that bleſſed road I ſpoke of before. The wearineſs, ſweat, wind, and ill proviſion, made me ſo ſick that night, as I lay alone in my little hut made of cane and ſtraw, that I thought I ſhould die, and yet in truth I was pleas'd. Some days I continued there doing my beſt. I went to two other little towns, and the road bad enough; there I preached, catechized, and baptized ſome. One day I had nine marriageable young men, who were come down from the mountains to deſire baptiſm. They had never ſeen prieſts; after being inſtructed, they were chriſtened. An old man, in appearance above fourſcore years of age, came duly to the catechiſing; he appear'd very devout; and when I went to ſay the divine office, he would go after me. Once I call'd him, and aſk'd, What he would have, and why he always follow'd me? He anſwer'd, Father, I hear you ſay, we are oblig'd to know the Chriſtian doctrine, and I being ignorant of it, ſeek an opportunity for your reverence to inſtruct me. How long have you been a Chriſtian, ſaid I? He anſwer'd, A year. And I thought he had been ſo from his infancy. I farther aſk'd him, Who baptiz'd thee, and how? He gave me a full account of all, and told me, they had not taught him a word, giving for their reaſon, that he was old and could not learn. It troubled me much, and I began immediately to inſtruct him. I us'd to take him with me to the ſea-ſhore, and both of us being ſeated, I explicated the belief to him the beſt I could, according to his capacity. I would ſay to him, Do you ſee the ſea and the ſky? GOD created it all. He then reply'd, Is that poſſible? is GOD ſo great, that he could do what you ſay? I repeated and explain'd it, and would again ſay to him, ſo that this ſky, this earth, this ſea, *&c.* is all the work of GOD. And he admiring ſtill, went on; Is GOD ſo great, ſo very great? which he often repeated. I took care of him, and he was diligent, for he underſtood things better than the young ones. I afterwards heard his confeſſion, and found ſome difficulty to abſolve him. I aſk'd, *John*, have you ever ſwore, or told any lie? He anſwer'd, To what purpoſe, father, ſhould I ſwear or lie? Have you had any words, or been angry with any body? Father, ſaid he, I live alone, mind my tillage, I ſee nor converſe with no body; tho' I had a mind to quarrel, I have no body to fall out with. Thus he anſwer'd to all I aſk'd. I gave him a few rags, and bid him call himſelf *John of* GOD. He went his way very well pleas'd, and I remain'd with great comfort. Having catechis'd that little town, and baptiz'd the children, with thoſe I ſaid were grown up, I return'd to *Guiſtin*. The curate of *Nanhoan*, thirty leagues ſouthward, ſent for one of us, and I reſolv'd to go thither immediately. Nanhoan.

15. As we were ſailing along in ſight of ſhore, the *Indians* diſcover'd a *Carabao* or *Buffalo* near the water. We put to ſhore; I was left in the veſſel: the *Indians* fell upon the *Buffalo* with their ſpears, and he defended himſelf wonderfully; at laſt he ran raging into the ſea, and came furiouſly up to the veſſel in which I was; he ſtruck the canes on the outſide, or elſe I had been in danger of my life. At length they kill'd and cut him in pieces. I went aſhore to wait for the men, and preſently we diſcover'd a company of mountain-blacks; we perceiv'd they were friends, ſo that I reſted ſatisfied; and that the ſight of me might not diſturb them, I ſlipt in among ſome trees. They came up to us, being about thirty men, women, and children, all of both ſexes with bows and arrows, and ſtark naked, only their privities cover'd with leaves of a certain tree. The men

were painted with white, the women with other colours, and wore great wild flowers in their ears. To ſay the truth of it, they all look'd like devils. When they were in diſcourſe with the *Indians*, I came out on a ſudden, talking to them in their own language, and offering them leaf tobacco, which they make great account of. As ſoon as they ſaw me they ſtarted, and almoſt all the women and ſome boys fled ſo nimbly, that they ſeem'd to fly. The reſt were pacified: I gave them tobacco, and talk'd to them with all poſſible kindneſs, and endearing manner. Two women went to bring freſh water to drink, and the *Indians* having done with the *carabuo*, they ſtaid there with the offal, paunch, and bones. The *Indians* told me, as ſoon as we are gone, all theſe people will gather about here, and will not ſtir till they have gnaw'd the bones, and eaten the paunch and all that is in it.

16. *At ten of the clock at night we went* up the river *Bacco*, which is at the main point of that iſland. The rain was ſo vehement, that the town was drowned: there I ſtay'd twenty four hours. In ſight of the town is a vaſt high mountain, whence a river tumbles down, which being look'd upon from below, looks like a mountain of criſtal; the water runs near, which being ſo ſoften'd with the fall and running over much *carza parrilla*, is extraordinary good. This iſland has ſome notable things. Firſt, abundance of *civet cats*, of which they might have a conſiderable trade; abundance of *wax* upon all the mountains; they make no account of the *honey*; plenty of *batatas*, *cometis*, *ubis*, *names*, and variety of fruit; an infinite number of *cedars*, whoſe bloſſom, which I often ſaw, exhales a moſt fragrant ſcent, and reaches far; a multitude of coco-trees. There are beſides abundance of other trees, from which they extract honey, wine, vinegar *tuba* and *chancaca*; a ſort of trees like *plantans*, of which they make a ſort of black hemp for rigging. There is another ſort of white hemp, taken from another tree, they call *abaaca*, it is excellent for cables, the more it is wetted, the ſtronger it grows. There is another tree, of which they make ſtuffs as white as ſnow, and delicately ſoft, which the *Indians* uſe for their beds and clothing, tho' they do not want cotton, of which they make excellent cloth.

Cedars.

17. The ſea and rivers abound in excellent fiſh: that ſort is found there which is commonly call'd *piſcis mulier*, of the bones whereof beads of great value are made, becauſe they have a ſingular vertue againſt defluxions; that which has been try'd is worth much money. The licentiate *Francis Roca*, curate of that place, told me a very extraordinary paſſage that happen'd in his diviſion. An *Indian* going a fiſhing every day, found near the water a *piſcis mulier*, they ſay it is like a woman from the breaſts downwards. He had actual copulation with her, and continu'd this beaſtly whoredom for above ſix months, without miſſing a day. At the end of this time GOD mov'd his heart to go to confeſſion; he did it, and was commanded to go no more to that place, which he perform'd, and that abomination ceas'd. I own, that if I had not heard it my ſelf from the perſon I have nam'd, I ſhould have doubted of it.

Piſcis mulier.

NAVARETTE.

18. The next day late, the curate, governor, and I ſet out in three boats for another pariſh, which was it I deſign'd for; they three were to be reconcil'd, having had ſome falling out, and that was the reaſon of undertaking this voyage. The curate made us very welcome; they embrac'd and became good friends, putting an end to the feſtival with a noble treat he gave us. Upon ſuch occaſions, and great rejoicing, it is no ſin to add ſomething extraordinary. St. *Thomas* obſerv'd it, ſpeaking of *Iſaac*. After him *Lyra* made the ſame reflection in *Tob.* ii. upon the words; *When it was the feſtival-day of the* LORD, *and a good dinner was made in* Tobit's *houſe:* he ſays, *By this it appears, that upon feſtival-days it is lawful to drink more, and more delicately, in reſpect to the feaſt, not out of gluttony*, &c. Even GOD himſelf ſeems to have intimated the ſame formerly. Read *Oleaſter in Num.* xxviii. *ad mores*, ℣. 3. There is no doubt, but upon a day of entertaining gueſts, and making a reconciliation, there ought to be a diſh extraordinary. It is true there was no wine, but abundance of good water. A few days after I ſet out upon my viſitation, I had many places to go to, and they were far aſunder; having been at the firſt, I ſtruck up the country to avoid a cape that runs far into the ſea. The way was ſo thick of trees, and they ſo tall, that for two leagues there was no ſeeing the ſky; and there was ſuch abundance of leeches, that we could not get rid of them. Coming down to the ſea, I was carry'd over a brook upon an *Indian's* ſhoulders, who carried his ſpear in his hand; about the middle he ſpied a ſtately thornback, darted his ſpear, and nail'd it to the ſand. Having ſet me down, he went back and brought away the fiſh ſtruck thro' the middle. He told me how delicate meat the liver was, which being boil'd for me, I found to be very dainty. I told this at *Rome* in the year 1673, and it took ſo well; that there were perſons who endeavour'd to get ſome. I did not then know the great vertue there is in the flat bone at the tip of that fiſhes tail;

Leeches.

NAVARETTE. *Tooth-ach.* tail; it is an excellent remedy againſt the tooth-ach; ſcratching them with that bone takes away the pain, but it muſt be cut off whilſt the fiſh is alive.

19. I went to paſs the holy week at a little town, which had a ſmall church, the pleaſanteſt and moſt delightfully ſeated of any in the world, I believe. It is three leagues from the ſea, and the way to it, is up an admirable and mighty river. Upon floods it ſpreads its ſtream a league wide. Near to the river is a little hill, that looks like a fine garden. On the ſouth-ſide of it are beautiful coco-trees; on the weſt and north it is cover'd with *cacaſuchiles* full of flowers, pleaſing to the eye and ſmell; on the eaſt is a proſpect of vaſt high and delightful mountains. About it was the encloſure of ſtately *magueyes*, and in the midſt of them was the church and houſe, the town on the ſouth-ſide; the north-ſide, on which the river ran, was very craggy, and a fine ſpring at the bottom of it. The aſcent was deſignedly cover'd and blinded, to ſecure the place againſt the enemies they call *Camucones*. *Indians* of other towns aſſembled there, and confeſſed and received; ſome were baptized. Two things ſomewhat remarkable happen'd to me there. One was the hearing a confeſſion of thirty years. Truly the *Indian* made a very good confeſſion, and was a man of good ſenſe. The other was, that a woman who was marriageable, and of a very ſound judgment, ſaid to me, Father, I went up to the mountain with a youth, we liv'd there ſix years as if we had been marry'd. (In the mountains they may live without working.) One night, as we had done many others, we lay down to ſleep upon the graſs. At break of day I wak'd, bent my body up to look upon him, and ſaw him dead by my ſide. That ſtruck ſuch a terror into me, that I immediately came down to the town, and reſolv'd to confeſs my ſelf, and mend my life. I have found this opportunity of your being here, and will make my advantage of it. I adviſ'd her what to do, and always to bear in mind how merciful GOD had been towards her. Here what GOD ſays is literally verify'd, that when two ſleep, he will take the one and leave the other. The poor miſerable youth being ſuddenly aſſaulted by death, was in danger enough, conſidering the time and condition he was in when call'd. We perform'd all the ceremonies us'd by the church from *Palm-ſunday* till *Eaſter-day*. There was a ſepulchre; the chief man of the town found all the wax that was us'd. I remember that as I was preaching upon the *Monday* the good old man's heart was touch'd, and on a ſudden he knelt down, crying out aloud. His devotion provok'd me and others to ſhed tears, and ſo the ſermon ended.

Cacaſuchiles.

20. All thoſe *Indians* are like our plain countrymen, ſincere and void of malice. They came to church very devoutly; not a word was ſpoke to them but produced fruit: would to GOD the ſeed were ſow'd among them every day; but there they have maſs but once in two or three years. When they die, there's an end of them; but great care is taken to make them pay their taxes, and the curate's dues. *Natives.*

21. Their is one great conveniency for the *Indians* in having religious men in their diviſions, which is, that theſe being now and then chang'd, if an *Indian* is baſhful, or afraid to confeſs to one of them, or has had any difference with him, he lays himſelf open to another, and makes a good confeſſion. But if once he is afraid of a curate, or it happens the curate is harſh to him, he can hardly be brought to make a clear confeſſion to him. He that made a confeſſion to me of thirty years, had before conceal'd ſome things out of fear. Some years before the fathers of the ſociety had been in this iſland, they had four of their family there, who labour'd very diligently; the clergy to whom it belong'd before, went too low with them. The fathers reſign'd, and all that was left to one curate, which had been before the care of four religious men. We may gueſs what a condition it remain'd in; this is ſeeeking *thoſe* things which are their own, not thoſe which are CHRIST's. Places were viſited where the curate had not ſet foot in fourteen years.

22. Upon *Eaſter-day*, after having ſaid maſs, explicated that myſtery, and diſtributed among the poor ſome rice, batatas, eggs, and fruit that had been offer'd me, I ſet out by land to another town. By the way I lay under the ſhade of certain trees; there I met a mountain infidel, he had an excellent natural diſpoſition; I us'd him with all imaginable kindneſs, but there being no previous diſpoſition, it avail'd little. The next day I lodg'd in the houſe of another infidel, who treated me well. Theſe and thouſands of them will not be baptiz'd, for fear of the taxes and perſonal duty, as I obſerv'd before.

23. We came to the town of *Santiago*, or St. *James*; it is in an ill air, expos'd to the enemies call'd *Camucones*. The foregoing year thoſe people had carry'd away ſome of the *Indians*; one of them gave me this account; Father, my wife was in labour in this houſe when the enemy came, I threw my ſelf out at that window, and others follow'd me; the reſt, eſpecially the women who attended my wife, were taken. They drove them this way, and my wife being

being weak and ſpent, was not able to go, and they were beating her on, which I ſtood yonder looking on without being able to relieve her. One of them carry'd the new-born child upon his arm, and juſt in that place he clave it from top to bottom with his hanger, and left it there. Inhuman barbarity! This griev'd my heart, and fear would not let me ſleep, and ſo my health daily impair'd. I ſpoke to the *Indians* to remove to another place which was more healthy and ſafe; they conſented, and there ſoon ſet up a little chappel, and a ſmall houſe for me. For themſelves they made barracks after their manner, and they are ſufficient to keep out the wind and rain; cold there is none, but exceſſive heat.

24. A boat of the *Chineſes* of *Manila* that ply thereabouts came to this place. The *Chineſe* whoſe name was *Goſe* told me, how he had by art and cunning got clear of *ſix veſſels of the enemy; he had aboard a father of the ſociety and a Spaniard.* He ſeeing the enemy deſign'd to attack him, prevented him, let fly his colours, and playing on his baſons, made towards them as it were in defiance. They drew together to conſult, and the concluſion was that they fled. The *Chineſe* in his broken language ſaid, Thoſe fellows don't ſee nor know what is in my boat, and they are afraid of death; if I fly I am certainly loſt, then is it not better to attack them? He muſt either imagine I have arms, or at leaſt will be jealous of it, and which of them will venture his life? Upon St. *Philip* and *Jacob*'s day I was in great trouble: I was hearing confeſſions in the chappel, and obſerv'd that the cane-chair on which I ſat mov'd. I imagin'd a dog was got under it, and bid the *Indian* turn him out. He anſwer'd, Father, it is no dog, but an earthquake. It encreas'd to ſuch a degree, that leaving the the penitent, I kneel'd down, to beg mercy of GOD. I thought the end of the world had been at hand: I have ſeen ſeveral earthquakes, but none ſo great as that. When it was over I ſaid, If it has been ſo great at *Manila*, there is not one ſtone left upon another. I was afterwards inform'd it had done ſome harm, but not conſiderable. It was an hundred leagues from thence to *Manila*, and much water betwixt.

Earthquake.

25. During thoſe days I catechis'd all, heard their confeſſions, and adminiſtred the bleſſed ſacrament to them. There were no perſons of age to baptize, but ſome children. The heat increaſing, as did the danger of the enemy, and my health decaying, I reſolv'd to return, with no ſmall grief for leaving two other places unviſited, twenty leagues from thence. I came to *Nanhoan*, calling at the ſame towns I had come through before. In this journey I obſerv'd, that having gone up a river, and order'd the *Indians* to provide me a place to ſay maſs in, and another to lie in that night, they did it in two hours time, covering all the place with only two leaves of *wild palm-tree.* A violent rain fell that night, but not one drop came through. I have then and ſeveral times ſince admir'd this; each leaf was ſo large, that an *Indian* carry'd it dragging after him; and being ſhap'd like a fan with gutters, and ſtrong, it would bear out any rain whatſoever. Another thing happen'd in another town, which put the *Indians* into much fear, and not a little amaz'd me. They were upon the ſea-ſhore making ready the veſſel I was to go in, and on a ſudden there came out of the water a fiſh very well known there, which we call *Picuda*, and the *Portugueſes Vicuda*, and laid hold of an *Indian*'s ankle with ſuch force, that it was draging him away to the ſea; the company came in, and with ſticks and ſtones made him quit is prey, and return to the ſea. They brought the wounded young man to me, he made his confeſſion, remain'd in a bad condition, was afterwards cur'd, but ever halted. Thoſe men were ſcar'd, for they had never ſeen or heard ſay that fiſh would come aſhore, and much leſs that it would fall upon a man.

NAVARETTE.

Wild-palm

Picuda.

26. Near to *Nanhoan* there is an admirable lake, ſo full of fiſh, eſpecially that ſort we call *Liſas*, that ſometimes they take them with their hands; they take out the roes and leave the fiſh; theſe roes ſalted are very good with rice, and look'd upon as a dainty. Whilſt I was there, an *Indian* woman went in to waſh her ſelf, but was devour'd by a crocodile. I ſet out for *Manila*, and a chief of the *Indians* with his ſon and four others went ſouthward; the enemy attack'd them, and tho' they fought, they were taken and carry'd captives to *Mindanao*: GOD deliver'd me and thoſe that were with me. I paſs'd by the bay of *Batangas*, and then had a ſight of the lake of *Lombon*, which is a very fine one. From *Manila*, where I ſtay'd a few days, I went to *Batam*; there I was much troubled and diſturb'd by witches or fairies, what it was we knew not, but the effect ſhow'd it to be a contrivance of the devil. No conſiderable hurt was done any man, but we heard much noiſe, and ſaw ſtones fly; the houſe all foul in a moment, and as ſuddenly clean; the chairs hurry'd about without perceiving who mov'd them, and the like. We paſs'd whole nights without cloſing our eyes.

Liſas.

27. One night when I and another were gone to reſt, and the noiſe was abated, there came into the place where we lay, the governor, judge, and other *Indians*, to ſee

NAVARETTE. whether they could diſcover any thing. They went on courageouſly, threatening thoſe that durſt diſturb the houſe. The moment they came in they were thrown down ſtairs, an infinite quantity of ſtones, ſand and dirt tumbling after them. They were ſo frighted, that they never enquir'd further into the matter. I was call'd away to *Manila*, and by that means deliver'd from this vexation, which continu'd ſome months, and others had enough to do with it.

CHAP. VI.

Of my Second Miſſion to Mindoro.

1. I Return'd the third time to the college of St. *Thomas*, and it was to be firſt profeſſor of divinity. Next year about the end of *April*, the lord archbiſhop appointed *D. Chriſtopher Sarmiento* curate of our lady of *Guia*, viſitor of *Mindoro*. He deſir'd me to bear him company, a little invitation ſerv'd becauſe the air of the college did not agree with me. Father provincial gave his conſent, and taking one of my ſcholars for my companion, we went up the river altogether; then we croſs'd the ſea, and upon the feaſt of the invention of the croſs, which is the third of *May*, I preach'd at *Baco*. The *Indians* have a more than uſual devotion for the croſs, they celebrate the feſtival the beſt they are able. There is no *Indian* town but is full of croſſes which they adorn and ſet out very curiouſly. Going to the firſt place we were to viſit as we were a ſailing up the river, a terrible ſtorm overtook us, and we had a wretched night in the veſſel, which was very ſmall. We croſs'd the mountain of the leeches a ſecond time with much trouble. I was about leaving the ſecond place of viſiting till our return. A chief aſk'd me to hear his confeſſion; I adviſ'd him to ſtay, becauſe I would return that way, and ſtay there ſome time. He preſs'd and deſir'd me to hear his confeſſion; I did ſo, and when I came back he was dead. I look'd upon it as a ſpecial predeſtination: I remember he made a good confeſſion, and was very penitent.

2. I came to the town, ſo beautifully ſeated, as I deſcrib'd before; but the *Camucones* having taken their chief the laſt year, as he was going from *Nanhoan*, I found the people remov'd, and all ſad and diſconſolate. I ſpoke to his wife, who was in mourning, and heard her confeſſion: I had heard her before, and truly ſhe never uncover'd her face, ſo great is the modeſty and reſervedneſs of many *Indian* women, tho' they be but country people. I comforted her the beſt I could. At another town before we came to that of *Santiago*, many *Indians* met, and we ſtaid ſome time there. Here I obſerv'd that the dogs bark'd very much at night, and the place being expos'd to the *Camucones*, we were ſomewhat concern'd. I ask'd the *Indians* why the dogs bark ſo much? and they anſwer'd, Father, there are abundance of *Crocodiles* in this river; the dogs that have a mind to ſwim over, meet in one place, and bark for a good while till they think the *Crocodiles* are aſſembled there (it is moſt certain and known by experience that the *Crocodiles* watch dogs, as the cats do mice) then ſome of them running up, and others down, they croſs over out of danger from the *Crocodiles*. This happens every night, and therefore you need not be concern'd at their barking. I wondred at it, and remembred I had read that the dogs of *Egypt* did the ſame at the river of *Nile*. *Dogs.*

3. During that time, a ſpy of the enemies came to us; he put upon us, telling a thouſand ſtories, when we began to ſuſpect it, there was no finding of him. Afterwards an *Indian* came to us from the other towns, who ſaid there were ten veſſels call'd *Carvcoas* of the enemy ſailing that way. The *Indians* immediately retir'd into the mountains, and we ſtay'd behind only with our boys. This bad news made us reſolve to return, very much concern'd to ſee what obſtacles there were to hinder the proſecution of our miſſion to thoſe places that were in moſt need. At my return I heard of ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the *Indians* had with the *Camucones*, but were ever worſted. Before we came to *Manila* we heard the news, that the ſhip S. *James* coming from *Mexico* under the command of *D. Peter de Villaroel*, was caſt away near *Balaian*. I heard the commander *D. Peter Mendiola* ſay, that ſhip ſtood his majeſty in above two hundred thouſand pieces of eight. This was the famous ſhip S. *James* that ſerv'd inſtead of a caſtle when the *Dutch* aſſaulted *Manila*. She receiv'd the ſhot of all the *Dutch* artillery upon one ſide being then a ground. Above a thouſand bullets were found in her, and of above two thouſand that were fir'd at her, not one went through. The timber of that country is extraordinary, and they build ſhips very ſtrong. The ſhip that ſail'd that year for *Acapulco*, weather'd great ſtorms, and one wave carry'd fourteen ſeamen over board, as the letter I ſaw mention'd, the ſhip's crew afterwards juſtify'd it, and that the ſame wave threw them back upon the deck,

deck, which was the ſtrangeſt happineſs. Thoſe that are acquainted with the ſea will not think this impoſſible. Some years before, the ſeamen ſaid at *Cavite*, that a wave took thirty ſix men out of another ſhip that was bound the ſame way, ſome were ſav'd, the reſt periſh'd. When *D. Peter de Villaroel* return'd, he that is now archbiſhop of *Manila* writ me word that a wave had carry'd away all the gallery aſtern, it was ſo ſtrong; it ſeems incredible a wave ſhould have ſuch force. It ſeem'd as if ſome ſpirit had been during that time at *Marivelez* to hinder any ſhip coming into the bay, as I obſerv'd in a ſermon at *Cavite*. The ſhip *D. James Faxardo* built at *Camboxa*, came near and was caſt away on the flats of *Japan*, and people of note periſh'd in it. The ſhip that ſail'd afterwards from *Mexico* under the command of *Lawrence de Ugalde*, being in a river, there aroſe ſo monſtrous a ſtorm, that all of her which was above water, was torn off and caſt aſhore, and ſome men were daſh'd againſt the trees, to which they ſtuck, and were found there afterwards mere mummies. Abundance of plate was loſt, and much ſtolen. It was reported as a certain truth at *Manila*, that betwixt *Acapulco* and that place the commander had got above twelve thouſand peices of eight, box-money at play. Who can believe it in theſe parts? At *Pamagaſinam*, there was terrible thunder, lightning earthquakes; and there fell hail and ſtones of ſuch a prodigious greatneſs, that ſome weigh'd an hundred and a quarter. The lord biſhop *Cardenas* writ ſo to the biſhop and court, adding, that he himſelf had ſeen ſome of thoſe ſtones. It was thought ſome burning mountain had broke out, but it could never be found whence thoſe ſtones came.

Storm.

4. The loſs of ſo many ſhips was very afflicting, the greateſt damage fell upon the *Indians:* for there being no living without ſhips, when one is loſt another muſt be built, and timber muſt be fallen; to this purpoſe they gather ſix or eight thouſand *Indians*, and ſend them into the mountains; they have the vaſt labour of felling and dragging them down, beſides the beating of them, bad pay and worſe proviſion. Sometimes they ſend religious men to protect them againſt the helliſh fury of ſome *Spaniards*. Beſides all this under the pretence of one they cut timber enough for for two ſhips, ſo many make their advantage of the labour of the *Indians*, as I ſaw it done at *Cavite*.

Philippines.

5. Before I leave *Manila* it will be proper to ſay ſomething concerning that iſland. I will not particularize any thing concerning thoſe of *Oton*, *Ilo*, *Zibu*, *Marinduque*, *Romblon*, *Caraga*, *Calamianes*, and others ſubject to our king, inhabited by *Indians*, and attended by religious men, or curates, becauſe I was not in them. I know they abound in rice, black cattel, wax, cotton, and the uſual fruits of the earth; but as I ſaid before, I can tell no particulars of my own knowledge. Only this I know for certain, that the ſwallows neſts, which are near the ſhores, are held in great eſteem, and look'd upon as a dainty. Boil'd with fleſh they are exceeding good and nouriſhing. At *Manila* they are given as preſents. Thoſe they carry to *China*, are worth much money, as I have obſerv'd elſewhere. At *Calamianes* there is abundance of them, and ſo I ſuppoſe there is in other iſlands, becauſe the *Portugueſes* make a trade of them from *Camboxa* and *Siam* to *China*. To look to, dry, they are like aſh-colour'd clay, when waſh'd and boil'd they alter. It is beyond diſpute, there is gold in all the iſlands we have ſpoken of, in ſome more than others. The iſland of *Manila* is the largeſt and moſt known, it extends from nine or ten degrees of north latitude, to above nineteen, (others ſay only from fifteen or ſixteen to nineteen, and this I look upon to be trueſt.) Its breadth from eaſt to weſt is very unequal and uncertain. The city *Manila*, which is the metropolis of all the iſlands, is ſeated upon a great river, and near the ſea. In it reſide the governor, four judges, the attorney-general, archbiſhop, three officers of the king's, a great *Alguaril* of the court, the council of the city, a head-*Alguaril*, and two in ordinary, and aldermen. The old cathedral was overthrown by the great earth-quake in 1643; another was afterwards built but not finiſh'd in my time. There is a very large and beautiful royal chapel, the monaſteries of S. *Francis*, S. *Dominick*, the ſociety, S. *Auguſtin*, S. *Nicholas*, S. *Clare*, S. *John* of GOD; and two colleges, that of S. *Thomas*, which is ours, and a univerſity incorporated and annexed to that of *Mexico*; and that of S. *Joſeph* of the ſociety. There is a noble royal hoſpital, church of S. *Potenciana*, with a houſe for honeſt women to retire, and a ſtately church of *Miſericordia*, or *Mercy*, with a ſchool, in which they breed up many *Spaniſh* fatherleſs maids, and give them portions to marry. The beſt ſort of inhabitants at *Manila* look after this ſeminary; to be the firſt brother of the *Miſericordia*, is one of the chief poſts in that government. Being to preach one year in that church, I read the ſtatutes of that brotherhood, which gave me ſome information into their affairs. One was, that in one year, which was not long before, thirty ſix thouſand pieces of eight had been given in charity to private poor. There are excellent buildings both within and without

NAVARETTE.

Swallows neſts.

Gold.

NAVARETTE. without the city, orchards, gardens, and baths which are very convenient, becauſe of the vehement heat. The walls, bulwarks, baſtions, cover'd ways, and other works about the city are as fine as may be. The place is naturally impregnable, and the fortifications would ſecure it, tho' it were not ſo. There are good heavy cannon. It is one of the beſt towns the king has. Without the walls is an infinite number of people and towns all about. The river runs all along the walls on the north-ſide, and over it is a ſtately bridge. I do not inſiſt longer on theſe things, becauſe they are well known.

6. The *Chineſes* in their books make mention of the iſland of *Manila*, which they call *Liu Sung*; they ſay, it is a country that abounds in *gold*, and they are in the right. The provinces of *Pagaſinam* and *Ilocos* are more remarkable than the reſt on this account. There is abundance of good *rice*, ſome comes up in forty days, ſo that in the ſpace of forty days, it is ſow'd, grows, ripens, is reap'd, and eaten, which is very remarkable. Some is two, ſome three, ſome five months coming up. There is excellent land for wheat, were there any way of ſowing it; no *Indians* incline to ſow, the land being taken up in the king's name, and therefore they will not addict themſelves to that labour. In my time a buſhel of *wheat* came to be worth ninety pieces of eight. There are *goats*, abundance of *deer*, and more of *Bufaloes*; they have coupled with cows, and produc'd a third ſpecies very fine to look to. There are *geeſe*, *hens*, *ſugar*, *wax*, and ſo much of that we call *Brazill-wood*, that it coſt nothing but the cutting; *Cotton* enough to cloth the inhabitants, wine and ſtrong water made of *Nipa*, and other ingredients enough, and enough to drink. The fruit is good and plentiful. The *Guayava*, which has ſpread ſo much that it deſtroys the grazing land, is excellent good, raw, boil'd, dreſs'd with meat, preſerv'd in jelly, and all ſorts of ways. The reaſon it has increas'd ſo much, is becauſe the crows and other birds eat of it, drop the ſeeds, and wherever they fall they grow. Thus the *Portugueſes* told me the *ſandal* increas'd in the iſland *Timor*, without any other labour, as I ſaid before. This tree alſo bears a little fruit, which the birds eat, they let fall the ſeeds, and they take root without any further help. The *macupa*, *bilimbin*, *paho*, *ſantol* and *papaya*, are equal to the beſt of ours. The *nanca*, which is the largeſt fruit that is known in the world, ſome being above forty pounds weight, is very pleaſant, and the nuts or kernels every ſlice of them has in it, are delicious, raw or roaſted. This fruit grows out of the body of the tree, and large branches, for the ſmall ones could not bear it. The tree bears no bloſſom. F. *Kircher* very much admires this ſort of fruit, and the *pine-apples*, or *ananaſſes*, as the *Portugueſes* call them; he ſays, they grow in *China*, but was miſtaken in this point; they are in theſe parts, but not in *China*. The *Portugueſes* much commend the *ananaſſes* of *Molaca*, they are certainly good, but I found very little difference betwixt them and thoſe of *Manila*, which tho' I eat them in *new Spain* ſeem'd to me never the worſe. There are *chiconzapotes*, black *zapotes* very good and plentiful; but above all *ates*, which I am convinced exceed all fruits in the world for taſte and ſmell. Seven or eight ſeveral ſorts of *plantans*, ſome better than others, ſo of *oranges*; the *limons* of *Manica* are ſmall; a thouſand varieties of fragrant flowers, and no leſs of ſweet herbs. *Majericons* and *ſage* grow wild in the fields to a wonderful height; ſeveral ſorts of *coco*-trees. The *coco* is of excellent uſe, before the nut comes out, they draw an excellent liquor from the nib of the branch; theſe *Indians* call it *tuba*, and the *Indian* properly ſo call'd, has the name of *Sura*; what runs from it at night is a pleaſant and wholeſome drink, being boil'd in the morning it holds good all day, they make of it excellent ſirrup, and good honey, as I have done my ſelf. What drops in the day is made into wine, and delicate vinegar. Of the outward rind of the *coco* they make a ſort of *okam* to caulk ſhips, and make ropes, and good match, which the muſquetiers there make uſe of. Of the inward ſhell are made fine bowls to drink water, or *chocolate*. The water within, when the *coco* is freſh, is wholeſome and pleaſant drink for ſick people. They roaſt the *coco* and laying it out all night in the air, they drink the water, and find a good effect of it. Of the white nut, into which the water by little and little is converted, they extract milk and uſe it ſeveral ways, particularly to dreſs rice. Beſides, they make an excellent preſerve of it, which the *Indians* call *Buchayo*. It alſo yields good oil. Of the maſh that remains, the *Indians* and *Mulattoes* make a good diſh with rice. There remains the trunk of the tree and branches, which ſerve for many other uſes. Canes are alſo very ſerviceable, ſome are as thick as a man's thigh, of which they make chairs, tables, houſes, churches, encloſures for cattel, ſcaffolding for buildings, and many other things. The iſlands abound in fiſh, ſtately *oyſters*, *iguanas*, which tho' they look helliſhly, are a great dainty; *olaves*, and *pampanos*. All the iſland of *Manila*, and others ſubject to it, have but a little coolneſs, tho' ſome parts are temperate, for any thing elſe they need

Guayava. Sandal. Nanca. Ates. Coco.

not be taken care of. The king gets nothing by it, but private perſons do for him and themſelves too. There are places in it will produce any thing, *corn*, *cloves*, *cinamon*, *pepper*, *mulberry* trees for ſilk worms. *Tobacco* there is a great deal and good; as much *ebony* as can be deſir'd; *ſandal* in the mountains, but not of the beſt ſort, There are precious *bezoar*-ſtones in deer. I ſaw a ſingular one they ſaid was worth many ducats. They hit a deer with a forked arrow, which ſtuck in him and he alive; ſome time after they kill'd him, and found the forked point of the arrow in its full ſhape, but all overgrown with *bezoar*; they broke a point, and through it the iron appear'd, to the admiration of all that beheld it; and the iron of the arrow being poiſon'd, they ſaid, that ſtone, becauſe it had hindred the poiſon of the iron from taking effect muſt needs be an excellent antidote againſt any poiſon. *I forgot to take notice of the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil at Manila, and it will ſuffice to make it known, that ſix ſhort leagues from that city, there are certain lands which they call of Tunazan*; theſe yield a hundred and thirty buſhel of wheat for one that is ſow'd in them, which is as much I think as can be ſaid.

Bezoar.

7. Some other matters of leſs moment concerning *Manila* had lik'd to have ſlip'd me, but it is not fit they ſhould be forgot. One is a college call'd the children of S. *John Laterán*; it was founded by a lay-brother of my order, his name *B. James* of S. *Mary*: In my time it had once above two hundred boys, to the great benefit of the iſlands. His way of governing them was inimitable, he taught them to read, write, grammar and muſick; for philoſophy and divinity they came to our college. He cloth'd them twice a year, taught them their Chriſtian doctrine in the morning before breakfaſt; they ſaid the third part of the roſary divided into two choirs, another third at noon, and the other third in the evening with the ſalve and litanies of our lady. On great holy-days they ſaid mattins at midnight; whilſt they din'd and ſup'd, one read. Every month they confeſs'd and receiv'd. He puniſh'd and cheriſh'd them. From thence ſome went to be ſoldiers, ſome clergymen; others into the religious orders of S. *Dominick*, S. *Francis*, and S. *Auguſtin*. So that it was a nurſery of ſpiritual and temporal ſoldiers. He procur'd an order from his majeſty to defray the charge. He got alms of the funerals, and of the *Indians*. An heroick undertaking! I am told they are now brought into the city, and attended by the graveſt religious men in the province, and even of late thoſe that have been provincials of it.

8. We ſee another remarkable thing in that country, which is, that tho' the city is little and the *Spaniards* but a few, yet thouſand of *Chineſes*, mungrels, and natives, live by them; ſo that in the *Parian* of the *Chineſes* it is likely there are two hundred carpenters, and a proportionable number of other trades, and they are always employ'd at *Manila* by the *Spaniards*. There are at leaſt two hundred *Chineſes* and mungrel barbers, who all live upon the *Spaniards*, and ſo of others. Without the walls there is a famous hoſpital for the natives, the *Franciſcan* fathers attend them very well, they having charge of the hoſpital. Oppoſite to the caſtle of S. *Gabriel*, is the hoſpital of the *Chineſes* under our direction: There is in it a *Chineſe* phyſician, *Chineſe* medicines; a religious man that ſpeaks the *Chineſe* language, ſervants and attendants to look to every thing. Few have dy'd without being baptiz'd, many with hopeful tokens of their ſalvation. All the country about *Manila*, except that part next the ſea, is full of towns and churches. That of *Parian* is ours, where there is always a religious man, who is a *Chineſe* interpreter. *Dilao* is for the *Japoneſes*, and has a *Franciſcan*. The pariſh of S. *James* the apoſtle is for the *Spaniards* who live without the walls. That of our lady of *Guia*, a miraculous image. Ours of the roſary is very miraculous, and the comfort of all thoſe iſlands; I am told they have made imperial crowns for both images of mother and ſon, richer than that I ſpoke of at *Mexico*. The barefooted fathers of S. *Auguſtin* have an *Ecce homo*, which moves all that behold it to pious compaſſion; it was placed there with great ſolemnity at the firſt coming into the government of *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, who went thither to maſs every friday.

NAVARRETE.

During theſe years ſome perſons of note dy'd in that city, ſuch as *D. Francis diaz de Mendoza*, *D. Peter Mendiola* once governor of *Terranate*, major *Navarro*, otherwiſe call'd the *juſt judge*; his ſon-in-law *James Enriquez de Loſada*. Of churchmen *D. John de Ledo*, and *D. Alonſo Zopata*, Doctors of our univerſity. I think at preſent none of my time are left.

10. At that time the ſupreme court conſiſted of *D. Sebaſtian Cavallero de Medina* of *Mexico*, *D. Alvaro Fernandez de Ocampo* of *Madrid*, *D. Francis Samaniego y Jueſta* of the mountains, *D. Salvador de Eſpinoſa* of *Vera Cruz*, *D. N. de Bolivar* attorney general. They all favour'd me, I dedicated concluſions to the ſecond and third, and after to *D. Sabiniano*, which he was preſent at with all the council. *D. Peter de Almontre* colonel. The major *D. Martin de Ocadiz* went that year to command the

Navarette. the ſupplies ſent to *Terranate*. *F. Francis de Paula* was commiſſary of the inquiſition, he had been provincial, and was ſo afterwards again. At this time I reſolv'd to leave thoſe iſlands.

11. A very holy and religious action done a few years before at *Manila* had like to have been forgot; it is fit it ſhould be known to all men, and applauded by the ſons of the church. When the Chriſtians were baniſh'd *Japan*, it is well known they came to *Manila*. It is impoſſible to expreſs how thoſe confeſſors of Christ were receiv'd, treated, and careſs'd, every one ſtrove to outdo another in piety. Many came ſick, and with the leproſy, yet charity was ſuch, that they carry'd them home to their houſes to be cur'd; and they that had one of them fall to his ſhare, thought themſelves happy. They look'd upon them as ſaints, and valu'd them as relicks of ineſtimable value. The governor, counſellors, townſmen, religious perſons and ſoldiers, went, as it were to ſnatch a *Japoneſe*, either ſound or ſick. I don't queſtion but it much edify'd the *Chineſe* infidels that look'd on; for tho' they obſerve and take notice of our faults, yet at that time they were ſenſible of the wonderful efficacy of our holy law. The preſence of ſo many witneſſes, and ſuch as they are, ought to make our carriage and deportment ſuch, as may make them by it know and glorify our God; a point S. *Thomas* propoſes and treats of in his *opuſc.* to the dutcheſs of *Brabant*. I heard afterwards ſome *Europeans* behav'd themſelves not ſo well towards the baniſh'd people of *Ireland*, a ſign they have not known what trouble is, and that the practical part of their faith is not ſo vigorous as it ought to be. They are cruel, hard-hearted, and even impious, who upon ſuch occaſions do not relent a little. Let us aſk thoſe men with S. *James* the apoſtle in his epiſt. *Canon.* c. 2. *Shew me your faith*, &c. S. *Thomas* upon it, *Who ſays, prove to me that you have faith by certain tokens; who ſays, you cannot prove it, becauſe actions are wanting, and words are not ſufficient*, &c. *And I will ſhew you my faith by my works*; that is, I can prove my ſelf one of the faithful by my works. Thoſe who are perſecuted and baniſh'd for the law of God can make good proof, not only by the words they anſwer'd to the tyrant and miniſters, but by the conſequences of their actions, (*The proof of love is the performance of the work*, ſays S. *Gregory*) that they are faithful to God and his law, and catholicks: But they who are hard-hearted to them, only teſtify by words, not by actions. What the holy apoſtle ſays immediately before the words laſt quoted, is very pat to this purpoſe.

CHAP. VII.

Of my departure from Manila, *and voyage to* Macaſar.

D. *Sabiniano Manrique* was governor, and gave general ſatisfaction (never any governor did or will pleaſe all men) tho' he wanted not ſome enemies, which human prudence can never prevent; but an argument that he govern'd well is, that the commander *Francis Enriquez de Loſada*, in the year 1666, writ to me, and I have his letter ſtill by me, that all men cry'd out for *D. Sabiniano*, but particularly the religious orders. I never heard that they cry'd out for others. This is a ſufficient commendation of that worthy gentleman: tho' his lordſhip had promis'd to ſecure my paſſage in the ſhip, which was to ſail that year for *Acapulco*; the dread I have of croſſing thoſe ſeas, and other motives, inclin'd me to go aboard the commander *Chriſtopher Romero* my old friend. All my ſtore and proviſion amounted to ſixty pieces of eight, four tunicks, and two habits; that I might go the lighter, I left my cloak with a friend, and afterwards miſs'd it and other things. No voyage upon ſea can be aſcertain'd, and it is a folly to ſet days to it.

2. We ſet ſail the fourteenth of *February*; I own I was preſently diſcourag'd, and fear'd our voyage would be tedious, becauſe the ſailors who in reaſon ought to live regularly, began to grow looſe. About that time the eaſt winds uſually roar'd, and to us they ſeem'd to be lock'd up in their caverns. On the ſixth of *March* we came to *Zamboanga*, met the ſuccours that were going to *Terranate*, they had taken in rice and fleſh at *Oton*; the commander in chief was already dead. The ſeventh at night we continu'd our voyage; the ſail with a ſudden guſt of wind threw the beſt ſailor we had into the ſea, where he periſh'd; which misfortune increas'd my fears. During our paſſage, which is of but ſixty leagues to *Macaſar* (this is otherwiſe call'd *Celebes*) we had very bad weather, moſt furious driving winds, terrible violent guſts, but not laſting, and what was worſt of all bad pilots. One morning we found our ſelves driven in among moſt frightful banks and rocks; I cannot imagine how the veſſel got in among them without being beaten to ſhivers. We got out of that danger to run into greater; for four or five days the weather prov'd very fair till about half an hour Celebes.

hour after eleven; and when we were to make an obſervation, the ſky would be clouded and we diſconſolate. The land lay upon our larboard-ſide, ſometimes about two leagues from us, as we afterwards obſerv'd, but ſo clouded that we did not diſcern it. One day we held our courſe with a fair wind and weather; they conceited it was a great bay, and diſcovering land to the northward, made to it. The current was ſo ſtrong againſt us, that tho' the wind had freſhen'd very much, we could not make the leaſt way. We were then in a place, from whence in eight days we might have been at *Macaſar*. My ſins were the cauſe we did not reach thither till *October* following: we run up to that land at a venture. Upon holy ſaturday being the laſt day of *March*, when we were about ſounding, our veſſel ſtuck faſt. It is impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion we were all in; all cry'd out, *Strike the ſails, and none ſtir'd to do it. I crept into a corner to give my ſelf up into the hands of* GOD, *concluding all was loſt.* The ebb ſhew'd we were ſurrounded with flats, ſave only the channel through which we had ſailed, by the ſpecial guidance of GOD: there was fourteen fathom water at the ſtern, and the head was aground. They labour'd till after midnight, the weather being clear and ſerene, which was our good fortune. The flood return'd, and after much pains taken, the veſſel floated without having taken in any water; as ſoon as it was day we ſail'd. Good GOD, what a melancholy *Eaſter* we had! Our proviſion grew daily ſhorter, and our confuſion encreas'd. In ſhort, after eight days we found our ſelves imbay'd, without knowing which way to get to ſea. There were *ſmall veſſels plying thereabouts, they took us for pirates, we them for robbers*; ſo we fled from one another, and knew not how to find out where we were. We had already perceived by the ſun, that we were by our courſe in two degrees of north latitude, which by our chart was wrong. We ſpent eight days more in getting out of that bay. We plainly diſcover'd land ahead, and the weather favouring to make to it, the commander, contrary to the opinion of all men, reſolv'd to anchor there till next day. When we were at dinner he ſaid to me, They are all againſt me; is not your reverence of my opinion that we make over to morrow, it being ſaturday? I anſwer'd, Sir, the beſt time to ſtand over is, when GOD gives us a fair wind. He held his tongue and follow'd his own head. The ſecond day of our paſſage, about three in the afternoon, being the eve of the feaſt of S. *Mark*, the wind ſtarted up at ſouthweſt ſo ſtrong, that we were forced to run away before it cloſe to the ſhore, not knowing what ſands were in the way. That night was one of the worſt I have ſeen upon ſea; the main-ſail flew in ſhivers, the yard was ſpent, the foremaſt came by the board, the whipſtaff broke, we all took into the cabbin, ſaid the *Roſary* and *Litanies* of our Lady, expecting how it would pleaſe GOD to diſpoſe of us. All the crew had already made their confeſſion. After midnight, through wearineſs, I fell aſleep in a corner; when I wak'd the wind was fall'n, but the ſea ran very high. We found our ſelves near the ſhore, and diſcover'd the landmarks, which was no ſmall comfort. We had been ſix weeks beating about that place; there we lighted upon that they call the *Devil's Iſland*, and might have made the kingdom of *Totole*, had our men dar'd. The commander reſolv'd to come about, and ſtand back for the kingdom of *Bohol*, to take in proviſions. When we were half way over, the wind came about a head of us, ſo that we were fain to give way to it; thus we lay cruizing in the ſame place. We made a ſecond time for *Bohol*, being almoſt loſt; it was by my advice we had tack'd about; and the commander ſaid, Father, ſome angel ſpoke thro' your reverence's mouth, for it is moſt certain we muſt have periſh'd, had the fierce wind that ſtarted up found us where we were the day before. Something we bought there, and took aboard an *Indian* of *Manila*, now become half *Mahometan*. He was a great help to us afterwards, being well acquainted with that coaſt. Upon *Corpus Chriſti* day we anchor'd near *Totole*, where we found capt. *Navarro*, who was bound in another champan for *Macaſar* as well as we; at which we rejoic'd, but our ſatisfaction was not laſting. *It is well known that in ſailing to the eaſt twelve hours are gained, and twelve loſt in ſailing weſtward.* Betwixt *Terranate* and *India* the *Portugueſe* computation is follow'd. We came to that place according to our reckoning upon *Corpus Chriſti* day, which is a thurſday, and they that came from *Terranate* took it for friday; ſo that at noon we had eaten fleſh, and at night in the port ſupp'd upon fiſh, and loſt that day, ſo that the next was ſaturday; ſo that if we had anchor'd at midnight, we ſhould have had no friday, and but ſix days to the week. As to the divine office, tho' I was not oblig'd to all that of friday, yet having time to ſpare, I perform'd for both days.

NAVARETTE. Totole.

3. There we bought abundance of *ſagu*, the *Indians* at *Manila* call it *yoro*, it is the heart of certain palm-trees; being ſteep'd, it becomes a ſort of yellow meal, very like yellow ſand. Of this they make thin cakes, which thoſe people uſe inſtead of bread, and we liv'd upon it ſix months. Excel-

Sagu. Yoro.

Navarette. lent diet for *Europeans*, and ſometimes not enough of it to ſatisfy hunger; ſometimes it was inſipid, ſometimes had a taſte, it is ſo tough it never breaks, tho' it be drawn out a yard in length. The *Indians* at *Manila* eat it in time of ſcarcity; we were mov'd to compaſſion when we ſaw them eat it, for it is no better than ground-ſticks; but at this time we thought it a dainty. The place we were in, was in a little above one degree of north latitude: from ten till two every day the ſun ſcorch'd, but about that time every day a great ſhower of rain fell, with terrible thunder and high winds, ſo that the air was cool'd, and ſo cold at night, that we were forc'd to put on more clothes.

4. Capt. *Navarro* and our commander agreed to winter there; we were much troubled at it. I and two other paſſengers deſign'd to have bought a veſſel of the king, and gone away in it. When the bargain was made, and the money paid, the king repented him, and kept above half our money: he paid it afterwards, was very knaviſh, tho' he treated me honourably, always making me ſit by him; ſome ridiculous paſſages happen'd between us. His palace was a little houſe made of canes and ſtraw, and in that hovel he carried himſelf very majeſtically; all his people ſpoke to him proſtrate on the ground. He once made us a treat, which conſiſted of *ſagu* cakes, and ſome dry'd ſmall fiſhes boil'd without any ſalt. The prince his ſon dy'd, and I own I was aſtoniſh'd at the funeral: the king and queen went to it, the king in wooden clogs, the queen barefoot. At their return, as ſhe was going up, a maid waſh'd her feet upon the ſtairs. For four and twenty hours, they every half hour fir'd ſome pedrero's that were before the palace gate. The king withdrew, and would not be ſeen for ſeveral days. He expos'd all he had to ſale, to denote his concern, but no body durſt buy any thing. There we ſaw one thing extraordinary enough, which was that moſt of thoſe people would not take ſilver; and if we ſhew'd them a piece of eight, and a ſingle ryal together, they would rather take the ryal than the piece of eight. Whilſt we had ſingle ryals we liv'd cheap; when we had ſpent them, they would not give us as much for a piece of eight, as before they gave for a ryal. We endur'd a great deal of hunger. One day I went aſhore and met with a black, who was our commander's cook, boiling ſome ſmall fiſhes. I deſir'd him to give me one or two; he anſwer'd, Father, I have them by tale. Then, ſaid I, will you give me a little of the liquor they are boil'd in, for God's ſake? I will, reply'd he. I look'd about the ſhore, and found a half coco-ſhell dirty and full of ſand; I wip'd it with my hand, and in it receiv'd the broth, into which I put a piece of dry *ſagu*, (tho' it lie a whole day in water it will not ſoak) I ate a few mouthfuls with much difficulty, and ſup'd up the broth, and ſo went contentedly away.

5. Upon the ebb, the ſeamen went to catch ſhell-fiſh upon the rocks and ſands that were left dry; there they gather'd ſtrange creatures, as ſnails, toads, ſnakes, and a thouſand ſeveral ſorts, all which they eat, and throve upon it. I was reduced to ſuch a condition, that I ſtole *ſagu* when I could conveniently. I often ſaid, what need was there of any other dainty, but ſome rice boil'd in water? At *Manila* I ſtrictly obſerv'd the phyſician's directions, not to eat butter and ſeveral other things; in this voyage I eat ſuch things that I wonder I liv'd. *He that gives ſnow, gives wool.* On the firſt of *Auguſt* we ſet out from *Totole*; thoſe cruel men expoſed us all to the danger of loſing our lives; four were already dead, and others ſick. I obſerv'd a ſtrange thing, which was, that a poor black that was going only to beg at *Macaſar*, came aboard ſo lean he could ſcarce ſtand; and yet for all our ſufferings, in which he had the greateſt ſhare, he recover'd and grew ſo fat it was hard to know him again. On S. *Dominick*'s day, about ſunſetting, we cut the line, and enter'd upon ſouth-latitude. The line is directly over the two iſlands they call the *Two Siſters*. The wind came ſo cold from off the land, that every one clad himſelf as warm as he could, ſo that in *Europe* men at that time ſweat in fifty degrees of north-latitude, and we ſhak'd with cold under the line. Who can conceive the natural reaſon of it? *Cajetan* ingenuouſly ſays, this is *Scientia de ſingularibus*, which is only found by experience. Two days after we came to the kingdom of *Caile*, in one degree and a half of ſouth-latitude. It is a noble bay, above three leagues in length, and two in breadth. As ſoon as we dropt anchor, an *Indian* of *Manila*, whoſe name was *John of the Croſs*, came aboard. He came in a devout poſture, with his beads about his neck; I ranſom'd him for twenty pieces of eight, and carried him to *Macaſar*, where he prov'd to be a great knave. He inform'd us, there were two *Portugueſes* there, whom we preſently went to ſee. By the way we viſited a petty king, who treated us with coco-nuts. Captain *Navarro* aſk'd for water to drink, the queen ſaid, there was none in the houſe; the king was angry, and order'd ſome to be brought preſently. Upon this the queen came out of her little room immediately, and taking up a great cane, went

Cold.

Caile.

went away nimbly to the river, which was near at hand; ſhe ſoon return'd, and we drank. Here one of the *Portugueſes* came to us, the other was very ſick; we went to his houſe, whither men and women flock'd to ſee us, and among thoſe, *Catamites.* thoſe helliſh monſters of men in womens clothes, who are publickly married to other men. Nothing ſo much aſtoniſh'd me in thoſe parts as this. Here the *Portugueſe* told us, ſome men would rather marry thoſe brutes than women: for which they gave two reaſons; the one, that they took great care to make much of their huſbands, the other, that they were very rich, becauſe only they could be goldſmiths.

6. It is in this kingdom where men and *Clothes.* women are clad in nothing but paper, and that not being laſting, the women are always working at it very curiouſly. It is made of the rind of a ſmall tree we ſaw there, which they beat with a ſtone curiouſly wrought, and make it as they pleaſe, coarſe, indifferent, and very fine. They dye it of all colours, and twenty paces off it looks like fine tabby. A great deal of it is carried to *Manila* and *Macao*, where I have ſeen curious tent-beds; they are very good in cold weather. When it rains, water being the deſtruction of paper, thoſe people ſtrip, and carry their clothes under their arm.

7. The men are always employ'd in making oil of coco-nuts, of which they ſell very much, and pay a great deal as tribute to the king of *Macaſar*. Whilſt we were there, he ſent to demand of them ninety thouſand pecks of oil. It is wonderful to ſee the coco-trees there are about the fields. That country produces an infi- *Plantanes.* nite number of plantane trees, and they are the beſt in the world; the natives live upon them without ſowing rice or any other grain. Eight days we continued among thoſe people, eating nothing but plantanes, and drinking the water of coco-nuts. They breed buffaloes, goats, and horſes, which they ſell, and when they have general meetings they eat a buffalo or two, half raw, half roaſted. The towns are regular, the town-houſes extraordinary. The climate is good, and the people would willingly ſubmit themſelves to the *Spaniards*, as we were told there, that they might be deliver'd from the tyrannical government of the king of *Macaſar*. NAVARETTE.

8. I afterwards ranſom'd another *Indian* of *Manila*, he was ſick; I heard his confeſſion, and as ſoon as he came to *Macaſar* he died. I gave ſix pieces of eight for him, and would have given my very habit rather than go without him. We ſail'd out of the bay on S. *Bartholomew*'s eve, but the ſea ran ſo high, we were forced back. On the nativity of our Lady we ſet out again, and by degrees got to the kingdom of *Mamuyo*. With much difficulty we got Mamuyo. into the port, where all the ſeamen fell ſick. I, with the ſick *Portugueſe* I brought away, and two young ſervants I had, bought a little boat; whilſt it was fitting out, I reſted, and attended the ſick. I ſaw the king's palace, which was very fine, and made of extraordinary timber. We ſet forwards, leaving the two champans there at anchor. We had enough to do to eſcape ſome dangers, but we ſpent the nights at eaſe and quiet. True it is, we were guilty of ſome raſhneſs. Before we came to the kingdom of *Mandar*, we lit of an- Mandar. other king, an ancient man, who us'd us well, and ſent the prince to viſit me; he was a handſome youth. The nearer we drew to *Macaſar*, which is the capital of the iſland, the more civiliz'd we found the people. It pleas'd GOD in his mercy that I arriv'd at *Macaſar* nine months Macaſar. and three days after I ſet out of *Manila*, that voyage being never reckon'd above forty days. I thought I was come into a paradiſe, found two of my order there, who to me ſeem'd two angels; and they prov'd ſo to me, for they made as much of me as their poverty would permit. The truth is, nothing was ſo pleaſing to me as being off the ſea, among my own brethren, and where I might ſay maſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Of my Stay in the Kingdom of Macaſar.

1. THE iſland of *Macaſar* (or rather *Celebes*) is very large. The *ſumbane*, which in their language is the ſame as emperor, lives in the moſt ſouthern part of all the iſland, which lies in about ſix or ſeven degrees of ſouth latitude. He has ſeveral petty kings under him. The country abounds in rice. Fourſcore years ago it was inconſiderable, but ſince then has throve mightily by reaſon of the fairs kept there; ſhips meet there from *Manila*, *Goa*, *Macao*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, ſo that abundance of rich commodities were brought thither from all parts of that *Archipelago*. Trade enrich'd the country, and made the ſovereign powerful. Before this trade, the knowledge of the law of GOD was brought thither by means of the *Portugueſes* then at *Malaca*, and that of *Mahomet* from *Siam*. At that time they were all *Gentiles*, and thought *Religion.* good

NAVARETTE. good to receive one of the two laws; that they might not err in ſo neceſſary a point, they reſolv'd to make uſe of an extravagant expedient, which was, at one and the ſame time to ſend away a veſſel to *Siam* for *Mahometans*, and another for religious men to *Malaca*, reſolving to admit of thoſe that came firſt. The *Mahometans* came firſt, through the fault of thoſe at *Malaca*, as I heard it often from grave *Portugueſes*, as well clergy as laymen. They receiv'd them and their law, which they have obſerv'd moſt ſtrictly, and has obſtructed the converſion of thoſe people. When the *Dutch* took *Malaca*, moſt of the *Portugueſes*, mungrels and others who ſerv'd them, retir'd to this country. The king receiv'd and aſſign'd them a place to live in, ſo that in my time there was a great town there. By the help of theſe *Portugueſes* the trade daily increas'd. Many *Malayes* repair'd thither, and I have ſeen an embaſſador there from the great *Nababo*, that is of *Golocondar*. No man paid anchorage, or any other duty; ſaving the preſents captains of ſhips and merchants of note made *Trade.* the *ſumbane*, all the trade was free. This made it an univerſal mart of thoſe parts of the world. The very day I arriv'd, prince *Carrin Carroro*, a man of good parts, and well vers'd in ours and the *Portugueſe* language, ſent me a meſſage. He was the ſon of that renowned tho' unfortunate prince, our great friend *Carrin Patin Galoa*. He ſent me word he would ſee me in the houſe of a rich and conſiderable man, who liv'd by our houſe. He would not go to the monaſtry, becauſe a little before the *ſumbane* and he had order'd our church, and that of the fathers of the ſociety, to be thrown down, at the requeſt of the governor of the biſhoprick of *Malaca*, who liv'd there, and of the curate, either becauſe the people went all to the monaſtries, or elſe becauſe there was not ſo much alms given to the pariſh, the religious ſharing with it. This is the original of all fallings out of this ſort, and will ever be ſo. They made the *ſumbane* and prince ſome good preſents to gain their conſent. The churches were demoliſh'd by the *Moors*, but even all of them did not approve of the action. Inſomuch that there being great want of rain that year I was there, *Carrin Samana*, a *Moor* of great repute, and a rational man, us'd to ſay, How ſhould GOD ſend rain, when they deſtroy and burn his churches? I went that afternoon to ſee the prince; he receiv'd me kindly, and aſk'd ſeveral queſtions concerning *Spain* and *Manila*.

2. I had no thoughts of repaying his viſit, as believing thoſe people did not take notice of ſuch things. I underſtood the prince had complain'd of my neglect; I deſir'd captain *Francis Vilira*, in whoſe houſe he had viſited me, to bear me company. He did ſo, we went together three quarters of a league. His palace was very good; he kept us till one of the clock, ſhew'd us ſome of our maps and books; he kept his father's library, which was conſiderable, had an excellent ſtriking clock: we talk'd of *Mahomet*, and the *Portugueſe*, who was a very zealous catholick, flatly told him he was in hell. Do not ſay ſo captain, quoth *Carroro*. I commended this man's reſolution, another would have call'd it folly. If he had dy'd on this account, he had been a martyr; as the prieſt was whom they put to death at *Damaſcus* for the ſame reaſon. We return'd home through a row of palm-trees, the fineſt in the world. The ſun's rays could not pierce it, and it was above a league long, tho' we did not go the whole length. How it would be valu'd among us, and with good cauſe! the prince repeated his viſits oftner than I would have had him. As ſoon as I took his hand, which was the way of paying him reſpect, he would ſay, Our LORD be with your reverence. He one day brought the *ſumbane* to *Vilira*'s houſe along with him; I was preſently call'd, came, and in truth they both did me too much honour. Their garb *Dreſs.* was the moſt ridiculous that can be expreſs'd; they were both in their gay dreſs, had cloth coats after our faſhion on their bare ſkins, their arms naked, the ſleeves hanging down, and their bellies uncover'd after their faſhion. The prince told us how his men had kill'd a crocodile ſeven *Crocodile.* fathom long, and three fathom thick; and that he had ſome of the teeth by him. It was then the monſtrouſeſt creature in the world. I mention'd it in the firſt book.

3. At this time an embaſſador came from *Jacatra*; they received him in the houſe of the ſecretary *Andrew Mendez*, knight of the order of CHRIST, ſon to the laſt *ſumbane*, and a black woman. The embaſſador was call'd, the *ſumbane* and prince ſat upon chairs rais'd high under a canopy; the prince plac'd me by his ſide, and aſk'd me ſome queſtions; he had a large ſparkling diamond on his finger. The embaſſador came upon a ſtately horſe, ſix thouſand *Moors* with lances attending him. Having made his obeiſance, the embaſſador ſat down and was cover'd. They commanded him to be uncover'd; the interpreter urg'd, that embaſſadors us'd to be cover'd. They told him, it was true, embaſſadors from kings did uſe to be ſo, but that was not for him who came but from the governor of *Jacatra*; he obey'd and held his tongue, offer'd the preſent he carry'd, which conſiſted of ſeveral pieces

pieces of ſilk. It was not receiv'd, the letters were read; and not being ſatisfy'd with the excuſes that were made concerning two ſhips the *Dutch* had taken from them, they reſolv'd to remit the buſineſs to force of arms. It had been better for them to continue in peace, and loſe the two ſhips. The embaſſador went aboard his ſhip; they took away what they had in the factory by night; then he declar'd war, cannonading the place. Great wars enſued; it coſt the *Dutch* dear, but they ſtood to it, and in the year 1670. when I paſs'd by *Malaca*, they made themſelves maſters of that country; and that the people might not rebel again, as they had done before, they carried away the *ſumbane*, the prince, and ſeveral great men; thus GOD humbled their pride. The firſt time the *Dutch* took it, their firſt article was, that all the *Portugueſes* ſhould depart the place: they did ſo, and had well deſerv'd it.

4. About that time an old man came to me; he fix'd his eyes upon me, and I did the ſame to him. I thought I knew him, and he had a mind to ſpeak to me. After a while I bethought my ſelf, and found it was that chief of the iſland *Mindoro*, who was taken when I left that iſland to return to *Manila*. I was very glad: he told me how he had liv'd four years in ſlavery under ſeveral maſters. He wore his beads about his neck, and aſſur'd me, he had never miſs'd ſaying them over a day; that they had offer'd him wives, but he would never conſent to marry. He made his confeſſion, and in truth I was aſtoniſh'd to ſee how GOD had preſerv'd him ſo clear, among ſuch wicked people. It is a great thing to be good among ill men, ſays St. *Bernard*, *epiſt.* 25. I enquir'd after his ſon, and the tears running down his eyes, he told me, that flying from *Jacatra*, where they had ſold them to a *Chineſe* infidel, they travel'd over the mountains by night, ſleeping betwixt whiles in places remote from the roads, that they might not be found by any that ſought after them; and that one night his ſon lying aſleep between him and a youth he had with him, a tiger came and carry'd him away in his jaws. LORD have mercy on him! What a grief it muſt have been to his father! I took particular notice of one thing, which was, that when this chief liv'd in his own town, and at home, he was ſo fat and unweildy, that he could hardly go with a ſtaff; and when I ſaw him almoſt naked at *Macaſar*, he was ſpare, and as light as if he had been but twenty years of age. By which we may ſee how natural labour is to human life, and how hurtful tenderneſs is. I provided for him the beſt I could in a veſſel that was bound for *Manila*: how pleas'd were his family and town when he return'd? NAVARETTE.

5. I preach'd at *Macaſar* in *Lent* the year 1658. *Carroro* every day ſaid he would hear me, but never perform'd it. His father was a great lover of ſermons, and conſtantly heard them. He had read all the R. F. *F. Luis de Granada*'s works; he was convinced ours was the true faith, and was wont to ſay, Many went to hell out of policy, and that he was one of them; (this is barbarity in earneſt) it was ſuppos'd by his words that he intended to be baptiz'd at the laſt hour of his life, and therefore F. *Francis* a jeſuit attended him in his laſt ſickneſs, having water ready to uſe it, whenſoever he ſhould deſire it. But he having neglected ſo many calls, GOD ſlighted him: *Becauſe I have call'd you, and you refuſed, at your death I will laugh*, &c. He loſt his ſenſes, and ſo dy'd. A moſt unhappy man! *Carroro* his ſon, in my hearing, ſaid of him, that he was an admirer of all our things: Whenſoever he ſaw a ſword, he would handle it, and enquire of the uſe of it. He once took a *Portugueſe*'s ſword in his hand, and underſtanding from him it would pierce a double buff coat, he made him try it immediately, which the *Portugueſe* perform'd, tho' he hurt his hand with the great force he put to pierce the buff, which was upon a chair. *Patin Galoa* ſeeing that done, aſk'd for his bow, and adding one fold more to the buff coat, made ſuch a furious ſhot, that he pierc'd the three folds. All that were preſent ſtood aſtoniſh'd. That ſort of bow ſeems to be an inſignificant weapon, and they do wonders with it; all their arrows are poiſon'd, 1658. *Bow.*

6. We once ſaw the *ſumbane*'s elephant paſs by along the ſhore, with his driver upon his back; very ſoon after he came back alone. We were ſurpriz'd at it, enquir'd how it came about, and were told, that the day before the driver had a cocoa-nut given him, which he ſtruck twice againſt the elephant's fore-head to break it; this day as he was going towards the town, the elephant ſaw ſome coco-nuts they were ſelling in the ſtreet, he took one up with his trunk, and beat it to pieces upon his driver's head, left him dead upon the place, and return'd alone. This comes of jeſting with elephants. *Elephant.*

7. About this time the *ſumbane* commanded two *Portugueſes* ſhould be apprehended for a murder they had committed, and condemn'd them to death. At the place of execution he offer'd them their lives if they would turn *Mahometans*. The firſt would not conſent, ſo they ript him up with a ſort of dagger they call *Clis*. The other was ſo daunted at the ſight, that he

NAVARETTE. he immediately abjur'd Chriſtianity. Afterwards he fled to the mountains, and got over to *Macao*, where he was reconcil'd. There were abundance of ſlaves to the *Portugueſes* there, who had renounced their religion; upon any little quarrel the ſlaves would go away to the *Moors*. When they had abjur'd Chriſtianity, they would come and ſcoff at their maſters. I underſtood another thing there which is deplorable, *viz.* that Chriſtian men kept *Mahometan* women, and *Mahometan* men Chriſtian women. Whence ſprung theſe and many other ſpiritual calamities?

8. At the court of the iſland *Borneo*, which is very near to *Macaſar*, there are above four thouſand *Indians* of *Manila* in ſlavery, which is a great pity. *Indians* of *Manila* may be found in every iſland of that *Archipelago*, being either ſlaves or runaways, and in all places whereſoever I was, from *China* as far as *Suratte*, I met with natives of *Manila*, and its leſſer iſlands, and yet people will aſſign other chimerical reaſons of the decreaſe of them. Uſe them well, and they will not fly; protect them, and they will not be carry'd away into ſlavery. There is not a ſhip ſails from *Manila*, whether it belong to *Siam*, *Camboxa*, or the *Portugueſe*, &c. but carries away *Indians* out of the iſlands.

9. At *Macaſar* I ſaw *Oſtridges*, and a child that had twenty four fingers, toes and thumbs; and beſides they ſaid it was an
1658. *Hermaphrodite*. About *May*, 1658. a pink arriv'd there from *Goa*, and fortunately eſcap'd the *Dutch*; it had aboard ſome Franciſcans and Jeſuits. Diſcourſing about the taking of *Ceilon* by the *Dutch*, one of the Franciſcans ſaid, It was to be loſt of neceſſity, or elſe fire muſt have fallen from heaven and conſum'd it, for the iniquities and wickedneſs of the *Portugueſes*. He was a *Portugueſe*, and a religious man, who ſpoke theſe words in my hearing.

10. I being then out of conceit with the ſea, and unprovided of all neceſſaries to bring me into *Europe*, reſolv'd to go over with the *Portugueſes* to *Macao*, and thence to enter *China*, where thoſe of my order were, and to end my days among them. I met with good conveniency and company; four ſmall veſſels were ready to ſail, but all of them very fearful, becauſe a great *Dutch* ſhip lay in ſight. Some made great boaſts in their talk, but an *Engliſhman* advis'd them to take heed what they did, for the *Dutch* would not come to board, but batter the pinks at a diſtance, and out of danger. He ſaid further, You gentlemen have order'd your buſineſs very ill, you have only taken care to build one neſt in one place, and another in another, which divided your force, and ſo could ſecure nothing. The *Portugueſes* own'd the *Engliſhman* was in the right, and that made them ſometimes rail at their government, and complain of their having caſt off our king. Upon S. *Anthony*'s day we ſet ſail, rather truſting to GOD, and the aſſiſtance of the ſaint, than to our own ſtrength. What hap'ned to us, I will ſet down in the following chapter.

CHAP. IX.

My Voyage from Macaſar *to* Macao.

Portugueſes. 1. IT is moſt certain that the *Portugueſe* nation are devout, godly, and religious, which I know by experience, and the firſt of it I had this voyage. I was treated by them with great civility, courteſy and generoſity; and what is more, I prevail'd with them, never to diſcourſe before me, even at *Macao*, about the differences then betwixt the two kingdoms. Aboard the ſhip the third part of the *Roſary* was ſaid every day kneeling, and our Lady's *Litany* was ſung every day. I took upon me to preach to them, which I did daily, as long as we were upon the ſea; this and my retiring to my apartment, made them over-fond of me. Our voyage was as good as could be wiſh'd without any miſchance.

Tacarabaca. 2. When we had paſs'd the dangerous flat of *Tacarabaca*, which ſignifies the knife of hell, and is a long ſharp rock, where many ſhips have periſh'd, the pinks parted, two one way, and two another, though aſhore, they agreed always to keep together. It was a brutal action in the opinion of all men. The third day after we diſcover'd aſtern two light frigats that gain'd upon us amain. We put our ſelves into a fighting poſture, tho' we wiſh'd there might be no occaſion for it. The ſails were hoiſted up to the round-tops, and they wetted to make the more way. We begg'd of GOD the ſun might not ſtand ſtill, as it had done for *Joſhua*, but that it would ſet preſently. It ſet, and when it was ſomewhat dark we alter'd our courſe, ſteering eight points more to windward, which we held all night. Next morning we found our ſelves all alone, and clear of our enemies. Three days after that we ſpy'd another great ſhip, but made the beſt of our way and eſcap'd it.

3. Our pilot was a *Chineſe*, and in truth a man of extraordinary virtue, and good fortune;

fortune; he was extremely meek, humble, calm, and knew thoſe ſeas admirably well. He was alive in the year 1670. but very old and blind. We had all of us extraordinary comfort in him. A pilot at ſea is like a phyſician to ſick men. We came to the Samatras. place of the *Samatras*; ſo they call the fierce winds that prevail at that ſeaſon. There is no deſcribing their fury: did one of thoſe guſts laſt an hour, no ſhip could keep the ſea; they always bring much rain with them, which is the cauſe they ſoon fall: our ſmall veſſels ſcudded upon the foam of the ſea.

4. We were four religious men in the cabbin; there was no going to bed all the voyage: I us'd to lie down by a bale of ſtuffs; one morning I wak'd, and found it on the wrong ſide of me: I preſently concluded with my ſelf, there had been ſome extraordinary hurricane that night. In came a Franciſcan looking pale and ſad; and ſaluting us, I aſk'd him, How he had paſs'd the night without. He told me, the veſſel had been at the point of foundring, and it was a miracle we were alive. The buſineſs was, the pilot lay down to ſleep a little, and order'd that as ſoon as ever they found it rain'd, they ſhould furl the ſails. The night prov'd ſo dark and diſmal, that there was no diſcerning which way the vanes ſtood, tho' never ſo near; and it being mizling weather, it could not be diſtinguiſh'd whether it rain'd or not. It pleas'd GOD that he who ſupply'd the pilot's place was ſenſible of ſome noiſe upon the ſtern, and cry'd, furl, there's rain at hand. They let the tacks run, and immediately the *Samatra* follow'd; ſo that had not the tacks been looſe, we were all gone. At this time the bale which was by me tumbled, but I did not wake, which was a great mercy, ſince we were not to be drown'd; for the fright and dread would not have ſuffer'd me to cloſe my eyes again.

5. When we came in ſight of the king- Champa. dom of *Champa*, the ſky was clear, and the weather alter'd. Thoſe who had been there ſaid, there was a wonderful idol-temple near that place. It is a concavity betwixt rocks, very large, long, wide and ſtrong. A few days after we diſcover'd the monſtrous rock of the kingdom of *Cochinchina*, it is upon the top of a mountain, and reaches a prodigious height above it. The Cacatooes paſſengers aboard had abundance of *Cacatooes* and apes, which made ſome diverſion. It was very pleaſant to hear thoſe birds talk, and a fine ſight when they were made angry, nothing can be more pretty. On the other ſide the monkeys made ſome ſport. During this voyage I receiv'd full information concerning that religious man who brought a young *Chineſe* as his ſervant into *Europe*, and being come into theſe parts NAVA- ſet him up for the emperor's ſon, which RETTE. made a great noiſe, and turn'd to his advantage. At *Macaſar* I had a ſatisfactory account that other miſſioners of *Japan* had given out, that ſome Chriſtian merchants that came with them were great princes. They impos'd upon all the princes of *Europe*, as the pamphlet ſaid, who believ'd what they were told, and generouſly offer'd them rich preſents and things of value. During this voyage I was told a notable ſtory, it was confirm'd when I return'd in the year 1670. It was, that a ſailor then aboard, who ſail'd every year backwards and forwards betwixt *Macao* and *Macaſar*, *Coſtive-* which is at leaſt thirty days ſail, never eas'd *neſs.* his body till he came aſhore. He eat and drank heartily, made a great deal of water, but never the leaſt of going to ſtool. There is no doubt but the ſea binds up the body, as well for want of exerciſe, as becauſe of the nature of the food; but it is ſtrange it ſhould do it to that exceſs, without throwing up fumes to the head, or producing ſome other diſtemper.

6. In a book I read by chance, I ob- *Nouriſh-* ſerv'd the reaſon why leſs ſuſtenance ſerves *ment.* in hot countries, than in cold. That it is ſo appears by conſtant experience, and ſo it appears that in thoſe countries the natives live upon a little rice, *ſago*, and ſome ſhell-fiſh, and are as plump, fat, and ſtrong, as thoſe who in cold countries eat fleſh and bread, and drink ſtrong wines. The cold it's certain drives in the heat, which helps digeſtion and cauſes hunger. This is not ſo common in hot countries, there is a ſort of decay or faintneſs, but no hunger, becauſe the heat ſpreading over all the parts of the body, that which remains in the ſtomach has not ſtrength for digeſtion, for which reaſon it needs not ſo much to prey upon, as when it is ſtrong and vigorous.

7. We had a ſight of the iſland *Xan Cho-* Xan *ang*, where S. *Francis Xaverius* dy'd, and Choang. upon friday the thirteenth of *July* at night we entred a narrow ſtrait. We ſail'd out of danger to all appearance; the pilot aſk'd, How wind ye? The ſteerman anſwer'd, North. Furl the ſails, quoth the pilot, and drop anchor, or we are loſt. It was done in a moment. In the morning we found our ſelves within muſquet-ſhot of the ſhore. From thence to *Macao* was five leagues; our captain, who was a handſome youth, ſpent all the time we were ſailing them, in dreſſing himſelf, and he had enough to do it with. He was almoſt dreſs'd, and the veſſel with all its colours and ſtreamers aboard, when a boat came from ſhore, and brought the news that his father was dead. The extravagancies that man committed, were the greateſt I ever beheld:

Navarette. beheld: He grew as furious as a tiger, and tore his fine clothes with helliſh rage, there was no comforting, or appeaſing of him; a few days after a ſmall diſtemper ſeiz'd him, and in leſs than two months ſent him to his grave. There was aboard an ancient venerable *Portugueſe*, who us'd to be familiar with me, and told me, that a few years ſince a curate, who was a *Jew*, had been burnt at *Lisbon*, who had baptized very many without any intention to confer the ſacrament; which was the cauſe that orders were ſent to all parts, that all who had been baptiz'd in ſuch a pariſh during ſuch a certain number of years, ſhould be rebaptiz'd, which abundance did, and among them one who was governor of *Diu*, to whom the news was brought as he lay a dying, which was a great happineſs. He ſaid further, that four of the inhabitants of *Macao*, and he among them, diſcourſing upon this ſubject, they began to argue whether the curate that baptiz'd them had a good or bad intention. To remove all doubts, and remain free from any ſcruple, they reſolv'd to go to S. *Francis* his well, and privately baptize one another. They did ſo, and were well pleas'd. Was it not very well done of us father, quoth the *Portugueſe*? No, it was very ill done, ſaid I. The good old man was very much troubled at my anſwer. Strange things happen in the world.

8. We landed, I went with thoſe of my order to our monaſtery, we had need of reſt. That afternoon, it being ſaturday, I receiv'd great ſatisfaction in hearing the *Roſary* ſaid, the Litany and *Salve Regina* ſung. It is very well perform'd among us, as well as in the *Philippine* iſlands, *new Spain*, *Italy*, and other parts, but much better throughout all *India*. Upon all ſaturdays, feſtivals of our Lady, and firſt ſundays of the month, the brothers meet; and they are all ſuch, they put on a long robe of white ſilk with an image of our Lady, embroider'd on the breaſt, and every one with a torch of white wax in his hand: thus they accompany the holy image in the proceſſions, and the ſinging of the *Salve*, at which the ſuperior in a cope carries a little one. I lik'd it better and better every day, and it increas'd my devotion.

9. I ſhall hereafter write a particular chapter concerning what the city *Macao* is at preſent, and what it was, its ſituation, ſtrength, monaſteries, churches, and what elſe it contains; this to ſave repetitions. In the enſuing chapter I ſhall ſpeak of other things I obſerv'd there.

CHAP. X.

Of my Stay at Macao, *and firſt entring the great Empire of* China.

1. ALL the while I ſtay'd at *Macao*, I had a great deal of trouble in preaching and hearing confeſſions, moſt people came to me. One day I heard a good lady, who ſaid to me, Father, ſome *Confeſſion.* years ſince, when I had riches to ſpare, I had enough to hear my confeſſion, now I am poor I can't find one. I was much troubled at her words; I offer'd her my ſervice as often as ſhe pleas'd, and perform'd it. I heard ſome others, who told me they came by ſtealth, becauſe their maſters confin'd them to certain confeſſors; others that their former confeſſors might not chide them for going to a new one. I miſlik'd both, and I found ſo much of it, that I was forced to give a hint of it in the pulpit.

2. A few months after they ſent a confeſſor into *China*, he had ſeveral ſpiritual daughters, and from thence writ, exhorting them to virtue, and adviſing them not to go to confeſſion to ſuch a church and monaſtery. I thought this very ill advice, and it was diſlik'd by a perſon of note, when he heard of it.

3. I was there inform'd, that in a certain church of that city they had given the bleſſed ſacrament three times to one woman upon *Chriſtmas*-day. I was aſk'd my opinion concerning it, and anſwer'd, It was very ill done, and a breach of a precept of the church there is to the contrary. That there was a particular reaſon for prieſts ſaying three maſſes that day, which did not extend to the laity receiving. This point is particularly handled in its proper place.

4. At that time there happen'd a misfortune that might have prov'd of ill conſequence. The *Tartar* ſoldiers take more liberty at *Macao*, than they do in *China*; they uncover womens faces, as they go along the ſtreets, and even in proceſſions, and there is no body can hinder them, tho' in *China* they look upon it as a heinous offence for a man to look upon a woman. Some of them went to ſee the church of the ſociety, which is a very good one, but not ſo extraordinary as F. *Rodas* makes it. They ſtay'd longer than the *Sacriſtan* would have had them, he grew impatient, and was ſomething rough with them, which they reſented, and waited an opportunity to revenge. It is no prudence in a ſtrange country to abuſe thoſe that are maſters of it. Thoſe ſoldiers got together ſome more of their gang, and walking about the ſtreets that afternoon, met two fathers of the ſociety, on whom they took full revenge for

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the wrong done them; they cudgel'd, dragg'd them about the ground, and tore their clothes. This alarm'd the city, ſome ſubſtantial citizens took up arms, the temporal coadjutors went out with ſpears, fell upon the ſoldiers, who had ſecur'd themſelves with their captain in the houſe where they quarter'd; they aſſaulted the houſe, threw in hand-granadoes, and beſet them, but the houſe being over the ſea, they eaſily made their eſcape at night, and acquainted the petty king of *Canton* with the matter. He immediately order'd the magiſtrates of the city, and fathers of the ſociety to appear before him. Each ſent two as deputies. The religious men were kept cloſe priſoners ſeveral months, the townſmen follow'd the ſuit. It was compounded for three thouſand ducats in ſilver, which the ſociety paid with an ill will. This was the end of that buſineſs, and it might have prov'd worſe.

5. I ſaw a monſtrous ſight there, which beſides that it griev'd me to the ſoul, put me out of patience. A Chineſe corrector liv'd there, whoſe nick-name given him by the *Portugueſes* was *Boneca*. He ſeeing our proceſſions, reſolv'd to make a feſtival to his idols, and to this purpoſe borrow'd jewels and relicaries of the *Portugueſes*, as I ſuppoſe deceitfully. With theſe things he adorn'd a bier to be carry'd on mens ſhoulders, on which he placed an idol, and calling together the infidels, they carry'd him about the ſtreets and market of the city, with muſick. I was an eye-witneſs to it, and bewail'd the miſerable condition of that place. A citizen whoſe name was *Texera*, an honeſt man and good Chriſtian, laid hand to his ſword, but check'd himſelf. He afterwards ſaid to me, I had not valu'd being cut in pieces, but bethought my ſelf, that the whole city would periſh, and that ſtopp'd me, otherwiſe I did not want courage to break the idol, and kill the idolaters. A few days after I preach'd, and I believe they remember what I ſaid to this matter, and about the women lending an infidel their relicaries,

6. All church-men and laity there pay ground-rent for their houſes and churches, as is uſual all over *China*, but above all the people of *Macao*, who are ſtrangers, and had the place given them upon that condition. The magiſtrates receive it from all perſons, and pay in the money. They came to a monaſtery to aſk their quota, and they oppos'd it vigorouſly; the magiſtrates argued the caſe, and intreated, urging the example of the cathedral, pariſhes, and other monaſteries. All would not do, the others alledging it was contrary to *Bulla Cœnæ*. The magiſtrates gave their reaſons, and at laſt the city paid the money becauſe the religious men could not be brought to hearken to reaſon. They put this caſe to me, without my being acquainted with the particulars of it; I anſwer'd, as I thought fit, and what I would anſwer at this time, which was, that thoſe fathers ſhould go to the *Tartar* emperor, and notify that bull to him, and if he allow'd of it, they might enjoy their privilege, and not pay. Such a queſtion deſerves no other anſwer. I have always ſaid the things that happen in thoſe parts are incredible. Is there any ſuch thing as *Bulla Cœnæ* in the world, that concerns the receiving of my ground, or other rent? I was in the right to believe that was not the effect of ignorance ſo much as of wilfulneſs. NAVARETTE.

7. I found abundance of violent *Sebaſtianiſts* in that city, (*ſo call'd for that they expect king* Sebaſtian *ſlain by the* Moors *above one hundred years ſince will return again.*) I ſtood amaz'd to hear the arguments they us'd to prove he was ſtill alive. One who was a good Chriſtian argu'd thus to me: Father, no king ever dy'd but his obſequies were perform'd, none have been perform'd for king *Sebaſtian*, therefore he is not dead. The major is undeniable, the minor plain, ſo the conſequence, *&c.* When I diſcours'd this point with F. *Gouvea* a jeſuit he deny'd the minor, and ſaid the obſequies were perform'd at the monaſtery of *Bethlehem* near *Lisbon*. Others have told me they were not perform'd by the kingdom, (*this ſeems a quibble.*) When I return'd out of *China*, they were ſtill of the ſame mind, and expect him daily. Sebaſtianiſts.

8. Another thing I thought ſtrange at *Macao*, which was that a widow gentlewoman, whoſe name was *Elizabeth Raigoto*, having a law-ſuit about a conſiderable quantity of *ſandal*, with the procurator of a certain order, another of the ſame houſe took part with the widow, and pleaded for her. So that one was for, and another againſt the widow, in the ſame houſe. F. *Gouvea* told me he had ſeen the like at *Lisbon*, in a great ſuit there was with the collector, with whom F. *Suarez* ſided, and did him all the ſervice he could. And another very learned man of the ſociety was violent againſt him. There is no doubt but there may be two probable opinions, and one hold the one, and another the other.

2. When I declar'd I would go into *China*, the whole city was concern'd at it; and there was a layman that ſaid, I ought to be ſtopp'd, for the general good of others. I was oblig'd to them for their love and many favours. Having no knowledge of that vaſt kingdom, I was neceſſitated to have recourſe to them that had, for di-

NAVARRETTE. rections how to travel. They gave me written inſtructions very willingly, but I found the contrary by experience. The paper ſpecify'd the provinces of *China* as far as *Tartary*, without mentioning any city, town, or village, as if a man ſhould direct another how to travel from *Madrid* into *Germany*, and ſhould write, You muſt go into *Catalonia*, thence into *France*, ſo into *Flanders*, &c. This did not diſcourage me. I took a *Chineſe*, who ſpoke a little *Portugueſe*, agreed with him, and order'd our affairs to ſet out. I us'd all my endeavours to go as far as *Canton* with another miſſioner, who was to build a church in that metropolis. He and his ſuperior promis'd I ſhould, and that they would give me timely notice. I was ready and expected to be call'd upon ſome days, but they never perform'd; perhaps they could not be as good as their words. The other went away, and I remain'd ſomewhat baffled but not out of hopes. I found an infidel who conducted me with a very good will, and for a ſmall charge. I conſider'd by my ſelf what difference there is betwixt the ſentiments of GOD and man. A catholick prieſt and miſſioner would not take me along with him, and GOD order'd that a gentile and idolater ſhould carry me, and uſe me with all the reſpect in the world. Some *Tartar* ſoldiers went in the ſame boat, who carry'd themſelves very civilly towards me. I was deſtitute of all human dependance, and was the firſt that ventur'd among thoſe heathens in this nature, and openly: Which father *Gouvea* of the ſociety often admir'd, and declar'd as much in my hearing. So that all the miſſioners who had enter'd *China* till that time, either did it privately as the *Franciſcans* and thoſe of my order, or elſe under the protection of ſome *mandarines*, or as mathematicians, as thoſe of the ſociety. It was certainly a ſpecial goodneſs of GOD towards me, otherwiſe it could not have been done.

10. As ſoon as we were out of *Macao*, we came to an idol temple the heathens have there, and as we paſs'd by it, the ſailors offer'd their ſacrifice, and perform'd their ceremonies for obtaining a good paſſage. *Macao* was never able to remove that eye-ſore; and yet they boaſt they are lords of that iſland. In two days we came to the metropolis of *Canton*. I was aſtoniſh'd to ſee that prodigious city. We run up the river under the walls, they extend almoſt a league and a half from eaſt to weſt. I ſpoke ſomething of this city in the firſt book.

11. When I went hence I was aſſiſted by the black ſoldiers who were Chriſtians; they were very uncivil to me, they ſtole from me fifty pieces of eight, my church-ſtuff, and other ſmall things. I was upon my guard againſt the infidels, but not againſt Chriſtians, which was the cauſe this misfortune befel me, which I found out twenty four hours after, when I had ſail'd ſome leagues; I made ſome enquiry, but to no purpoſe, ſo my ſufferings began. In the metropolis I found a black who made a practice of baptizing all the children he met in the ſtreets, and had done ſo to many. There is no doubt but all that dy'd in a ſtate of innocence were ſav'd, for he baptiz'd them well. I blam'd him for it, but know not whether he was the better. I ſail'd up the river nine days with three *Tartar* ſoldiers, and declare it, they could not be civiler, tho' they had been good Chriſtians. I was aſtoniſh'd at their courteſy, calmneſs and good behaviour. All that way I never gave any man the leaſt thing, but he return'd ſome little preſents; and if he had nothing to return, there was no perſuading him to accept of a morſel of bread. This is the general cuſtom throughout the kingdom. I came to the river of the watering engines I mention'd in the firſt book. *Gratitude.*

12. I travel'd afoot for want of money, where there was no river. One day I went up a vaſt hill, which tir'd me very much; on the top of it was a good houſe, where ſoldiers lay to ſecure the roads, of which that nation is very careful. The captain ſaw me going by, came out to meet me, was very courteous, invited me in, and led me by the hand; I ſat down, he preſently order'd their drink made of *Cha* to be brought, ſhew'd compaſſion to ſee me travel afoot, and limping with wearineſs: he ask'd my *Chineſe* companion how I came to travel after that manner, was ſorry that my things had been ſtolen, conducted me out, and took his leave with much civility and concern for my loſs. I went on much comforted with that kindneſs, went down the hill, which was tedious and craggy, that quite lam'd me, ſo that I was not able to ſtir. We came to an infidel's houſe (I met with no Chriſtian till we came to *Fo Kien*) whilſt they were boiling a chick for me to eat, I fell down and fainted, and tho' I preſently came to my ſelf, they thought I ſhould have dy'd there. The infidel preſently went in and brought clothes, he made me a little bed, on which they laid me, and I went to reſt. I was aſtoniſh'd to ſee with what care and diligence the infidel attended me, no more could have been done in any town in *Spain*. I eat and gather'd ſtrength, that man did wonders with me that night, he gave me his own room and bed, which were very good. True it is, I ſlept but little, being in care to riſe betimes. *Humanity.*

betimes. He made much of me, and would take nothing for my lodging. This is very much among infidels.

13. Next day as we were entring a great town, my *Chineſe* and he that carry'd the ſmall baggage went before, and I was left in a deſperate condition, ſad, and out of patience, among thouſands of *Chineſes*, without knowing how to enquire for my company, or anſwer their queſtions; I had an ill afternoon of it, but no man was uncivil to me: I have ſaid it, and muſt repeat it a thouſand times, that this nation out does all others in the world in this particular, and ſome others. Next day it being very cold, for it was paſt the middle of *October*, we came to a river; I took off my ſhoes and ſtockings, and waded it with the water up to my knees, and very ſenſible of the violent cold. The company that travel'd together, ſpy'd a mighty tiger, that lay on a riſing ground cloſe by the road; I ſaw it, and was much daunted, it was as big as a large calf. That day we came to a ſtately and populous town, ſeated on a ſtately river, on which there were thouſands of veſſels. I endeavour'd to hire a boat preſently, but could not, becauſe the people were in an uproar, by reaſon a company of robbers were abroad. The war was hot there againſt the ſea-*Chineſes*, who would not ſubmit to the *Tartar*. I went into a lodging, and after night we went away very huſh to a boat. At break of day we got out, ſail'd down the river all day, continually ſeeing great numbers and variety of veſſels. At dark night we anchor'd under the walls of the famous city of *Chang Cheu*, where we reſted a little, and will begin another chapter to conclude this voyage. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XI.

My Travels continu'd as far as Fo Ngan.

1. THE city *Chang Cheu* is very famous and renown'd in *China*, all the *Chineſes* that trade to *Manila* are of it and its territory, and are therefore called by us *Chincheos*, by corruption of the name; it is part of the province of *Fo Kien*, and coſt the *Tartar* dear. He took it once, but loſt it to the *Chineſes* of *Cabello*; but he coming a ſecond time with great force, made himſelf maſter of it again. True it is, it coſt abundance of lives on both ſides, for it was ſtrongly garriſon'd, being a frontier town. At the dawn of the day we went out of the boat; to continue our way we went about a great part of the city, and on a ſudden found my ſelf in a ſtreet, the longeſt, fineſt, and fulleſt of people that ever I ſaw. I was aſtoniſh'd and ſurpriz'd, eſpecially hearing all people ſay, This is a father of *Manila*. And conſidering how ill the ſoldiers at *Manila* uſe the *Chineſes*, I concluded, it would be well if I came off with a good beating. I went on apace to eſcape the danger I fancy'd hung over me, and thought the ſtreet had no end, it was little leſs than half a league long: It is all the way at twenty paces diſtance adorn'd with ſtone arches curiouſly wrought. Troops of horſe march'd out of the city with much noiſe and confuſion, and I could not think what would become of me. One lodging would not entertain us, and the worſt was, we had a river to paſs in a great common boat. I went into the paſſage-boat very much concern'd, and there was aboard a great many people who took not their eyes off me. I waited two hours till the boat was full; we went down the river three or four leagues: when I got aſhore, I thought my ſelf in another world. Having travel'd about two leagues, I met with the talleſt and fierceſt *Chineſe* to look to I had yet ſeen, he prov'd to me an angel ſent by GOD. He came to me, made much of me, comforted me, and by ſigns gave me to underſtand that I ſhould be merry and fear nothing, for he would take care of me. I underſtood ſomething, and my *Chineſe* explain'd it to me very well. In the lodgings he gave me the beſt room; when he eat he gave me the beſt morſel; he took me by the hand and plac'd me on his right ſide, and always took as much care of me as if he had been my tutor or guardian; I never ſaw a better-natur'd man. Two days after another, nothing inferior to the firſt, join'd us; I was very well pleas'd with ſuch good company. Being come to the city *Civen Cheu*, I was amaz'd to ſee ſuch a vaſt place; the whole appear'd from an eminency, and it look'd like a little world. When the *Tartar* took it, the walls were ruin'd, and he cauſed them to be new built; they were finiſh'd in two years. I believe it impoſſible for any *European* prince to compleat ſuch a work in four or five. The form of them is like ours, with curtins and baſtions. We travel'd under the walls, croſſing the narroweſt part: As I went I counted the cannon; I reckon'd as far as ſeventy, and obſerving I was not come half way, left off to take notice of other things. About the year 63, the floods ſwell'd ſo high, that they overflow'd the walls, and drowned a great part of the city. Having paſs'd this place we came to that wonderful bridge I mention'd

NAVARETTE. mention'd in the firſt book. Three days after we met the general of *Fo Kien*, who was marching to *Chang Cheu* with twenty thouſand men. I was in great confuſion and diſtreſs upon this occaſion, conſider ing in what condition a poor religious man muſt be in ſuch a ſtrange kingdom, and amidſt an army of idolaters. Thoſe two *Chineſes* were ſo aſſiſting to me, that were it not for them, I know not what had become of me, not that any man ſpoke to me, or offer'd the leaſt incivility, but becauſe the dread and diſorder that multitude of *Gentiles* put me into, in regard I could not ſpeak, or give the leaſt account of my ſelf, if occaſion had requir'd. I paſs'd in ſight of the general, who was near the ſhore with the greateſt gravity and ſtate imaginable. It was prodigious to ſee his ſumptures, camels and horſes. When we were paſs'd the body of the army, and thought all was over, from an eminence I diſcover'd another party, which was no ſmall trouble to me, they were all pikemen, and drawn up on both ſides of the roads. I went through the midſt of them all alone, becauſe my companions were behind ſeeking their ſaddles, and my *Chineſe* our baggage. When I was paſs'd, I ſaid, and ſtill ſay the ſame, that I had rather go thro' two armies of *Tartars*, than one of ours. We ſaw country houſes and villages with their fruit, and meat ſet out in the ſhops to ſell, as if never a ſoldier had gone that way. Then, and often ſince have I made reflection upon it; it is never known that ſoldiers in that country wrong the ſubjects, and therefore tho' an army marches through a city, town, or village, none of the inhabitants are the leaſt diſturb'd. The handicraft minds his buſineſs, he that ſells fruit keeps his ſtation, and ſo others; no man dares touch any thing without money in hand, and paying the uſual rate. The following year a ſoldier paid a half-penny ſhort in a little rice he had bought; *Diſcipline.* the ſeller complain'd, and having made it out, the ſoldier was beheaded. The *Chineſes*, and at preſent the *Tartars* ſay, ſoldiers are to defend the people from the enemy, and to prevent the harm he may do them; but if the ſoldiers do the ſame harm, the people will be expos'd to two enemies: ſo that it is better not to raiſe forces, that the people may have but one enemy, whom they can better oppoſe than two: this is evidently true.

2. Before I came to the metropolis of **Fo Cheu.** *Fo Kien*, call'd *Fo Cheu*, I ſent my *Chineſe* into the city to find out the church, and know whether there was ever a father at it. It was long before he came back, which troubled me very much. My companions carried me to an inn, a better than which there is not in all *Italy*; we paſs'd through two courts, and found a table covered with a thouſand dainties. I was concern'd that it was the eve of S. *Simon* and *Jude*, though I was in ſuch a condition I might without any ſcruple have forbore faſting. My countenance expreſſing my ſorrow, thoſe infidels ceas'd not to comfort me with ſigns and motions. It pleas'd GOD the *Chineſe* return'd, and with him a Chriſtian of that city, which fetch'd me to life again. The religious man, I think, hid himſelf, ſo that I neither ſaw him, nor went to his church; ſuch are the humours of men. I was not a little afflicted, becauſe I was deſirous to confeſs and ſay maſs. Perhaps he had nothing to help me forward in my journey, and conſider'd it, but I ſtood not in need of him. Two days after I ſet forward, having been well treated by a Chriſtian phyſician, and receiv'd ſome ſmall gifts from others: I croſs'd the city, which is extraordinary beautiful, though the leaſt metropolis in *China*, they ſay it contains one million of people: the ſuburb I came in at was a league in length; the concourſe of people, without one woman among them, was incredible. The ſtreet I went through was exceeding broad, long, well pav'd and clean; ſhops on both ſides of all ſorts of things a man could wiſh for. Going along it, I met three *mandarines* at a good diſtance from one another. I was order'd to get out of my ſedan or *palanquine*, and ſtood aſtoniſh'd to ſee with what gravity, ſtate, and attendance they went. I look'd upon them earneſtly, which I ought not to have done; in that country it is counted unmannerly: but being ignorant of this, and many other matters, it is no wonder I err'd. I got out of that fright, and the city, and travell'd more eaſy in the open country. Soon after I met a Chriſtian whoſe name was *Charles*, who came from the place where thoſe of my order were; he was a great comfort to me. I travell'd five days longer over hills that reach'd the clouds, but GOD be prais'd no body did me the leaſt diſpleaſure. The laſt night we lay in a little caſtle, in which were about fifty ſoldiers; it is incredible what civility I met with there. The *Civility.* commander quitted his own room, which was a good one, for me to lie there. I endeavour'd to excuſe it, but he prevail'd, and went to lie in another place. I was amaz'd at this uſage from infidels, among whom *Europeans* are accounted *barbarians*; theſe and ſuch like paſſages were always the ſubject of my obſervation, they very well deſerve conſideration and reflection. Next day the commander and others came down to the door to take leave of me, begging my pardon for the ſlender entertainment.

I went

I went up and down ſeven helliſh mountains that day; at the laſt of them it rain'd hard, at the top of it we reſted a little. I was very hungry and weary, for they had deceived me in the number of leagues. I ſaw a *Chineſe* eat boil'd rice in the morning, and as cold as ice; I took a good parcel and eat it, methought I never eat any thing more dainty in all my life-time. As we went down the hill, which was very tedious, it rain'd again, and I met a company of horſe-men, who all ſaluted me after their manner. We found the gates of *Fo Ngan* ſhut; we went late in a dark night and very cold to a ſuburb, where we had a bad night of it, becauſe there were not neceſſaries to be had, nor could we dry our clothes. Wet as I was, I lay down upon ſome ſtraw, and the cold being intenſe, I could not get heat into me; I never had ſo bad a lodging in forty days I had been travelling, and it was good fortune to get any, becauſe there were abundance of ſoldiers quarter'd. Next day being the third of *November*, I went into the city, came to the church, where I found three fathers of our province of *Manila*; the very ſight of them rejoic'd me, and made me forget all my ſufferings during the journey.

3. Some at *Macao* look'd upon it as a raſhneſs in me to undertake that journey, others were of opinion I could never perform it. I my ſelf was doubtful of the event, which prov'd more fortunate than any man could imagine; the circumſtances make it the ſtranger, for it is certainly very ſtrange that I ſhould travel forty days over mountains and valleys, upon rivers, thro' great and ſmall towns, for the moſt part near the ſea, when the war was hot between the *Tartars* and *Chineſes* of *Cabello*, and abundance of horſe and foot marching, and that no body ſeeing a ſtranger, ſhould ſpeak to or do him the leaſt wrong, but rather ſhould all behave themſelves courteouſly, civilly and kindly. Till I met the army at *Fo Kien*, I travell'd with my beads about my neck, a croſs of that ſort they call of S. *Toribuis*, and a medal hanging to it; it was made of jet, and in *China* there was none of it; they look'd upon, touch'd it, admir'd what it was made of, and there was an end. As we were going through the army, my *Chineſe* friend took it off, and made ſigns to me to lay it up; I did ſo, becauſe there was no neceſſity of carrying it openly. All men knew I was a preacher of the evangelical law, and my interpreter told them as much, without being aſk'd. All the journey I us'd to riſe very early, ſo that I had ſaid moſt of the divine office before I came out of my lodging; at night I perform'd what remain'd. I never wanted time to do this duty, and I found afterwards that the infidels were very much edify'd by ſeeing me pray. I ſaid other prayers in the day time upon the road. When I din'd or ſup'd, there commonly came ſome poor body; I gave ſome ſmall matter, and this was matter of edification to the ſtanders by. I gave my companions ſome ſmall gifts; they were thankful, and made ſome return.

Jet. *Navarette.*

4. During this journey I ſaw innumerable cities, towns, villages, and country houſes; it was rare, but we were in ſight of ſome. The plenty of fruit, fleſh, fiſh, cakes of ſeveral ſorts, and other varieties, was wonderful. At one inn I ſtood a good while to ſee one mince bacon to put into the meat he dreſs'd; ſince I was born I never ſaw ſuch activity, expedition, cleanlineſs and neatneſs as that *Chineſe*'s; I was quite aſtoniſh'd. Along the roads I ſaw ſeveral paper-mills: what I admire in thoſe people, as to this and other particulars, is, that they ſet up a paper-mill and other ſuch neceſſaries upon half a dozen ſtakes, and work it with the leaſt rivulet of water; among us we have a thouſand utenſils.

Paper-mills.

5. I forbear writing many ſmall matters, not becauſe they will tire the reader, but becauſe I am tir'd my ſelf: I have ſeen them ſo often, that they are very common to me, which makes me have the leſs inclination to write them. I ſpoke in the firſt book of the multitude of temples and idols I ſaw. The famous idol call'd *San Pao*, which has been repreſented as an image of the moſt bleſſed Trinity, is exactly the ſame with that which is on the high altar of the monaſtry of the Trinitarians at *Madrid*. If any *Chineſe* whatſoever ſaw it, he would preſently ſay, the *San Pao* of his country was worſhip'd in theſe parts.

CHAP. XII.

My Stay at Fo Ngan, *till I went up to* Che Kiang.

1. SOME things I gave account of in the firſt book, which I will not repeat in this place; but I forgot to write one remarkable to us *Europeans*, which is, that during the forty days I travell'd, I never ſaw any more than three women, either in towns, upon the road, or at the inns. One as I went thro' a village, another on the road, and another at a diſtance from me near a town. Among us it will ſeem incredible, among them it will ſeem too much that I ſaw three.

Women.

NAVARETTE.

2. The town, or as others call it, city *Fo Ngan*, is very renown'd in the province of *Fo Kien*; it ſuffer'd much upon the coming in of the *Tartars*, twice they took it, and twice the *Chineſes* beat them out, the third time, the latter ſubmitted. The *Tartars* capitulated to hurt no man, drew up, and order'd all that bore arms to appear; they did ſo, and fourteen thouſand of them were deſtroy'd. The firſt of them was a good Chriſtian, and very learned man, who was a commander. The *Tartar* had a good opinion of him, and he would have been preferr'd, had he ſubmitted at firſt. A ſoldier as he was going to make his appearance, had ſome buſineſs, and ſaid to a townſman, I am buſy at preſent, do you appear for me, and here is a ryal (ſix pence) for you to drink. He did ſo, and was put to death, the other eſcap'd; it was very fortunate for the one, and very unlucky in the other.

3. *Liu Chung Zao*, the *Chineſe* general, a man of great learning, and brave, finding himſelf in diſtreſs, reſolv'd to poiſon himſelf; he invited ſome friends to do the ſame, and among them the Chriſtian I ſpoke of before, whoſe name was *John Mieu*. They all excuſed themſelves, and he took the poiſon alone, died in his chair of ſtate, where the *Tartars* found him ſitting, and leaning againſt a table; they made many obeiſances to the dead body, and extoll'd his loyalty, ſince he choſe to die rather than to deliver up the city to an enemy.

4. In one of thoſe ſieges the venerable F. *F. Francis de Capillas*, of the monaſtry of S. *Paul* of *Valladolid*, and born at *Villaquerin de Campos*, ſuffer'd martyrdom. I ſaw the place where they cut off his head, and kiſs'd the ground. His buſineſs lies now before the holy congregation of rites at *Rome*. In this place my order had their firſt church in *China:* here they ſow'd the ſeed of the word, and did, and ſtill do reap a plentiful harveſt. What relates to this particular being written in our hiſtory, I will proceed, but ſhall ſay ſomething more in the ſecond volume.

5. I was there told a very remarkable ſtory, which is as follows; *Liu Chung Zao*, whom we mention'd before, going to fight the *Tartars*, a miſſioner attended him with the title of *mandarin of the powder*. He took up his quarters at our church, where he had the beſt entertainment they could give him. He being ſo great, and thoſe of my order ſo poor, the infidels began to doubt whether he and the reſt were all *Europeans*. To clear this doubt, it was reſolv'd that one of ours and he ſhould meet in ſome publick place, and talk together. The time and place were appointed; F. *Francis Diaz*, a worthy miſſioner and labourer in GOD's vineyard, got up early, and travelled afoot two leagues of very bad way; he was cloth'd in cotton, not in ſilk, and came ſweating to the place appointed, where the other was in great ſtate in his ſedan, with attendants like a *mandarin*. Our father faced him; and when the father *mandarin* ſaw him from his ſedan in that garb, and without ſervants, *he deſpis'd him*, and went on without taking any notice of him, leaving him out of countenance in the preſence of a thouſand lookers on, and ſome Chriſtians who expected by that means to have gain'd honour to their ſpiritual fathers. Afterwards a good Chriſtian aſk'd the father *mandarin*, how it came he had put ſo great an affront upon the Dominican father? He anſwer'd, Why ſhould I go out of my chair to pay a compliment to a man in that garb?

6. Another time the general ſpoke ill of us in the hearing of that *mandarin* miſſioner, and of a *Chineſe* Chriſtian. The reaſon the general had for it was, becauſe a concubine had left him, and was become a Chriſtian. The father hearing what the infidel ſaid, and perceiving he bore us ill-will, ſaid, *Sung ta men ki pa*, which is as much as if in our language he had ſaid, *Turn them out of the kingdom, and let them be gone.* The infidel ſtar'd, the Chriſtian amaz'd fixt his eyes on the father. Obſerve how the infidels us'd me, and how one miſſioner uſes another. In ſhort, *Figulus figulum odit.* Notwithſtanding all this, he afterwards deſir'd our fathers to procure him a faithful Chriſtian ſervant to wait upon him. They got him one, he brought him into *Europe*, made him paſs for an able phyſician. He was with him at *Rome*, where he forbid him going to our monaſtry of *Minerva*. Our father general ſent us this intelligence into *China*; I ſaw, read, and had his letter in my hands.

7. I came to the church the third of *November*, as I ſaid above, and preſently apply'd my ſelf to the ſtudy of that moſt difficult language; there are few but find great diſcouragement in it, I labour'd all I could. Mattins were certainly ſaid at midnight; and it was uſual with me to ſit in my chair after them till morning at my ſtudy. Continual application overcame the difficulty in great meaſure. It pleas'd GOD I preach'd in the church the ſecond ſunday in lent, which but two months before I thought impoſſible to be done in two years. I was commanded to ſtudy the character, and thought it a difficult taſk; began with infinite reluctancy, but in a few months was ſo fond of it, that I could not be a moment from my books. This ſtudy is ſo neceſſary, that without

it

it there is no coming to a right underſtanding of the errors they profeſs, nor oppoſing them, nor converſing with the learned. In two years I continu'd in that province, I came to hear confeſſions, preach'd with ſome eaſe, read ſome books, and diſcours'd concerning matters of faith with heathens and Chriſtians.

8. I obſerv'd during that time that the *Chineſes* confidently reported that their emperor ſhould die in the eighteenth year of his reign. The *Chineſes* reckon their emperors lives by the years of their reign, as we do the pope's; but it is not true to ſay they have no other computation of years, as F. *Trigaucius*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Tirinon* and *Kircher* affirm. We know they reckon the year by moons, allowing twelve to a year, and thirteen to the biſſextile or leap-year, wherein they agree with the *Jews*, as *Cornelius à Lapide* in *Exod.* proves. Their moons are ſome of twenty nine, and ſome of thirty days. The name *menſis*, a month, is well known to be deriv'd from the *Greek*, *taken from the name of the moon*, as S. *Iſidorus* ſays, *lib.* V. *de orig. c.* 33. The *Jews* counted by moons, as the *Chi-*
Day. *neſes* do at this time. The day according to the *Egyptians*, ſays the ſaint, *cap.* 30. began *at ſun-ſetting:* according to the *Perſians*, *at ſun-riſing:* according to the *Athenians*, *at the ſixth hour of the day:* according to the *Romans*, *at midnight.* This laſt is the method the *Chineſes* obſerve. In the thirty ſeventh chapter the ſaint ſpeaks of the *luſtrum*, which was every five years. The *Chineſes* have the ſame, and call it *ti*. The *Jews* reckon fifty years an age, as the ſame ſaint obſerves, we make it a hundred; the *Chineſes* allow but thirty. The
Year. *Greeks* began the year at the autumnal equinox, ſays S. *Iſidorus*, *cap.* 6. *de natura rerum*; the *Chineſes*, as has been ſaid before. Certain it is, they have other computations beſide the years of their emperors reigns. To conclude, the *Chineſe* prophecy prov'd true, *xe pa chung*, that is, he will end the eighteenth year of his reign. They alſo gave out they would baniſh the law of GOD, it was talk'd of three years before it happen'd. This was eaſier to be known, becauſe our enemy was then contriving the miſchief.

9. At an examination of batchelors, ſome things remarkable happen'd to certain Chriſtians; One of them liv'd near the church, was an extraordinary good Chriſtian, and being old us'd ſpectacles: He went to the examination without them, through forgetfulneſs; the man was utterly undone, for there was no avoiding loſing his degree, being whip'd, and undergoing the ſhame that follows of conſequence. I was told he clap'd his hands upon his face, and offer'd up to GOD that trouble and affliction he was fallen into, after he had many years continu'd in his degree with honour and reputation. He pray'd, then open'd his eyes, and thought his ſight was very clear; ſo taking the pencil, he began and ended his exerciſe, admiring at himſelf; and it prov'd ſo good, that he receiv'd a *premium* for it. There is no doubt but it might happen naturally, and GOD might ſpecially aſſiſt him. NAVARRETTE.

10. Another, who was newly baptized in his rhetorick, committed a groſs fault, which deſerv'd a whipping at leaſt. He offer'd up his prayer to GOD, and made up his paper the beſt he could. It was a ſtrange thing that the fault was not perceiv'd; and his compoſition was not only approv'd of, but he was prefer'd a ſtep higher for it. The other Chriſtian batchelors, all of them had *premiums* that year, which the infidels took notice of.

11. I was alone a few days in a town, where that happen'd to me which I mention'd in another place, which was, that an infidel bid me go preach at *Manila*, where there was more need of it than in their kingdom. I was out of countenance; it was in this town I baptized the child I ſpoke of, that was expos'd to periſh. As I was one day at my ſtudy, two infidels open'd my cell-door very ſoftly; on my table was a crucifix, they ſtood looking at it; and making ſome little noiſe, I look'd about, ſaw them, and roſe to aſk what they wanted. They ſaid, they were going to ſee the church, and had a mind to ſee me, but that they were ſurprized at the ſight of that image, which had mov'd their hearts to ſome tenderneſs. What I write is the very truth, let others write or ſay what they pleaſe. Before this, when I was at *Fo Ngan*, the ſame thing happen'd to me twice; and when I ſpoke ſomething concerning that divine myſtery to thoſe infidels, they knit their brows, and paid reſpect and honour to that holy image. This point is particularly handled, and I would have the curious reader reflect upon what S. *Thomas* writes on *Joan.* xii. *lect.* 4. on the words, *But* JESUS *anſwer'd*, &c. About this time a heathen batchelor, who lay very ſick, ſent for me; he had read ſome books of ours, and GOD touch'd his heart. He earneſtly deſir'd to be baptized; I inſtructed him the beſt I could, and caus'd ſome who were Chriſtians of long ſtanding to diſcourſe him. Ten days after he had devoutly receiv'd the ſacraments, he went to injoy the ſight of GOD, as I charitably believe.

12. As I went one day to ſee him, ſome Chriſtians and infidels went with me. I heard an infidel batchelor ſay to a Chriſtian,

Navarette. stian, Is it poſſible none can be ſaved without being of this religion, and that all our forefathers and predeceſſors who had no knowledge of it, were damn'd? This is a hard caſe. If God be ſo merciful as theſe men preach, and one perſon was incarnate to ſave thoſe men, had it not been proper that another ſhould have taken human fleſh here to redeem us, and not leave us ſo many thouſands of years in a deſperate condition? I was much troubled that I was not ſo perfect in the language at that time, as to anſwer fully and ſatisfactorily as the caſe requir'd. Nevertheleſs that he might underſtand ſomething of it, I gave him a book that treated upon the very ſubject. He went his way hammering upon this point, and God calling him, came afterwards and deſir'd to be baptized, his wife and two ſons were alſo baptized; ſo all came into the church, and after them their ſons two wives. The whole family was ſenſible of God's ſpecial protection in an aſſault of ſome rebels.

13. There was in that place a Chriſtian batchelor, whoſe name was *Thomas*, a man of an excellent wit, and much reputation. I once practiſed the language, and expounded to him the myſtery of the incarnation. When I had ſpoke what was material to the point, he took me up very ſhort, and ſaid, If it is ſo that God ſhew'd his infinite love and charity in this myſtery, it had been more convenient that the Holy Ghoſt had become man, ſince love is his peculiar attribute, and not the Son, whoſe attribute is wiſdom. The *Chineſe* made a good reflection, and preſs'd it home; for my part I was amazed, and ſo were others. What I had read in S. *Thomas* upon that ſubject occurr'd; he brings as a reaſon of conveniency, *3 p. art.* 4. *That the reparation might be anſwerable to the creation.* The creation of the world was for the Son, *In the beginning, that is in the Son.* It was proper the creation, or reparation, ſhould be anſwerable. The *Chineſe* underſtood it, and was ſatisfy'd.

14. Near to the church there liv'd an infidel batchelor who was above the exerciſes; he liv'd very retir'd, was much of a ſtoick, and therefore in great eſteem. He had a good opinion of the law of God, inſomuch that he himſelf in my time, perſuaded his wife and two ſons to be baptized; theſe two I baptized, and my ſuperior the wife: Yet he could not reſolve as to himſelf, and all his objection was, that he thought it very indecent for God to be preſent in the hoſt, and expos'd to be receiv'd by ill Chriſtians. Very much was ſaid to him upon this account, but ſtill he was obſtinate, till it pleas'd God to move him effectually. The perſecution was then beginning, when one would have thought he ſhould have been the further from embracing our holy faith, as being condemn'd by the emperor, and endeavour to make his wife and children forſake it. Then it was God ſhew'd his mercy towards him, enlightning his underſtanding, and inclining his will to receive baptiſm, as he actually did. Above two hundred and fifty were baptized during thoſe two years, and had not the wars happened at the ſame time, the increaſe of Chriſtianity had been great. They burnt five churches of ours, two in my time, one of the then biggeſt there ever was in *China*. It was built by an excellent Chriſtian *Chineſe*, who had been at *Manila*, and ſeen our churches; he return'd into his country, came to be a *mandarin*, and in his own town he built a church exactly like that he had ſeen at *Manila*, in bigneſs, ſhape, and ornament. A Chriſtian woman liv'd with her family in a country-houſe near the ſea, her manner of living was ſcandalous; when all the family was aſleep, a tiger got in and carry'd her away; the Chriſtans look'd upon it as a judgment.

15. In *Auguſt* I was ſent for to a ſmall town, to hear the confeſſion of a ſick woman; I went and gave her the *viaticum*, and all the family confeſs'd and receiv'd. They were all extraordinary good Chriſtians, and well inſtructed in the faith. The inhabitants of the next houſe were their relations, but profeſs'd enemies of the law of God, yet it pleas'd his Divine Majeſty they ſoon after came in and were baptized. As I return'd it rain'd hard, and the north-wind blew; and the cold and rain pierced me, and being afoot in ſome places the water was half way my legs. Being come home before I had time to reſt me, I went to hear the confeſſion of a poor old man, and gave him the extreme unction; this ſtruck me into an ague, which was very troubleſome. After the feaſt of our Lady in *September*, news came that relief was ſent us from *Manila*; it was a great comfort, for in truth we were in want. It pleas'd God, as a puniſhment of my ſins, that when it was aſhore ſafe from ſea-robbers, as it came up a river all was loſt, but one hundred pieces of eight a Chriſtian hid; the thieves were taken afterwards, and confeſs'd this robbery among others; they were put to death; but we remain'd eleven religious men of us with only one hundred pieces of eight among us. In *November* following F. *John Polanco*, a notable miſſioner and religious man, went over to *Manila*; he dy'd, after having labour'd very much, at *Sevil* in the year 1671, being then biſhop elect of *New Caceres* in the *Philippine* iſlands. I was order'd to go up to the province of *Che Kiang* in his ſtead, as accordingly I did, and ſhall relate in the next chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

My Journey to Che Kiang, *and ſtay there till the Perſecution.*

1. I Now ſpeaking the language, and my beard being grown, this journey was eaſier to me than the firſt, tho' I went in ſome fear, becauſe I carry'd wine with me to ſerve for ſaying maſs, and half the money that had been ſav'd. With me went two Chriſtians and an infidel who was upon his converſion; they were countrymen of the inland, and moſt excellent natur'd men. The ſecond day I came to the higheſt mountain I ever ſaw in my life. This and ſeveral others I croſs'd in eleven days; travelling tir'd my very ſoul. At every half league or league we found reſting places cover'd, and ſo neat that nothing could be finer for the purpoſe. All *China* is furniſh'd with theſe conveniencies, and has good roads. I ſaw ſeveral temples of the *bonzes*, ſome upon high mountains, and the aſcent ſo rough and difficult, that it was terrible to look at them. Others were in deep vallies, others cloſe by the road. Theſe laſt had hot water at the doors, with the herb *cha* for paſſengers to drink. At ſome certain places there were *bonzes* in little houſes, where they had idols, and the ſame ſort of liquor; the *bonze* offer'd it very courteouſly, and with much gravity and modeſty. If they gave him any thing, he took it, making a low obeiſance, and returning thanks for it; if not, he ſtood ſtock ſtill, without ſtirring. I never gave theſe people any thing, the reaſon I ſhall aſſign in its proper place.

2. We came to the limits of the province of *Che Kiang*, the gate was betwixt two vaſt high rocks, there ſtood a guard of ſoldiers; in the middle between that and another gate were their quarters. There we ſtopp'd a while; they gave us *cha* and very courteouſly ſaid, There is no doubt but this gentleman has an order to paſs this burden. The infidel *Chineſe* anſwer'd, It has all been ſearch'd, Sir, here are the certificates. Enough, enough, ſaid the ſoldiers. To ſay the truth, nothing had been ſearch'd. They ſpoke not a word more, we took our leaves according to their faſhion and went on. This was done by heathen and idolatrous ſoldiers, we ſhall ſee in its proper place how Chriſtians have behav'd themſelves. I obſerv'd that and other ſuch paſſes, and methinks it is impoſſible for an army to force them againſt a handful of men, tho' they had no weapons but ſtaves; they are ſo narrow two cannot go a-breaſt; the *Chineſe* with but indifferent valour might have made them good againſt innumerable multitudes of *Tartars*. Soon after we came to another narrow paſs like the former, but the guard was much more numerous. Here we reſted, and warm'd our ſelves at the ſun. I ſaw a temple there was there, every body made obeiſance to me, but none aſk'd me any queſtion. During that time I obſerv'd, that a woman was coming up from a deep valley, and as I could gueſs ſhe was going to a temple that ſtood on a hill hard by. She came up to the ſoldiers, they all ſtood up, and very gravely bow'd to her; which ſhe anſwer'd very modeſtly, and went on. I was aſtoniſh'd that this ſhould happen among infidels, when at the ſame time there is ſo much impudence in our countries. We ought all to be aſham'd and confounded at it. NAVARETTE.

3. I was notably made much of in that journey. In one inn I ſaw a woman, which was the firſt and the laſt I ever ſaw in an inn, tho' I lay in very many. *Women.*

4. I arriv'd at the city of *Kin Hoa*, that is, *flower of gold*, becauſe there is a hill by it that bears abundance of gold flowers, or walwort. The church there had not been founded a year, ſo that there are but few Chriſtians. I baptiz'd ſome, and among them a *licentiate*, a batchelor, and a taylor. I baptiz'd one more, who was a merchant, but he came to naught. The caſe was, that he learn'd the neceſſary anſwers for baptiſm; a violent ſickneſs ſeiz'd him, he came to the church deſiring me to baptize him; I made him return home, inſtructed, baptized, and gave him beads, pictures, and holy water, and encourag'd him to expect death, with great aſſurance that GOD would be merciful to him. A brother of his who was an infidel diſlik'd what was done, went to his houſe, made himſelf maſter of it, and deny'd me admittance; he call'd the *bonzes*, who perverted and made him an apoſtate, he ſoon dy'd and went to hell baptiz'd: *O the depth of the riches of* GOD's *wiſdom and knowledge!* &c.

5. A few months after I went to a village, where there were good Chriſtians, there I apply'd my ſelf to writing of ſome books which I thought very neceſſary. They were the four volumes I mention'd in another place; in which explicating Chriſtian truths, I impugned the errors of that nation. I am ſatisfy'd they were approv'd of by learned Chriſtians of the ſociety, and others of ours. An ancient Chriſtian batchelor of the ſociety, whoſe name was *Matthew*, read them, and when he had done, ſaid, Till now I was not perfectly

Navarette. inſtructed in the law of God. I preach'd often in that village. A youth who proved a good Chriſtian was baptiz'd, and an ancient woman, beſides others who relapſed.

6. Here it is to be obſerv'd, that in a diſpute we had at *Canton* touching ſome ceremonies, whether they were political or ſuperſtitious, in the anſwer F. *Faber* gave in oppoſition to my opinion, he puts the queſtion, What gentiles I had baptiz'd, ſince I held that opinion? Or how many infidels I had converted at *Kin Hoa*? This he ſtarted after I came out of my confinement. What I would have anſwer'd him there, I will ſhortly inſert here, reſerving the principal matter for the ſecond tome.

7. In the firſt place, God did not command me to convert, but to preach: *Preach the goſpel*, &c. *Cajetan* obſerv'd it, and ſays, that converſion is the work of God, not of the preacher, which anſwers the queſtion, granting I preach'd and taught the doctrine and points aſcertain'd at *Rome*. (2.) It is a receiv'd opinion, that the apoſtle S. *James* converted but only ſeven perſons in *Spain*, which does not make it lawful to ſlander the doctrine he preach'd. (3.) That during that time I ſow'd the ſeed of the word, both by preaching and writing, which I hope in God will yet yield a good crop. (4.) I aſk'd of him we ſpeak of, and others, what converſions they had made by preaching their opinions? It is well known, there were only three learned men that were tolerable Chriſtians at *Xang Hai*. And of two thouſand that had been baptiz'd in *Jang Cheu*, only ſeven or eight frequented the church, as F. *Pacheco* a miſſioner own'd in that city.

8. (5.) I gave in anſwer the words of *Corn. à Lap.* in 1 *Cor.* iii. 8. where he handles this point very learnedly, and ſays more than I need. The curious reader may ſee it there; and if we add to it what *Cajetan* writes in *Mat.* xxv. concerning the equal reward the maſter of the family gave to him of the five talents, and him of the two, which is admirable to the purpoſe, with what S. *Thomas* in his *Cat. Aur.* quotes out of *Origen* on the ſame chapter, my opinion will be ſtill more ſtrengthened. To which may be added what S. *Paul* teaches, 1 *Cor.* iii. 7. *Neither is he that plants any thing*, &c.

9. The reader may alſo ſee S. *Thomas* in xvi. *ad Rom. l.* 2. *in fine*, in 1 *Cor.* iii. *lect.* 2. & in i. *Joan.* 2. *prope finem*, & *Cajet.* in xi. *Joan.* together with F. *Sylveira* in xii. *Joan. Tom.* 6. *p.* 613. *n.* 77. And if I add I am ſtill preaching in *China* in my books, I ſhall not be in the wrong. Read *Sylveira Tom.* 1. in *Apoc. cap.* 10. *q.* 17. and *Tom.* 2. *cap.* 8. *l.* 4. *q.* 10. *n.* 71. If more be requir'd it is eaſily found, but the reader will meet with enough in the ſecond tome, to anſwer this and other points.

10. The learned Chriſtians in that village put ſuch queſtions to me, as amaz'd me. One concerning the light of glory; another concerning the *ſpecies impreſſa*, for ſeeing of God; another about the diſtinction of angels, whether it was ſpecifical, or numerical. But what I moſt admir'd was, that I being once reading in a book of F. *Adamus*, (that is in the *Chineſe* character) whether there had been the virtue of penance in Christ, and he anſwering in the affirmative, according to *Suarez* his doctrine; *Linus*, a batchelor above his exerciſes, very well known to all the fathers, came up and ask'd me, What is it you read, Father? The anſwer I gave him was, the book it ſelf, pointing to the place. He read it, and being diſguſted at it, ſaid, F. *Adamus* might well have forbore writing this. If Christ did not, nor could not ſin, how ſhould he have ſorrow and repentance for ſins? Truly I was amaz'd to ſee, that at once reading he ſhould underſtand the difficulty, and give that reaſon of his doubt.

11. After ſome months I return'd to the city; I had a catechiſt who was a good ſcholar, with whoſe help I carry'd on the putting of my books into good language. My church was kept as clean, neat, and well adorn'd, as our religious poverty would permit. The people that reſorted to it were very numerous, and ſhew'd a good inclination towards the law of God. I was ſent for in all haſte to the towns and villages. The extraordinary poverty and want we had endur'd for three years laſt paſt, was a ſufficient reaſon not to go out of doors. If it were uſual to preach there, as we do here and in other parts, nothing would ſtop us; the devil makes his advantage of this particular. This will not ſatisfy ſome men, but what I ſay is moſt certain.

12. I began to print my catechiſm, becauſe it had pleas'd God to ſend us ſome ſmall relief in the year 1664, when on a ſudden and altogether unexpectedly news came from court, that our enemy had preſented a memorial againſt F. *Adamus* and the law of God. The very infidels were aſtoniſh'd. Many comforted me the beſt they could, the Chriſtians did the ſame. Many thought it would all come to nothing, but when I obſerv'd they laid rebellion to his charge, I was convinced that affair would run high, ſo my impreſſion ſtopp'd. 1664.

13. The caſe was, that F. *John Adamus* being preſident of the college of mathematicians, who had the charge of, and every year ſet out the almanack, by which the whole empire is govern'd, as well in political as religious reſpects, aſſigning lucky and unlucky days for every thing they are

to

to do, tho' ſome excus'd the ſaid father as to this particular; It happen'd that a prince had dy'd ſome years before that court was order'd to appoint a proper time and fortunate hour for his funeral. All the *Chineſes* are very ſuperſtitious in this reſpect. It was appointed, but not lik'd; or, as others ſay, the preſident of the court of rites alter'd it, the mathematical court being ſubordinate to his. Soon after the prince's mother, and next the emperor himſelf dy'd, The *Chineſes* imputed theſe two perſons death to the ill timing of the prince's burial. This was in reality the principal and only occaſion of the perſecution; to which they added blaſphemies againſt GOD and his holy mother, as ſhall be inſtanced more at large in *chap.* XV.

Superſtition.

14. Theſe news being ſpread abroad, the Chriſtians grew cold and withdrew; they have not the courage of the *Japoneſes* and others, the infidels fled from the church, and from us. One, who tho' an atheiſt was an honeſt man, ſaid to me: Father, forty days hence there will be a freſh order, you have nothing to do but to expect it courageouſly. One day three *mandarines* came to pry into our houſe and church; I ſhew'd I was ſenſible of the buſineſs, we diſcours'd about it, and to ſay the truth they were concern'd we ſhould be diſturb'd. The reſort to us being grown leſs, I ſtay'd at home, ſpending my time in compoſing a little book; and truly in it I diſprov'd all the extravagancies our enemy alledg'd againſt the law of GOD, except ſome which were altogether chimerical. The ſecond advice came, and brought news that the cauſe was depending, and F. *Adamus* in priſon. The other three fathers then at court, were at the point of going to keep him company. After forty days more, the third advice came, with orders to carry us all to court. The civil magiſtrate of *Lan Ki*, which is ſix leagues down the river, and where two of my order were, was then in the city; he ſent to apprehend and put them into goal immediately, which was done that very night with great noiſe and tumult, fifty troopers beſides foot-ſoldiers being at the taking of two poor religious men. They told me they would do the ſame by me, I thank GOD I was not concern'd, I was only troubled that the holy images and church-ſtuff ſhould be left there. I waited all night with a Chriſtian young man; a little before break of day perceiving there was no noiſe of people, I went to ſay maſs; that day paſs'd over, and nobody ſpoke a word to me. The infidel I ſpoke of advis'd me to preſent my ſelf to the ſupreme civil magiſtrate; he writ my memorial, I went away with him to his court. He receiv'd me favourably, and preſently ſent me away, bidding me be quiet in my houſe, and he would diſpatch me when their new year was over, giving me to underſtand the emperor intended to baniſh us his empire. This quieted me, and I liv'd the following days more at eaſe. They brought the two fathers that were down the river, to preſent them before the governor; they gave me an account of their impriſonment, and the next day they ſent them back to their houſe. By the advice of my infidel friend before mention'd, I preſented another memorial to the ſupreme civil magiſtrate of the city, in which I intimated that I had not money to bear my charges on the road, and therefore would ſell my houſhold-goods. He conſented to it, I ſold ſome wheat and rice, gave ſome things to friends and poor Chriſtians, and others I made nothing of. The church-ſtuff was what concern'd me moſt, it pleas'd GOD I ſent it all to a Chriſtian, who liv'd in that village where I had been ſome time.

NAVARETTE.

15. After the feaſt of the new-year, I was buſy one morning, ordering ſome ſmall things to ſend to the corregidor, or ſupreme civil magiſtrate of the city, when on a ſudden he came into my houſe, attended by officers, executioners and ſoldiers. I went out with my preſent, and ſaid to him, I was putting this trifle in order to ſend it to your lordſhip. He look'd on every thing, lik'd it, and order'd it to be kept: The whole value I believe amounted to two pieces of eight. His courteſy to me both before and after deſerv'd much more. Tho' he had often ſeen the church, he aſk'd nothing about it. He acquainted me with the emperor's order, and deliver'd me to the head of that quarter, enquiring firſt, whether there was ever another *European* there beſides my ſelf. The officers ran in like ſo many ravenous tigers to lay hold of what they could, but found only my breviary, primmer, S. *Auguſtin*'s meditations, and other ſmall matters which I had thought to be ſafe, but they carry'd all away, and left me for ſome time free from the duty of ſaying my office. The headborough was a very honeſt man, at night he lock'd my door on the out-ſide, without minding a back-door I had; and would ſay to me, Father, I know you will not run away, I do this only that thoſe who paſs by may ſee I obey my orders. Then they brought me before the ſuperior judge, who allow'd a boat to carry me to the metropolis. I believ'd I eſcap'd the beſt of any as to the manner of my impriſonment. I imputed it to my ſins that GOD would not permit me to ſuffer ſomewhat for his holy name, when all others did.

16. Before I proceed to the next chapter, becauſe

Navarette. *Food.*

becauſe I forgot it in the firſt book, I will here briefly mention the moſt uſual, common and cheap ſort of food all *China* abounds in, and which all men in that empire eat, from the emperor to the meaneſt *Chineſe*, the emperor and great men as a dainty, the common ſort as neceſſary ſuſtenance. It is call'd *teu fu*, that is, paſte of kidney-beans. I did not ſee how they made it. They draw the milk out of the kidney-beans, and turning it, make great cakes of it like cheeſes, as big as a large ſieve, and five or ſix fingers thick. All the maſs is as white as the very ſnow, to look to nothing can be finer. It is eaten raw, but generally boil'd and dreſs'd with herbs, fiſh, and other things. Alone it is inſipid, but very good ſo dreſs'd, and excellent fry'd in butter. They have it alſo dry'd and ſmok'd, and mix'd with caraway-ſeeds, which is beſt of all. It is incredible what vaſt quantities of it are conſum'd in *China*, and very hard to conceive there ſhould be ſuch abundance of kidney-beans.

Teu Feu.

Kidney-beans.

That *Chineſe* who has *teu fu*, herbs and rice, needs no other ſuſtenance to work; and I think there is no body but has it, becauſe they may have a pound (which is above twenty ounces) of it any where for a half-penny. It is a great help in caſe of want, and is good for carriage. It has one good quality, which is, that it cauſes the different airs and ſeaſons, which in that vaſt region vary much, to make no alteration in the body, and therefore they that travel from one province to another make uſe of it. *Teu fu* is one of the moſt remarkable things in *China*, there are many will leave pullets for it. If I am not deceiv'd, the *Chineſes* of *Manila* make it, but no *European* eats it, which is perhaps becauſe they have not taſted it, no more than they do fritters fry'd in oil of *Ajonjoli* (a very ſmall ſeed they have in *Spain* and *India*, which we have not) which the *Chineſes* make in that city and is an extraordinary dainty.

CHAP. XIV.

My Journey to the Imperial City, and Reſidence there.

1. AS ſoon as a boat was order'd, and officers appointed to conduct me, theſe began to contrive to get money of me. This ſort of people is covetous all the world over; but there is a difference, for in *China* any officer of the civil magiſtrate is ſatisfy'd with a little and thankful for it; but in other parts a great deal goes but a little way, and they undervalue it. I will relate what happen'd to me there: They aſſign'd me an officer, who I fancy'd was too buſy, and I fear'd would be troubleſome and uneaſy upon the way. This matter depended on the clerk, I ſent him a meſſage, and a little money deſiring him to appoint another who was more courteous and civil. The man deliver'd the meſſage, and only two ryals plate (a ſhilling.) He conſented, order'd another in his ſtead, and ſaid, Your maſter has a ſharp eye; ſince he knew that man, I will appoint one who ſhall pleaſe him in all things, and ſerve him. So it prov'd; would they do the like to a *Chineſe* in theſe parts?

2. I forgot to relate how the city *Kin Hoa* had held out bravely againſt the *Tartars*, and it coſt them dear to take it. When taken, the *Tartar* general having promis'd to ſpare all men, call'd together all the citizens; and when they were all in a place, gave the ſignal to his men to fall on, they butcher'd forty thouſand. He was a cruel man, his name *Ma Tie To*; ſome years after he was put to death at court. That city was much impair'd, however in my time it paid fifty thouſand ducats a year taxes. The town down the river where my two companions reſided, ſurrendred without drawing ſword, and ſo eſcap'd untouch'd. Its trade is great, the duties there amount to ſeventy thouſand ducats a year. The beſt liquor of all *China* is there made of rice, and is ſo good that we do not miſs the wine of *Europe*. Their gammons of bacon are the beſt in the empire, nothing inferior to the choiceſt in *Spain*. The price is certain, a pound containing twenty ounces coſt a penny, and ſo a pound of the beſt wine; if it riſes it is but a ſmall matter.

Drink.

3. I took boat from the metropolis, not imagining what I was to meet with there. Next morning I ſaw my two companions, the ſupreme civil magiſtrate of the town being ſtill at variance with them. I had endur'd much cold that night in the boat. I went thence alone, and that day ſaw the pleaſant fiſhing with ſea-crows, which I mention'd in the firſt book. *(I gueſs theſe he calls ſea-crows, may be either cormorants or barnacles.)* Three nights I lay in my little boat, every morning the hoar-froſt lay upon us, for it was in *February*, and very froſty weather. My two companions overtook me, and we came together to the metropolis on the twenty ſeventh of *February*, being the fifteenth day of their new moon. The next day they put us into priſon; eight days I lay under a bed where two were: I laid a few boards on the ground which was wet, and laying one

blanket

blanket over and another under me, ſlept comfortably. I have already given an account of what happen'd to me in this place. On the twenty firſt of *April* we were taken out of that priſon to be ſent to the imperial city; and tho' a boat was allow'd us, they made us pay to get a good one. True it is, the father of the ſociety who had ſuffered much there being ſick, manag'd this bargain, we conſenting to it ſomething againſt our will, for indeed we valu'd not how they carry'd us, being reſolv'd to endure all that came. They appointed us a guard of ſoldiers, who rode always in ſight of our boat, and every now and then were reliev'd. In their behaviour they were like very good Chriſtians; they offer'd not the leaſt incivility, but rather ſometimes help'd us when we ſtood in need of it.

4. Being come to the famous city *Zu Cheu*, we reſted there five days, being much made of by five fathers of the ſociety who were detain'd there by the judges, in order to perform the ſame journey with us. We ſail'd as far as the red river, the ſight whereof frighted us, and no leſs the violence of its whirlpools. When we left it, we met two more fathers of the ſociety. It is impoſſible to number the veſſels we ſaw, both great and ſmall; ſometimes we had a great deal of trouble to get through them, eſpecially at a cuſtom-houſe; it is incredible what a multitude there was in that place, they cover'd all the water for a large ſpace. Two *Tartars* were there, who, as our officers told us, got five hundred ducats a day each, in preſents paſſengers made them. We argu'd againſt it, believing it was too much; but they gave convincing reaſons for what they ſaid. We travel'd two hundred leagues along a plain country with carts, becauſe the water was low in the cut river. The weather was hot enough, but every half league there was cool water, and delicate apricots, and eight or ten eggs for a half-penny. After this I read in a letter writ by the V. F. *F. Dominick Coronado*, that at *Zi Ning*, where he founded a church, he bought three buſhels of wheat for half a piece of eight, and a pheaſant for a half-penny. Nothing can be beyond this, and we thought a great fat pullet cheap at three-half-pence: I don't doubt had we ſtood hard, they would have given it for five farthings. At a city before we came off the river, a Chriſtian *mandarin* made us a preſent of a ſheep, rice, and ſome ſmall things. His father was an infidel, came to ſee us in the boat, was old, and had almoſt loſt his noſe; he would not be a Chriſtian becauſe he had not a mind to part with his concubines.

5. It was wonderful to ſee what ſwarms of people we met with on the road, ſome upon mules, others upon aſſes, others in litters, and others on ſedans. We were known to all men by our beards; ſome comforted us, ſaying, our cauſe was accommodated, others ſaid it was in a bad poſture, which was what we imagin'd. Others told us, one of ours was dead; by the name they gave him, I always ſuppos'd him to be the V. F. *F. Dominick Coronado*; and I was apt to believe it, becauſe he was ſickly. On the eve of S. *Peter* and *Paul* in the morning, we came into the imperial city of *Pe King*. We came time enough to the church of the fathers of the ſociety to dine, and found the death of our companion was certain, but precious in the ſight of our LORD. Six fathers of the ſociety gave it me under their hands, that he had dy'd a martyr to the beſt of their knowledge. It is well known it belongs to his holineſs to aſcertain it. NAVARETTE.

6. By degrees thoſe that liv'd in other provinces join'd us, and we met five and twenty of us, beſides the four that reſided in the imperial city, and five of my order that hid themſelves at *Fo Kien*; another of ours, who not long before had founded a church in *Ziven Cheu*, having no convenience of abſconding, went over to *Manila* in a *Dutch* ſhip then in that kingdom. We continued in the imperial city till the thirteenth of *September*, on which day we ſet out, being baniſh'd to *Macao*. Moſt of what befel us has been writ before, it will be proper in this place to mention ſome things that have been publiſh'd without any ground for them; one is, that the *bonzes* gather'd thouſands of ducats to ſuborn the members of the court of rites againſt us. This was enquir'd into at the imperial city, and no other ground could be heard of it, but that a Chriſtian heard an infidel ſay ſo in a tavern. Upon this ſome believ'd it as if it had been a certain truth, and as ſuch have printed it. A ſtrong argument againſt it is, that at the ſame time they perſecuted the *bonzes*, ſo that they had enough to do to mind their own buſineſs, without minding what did not concern them; and if they brib'd, it was likely to ſave themſelves, not to hurt others. Beſides, what harm has the law of GOD hitherto done the *bonzes*, when there are ſo few Chriſtians? It has been given out too, that when they ſign'd the warrant to put us to death, a fiery ball fell upon the palace, and did great miſchief, *&c.* which is all falſe and groundleſs. I was at the imperial city with the reſt, and we neither ſaw nor heard of it. And tho' this be a negative, yet it is convincing, becauſe we often paſs'd under the palace walls, we convers'd with Chriſtians and infidels, and

NAVARETTE. our ſervants and others told us every thing that happen'd, and all that was talk'd of us very particularly; how then ſhould we have had no account of ſuch a prodigy?

7. Beſides the very foundation is falſe, for ſentence of death never paſs'd againſt us, all the judgments the court of rites gave againſt us were revers'd by the four governors, who only approv'd of that of baniſhment. F. *Adamus* was adjudged to be cut in pieces, the judgment was not approv'd; they brought it down to quartering of him, that was rejected above; nor would they admit of the laſt, which was, to baniſh us all into *Tartary*.

8. I have alſo read ſeveral times, that F. *John Adamus* often excus'd himſelf to the emperor from being concern'd in the mathematicks, and that he had the employment againſt his will. Why ſhould any body give this out, when his own brethren are of the contrary opinion, and own it? What I write is ſo true, that father *Verbieſt* making his excuſes from attending the mathematicks, on account that he was a religious man; and the emperor alledging that F. *Adamus* was ſo too, and yet follow'd that employment; this father anſwer'd, That was the reaſon he had ever liv'd in ſorrow and diſcontent. This anſwer being afterwards known at *Canton*, where we were altogether, F. *Gouvea* ſuperior of that miſſion, and F. *Faber* who had been ſo before him, both ſaid in my hearing, F. *Verbieſt* ly'd, and deſerves to have his head cut off for it: Does not he know that this puniſhment is due to him that lies and impoſes on the emperor of *China*? This is a clear caſe, there is no need of palliating it, nor any reaſon for it. It is requiſite to be cautious in reading other things which have been publiſh'd in *Europe*, and ſhall be taken notice of in their due time.

9. That a comet appear'd ſeveral days before the perſecution, is true, but the ſame appeared in theſe parts. It is true, that a well ſhap'd croſs was ſeen ſome years before in the metropolis of *Xan Tung*. So it is, that about that time there were earthquakes; and that whilſt we were in the imperial city, the rains were ſo great, that part of the ſecond wall was ruin'd, ſo that ſhall be mention'd hereafter. My opinion is; and F. *Luveli* of the ſociety is of the ſame, that Chriſtianity is not yet ſo far advanced there, that GOD ſhould work miracles in defence of it.

10. Five and twenty of us ſail'd for *Macao*. Thoſe four who had reſided in the imperial city remain'd there; they had all eaten the king's bread, and therefore were left there, according to the *Chineſe* policy. F. *Adamus* was a cripple, he ſoon dy'd, the other three were kept cloſe priſoners almoſt two years. We were ſix months and twelve days going to *Macao*; we were all a terrible winter in the boats, and ſuffer'd great hardſhips, which if I ſhould write it would fill many ſheets. Being brought before the ſupreme governor of *Canton*, who was in his chair of ſtate, with greater majeſty, attendants, and reſpect, than any prince in *Europe*; he ſaid to us, The emperor orders me to ſend you over to the people of *Macao*; at preſent we are at variance with that city, ſtay here the mean while, and I'll take care of you; when the affair of *Macao* is adjuſted, I'll ſend you thither. They carry'd us to a houſe that had been the church of the fathers of the ſociety; it was night when we came to it: We had much ado to find every one of us his rags, and compoſe our ſelves to reſt; there was neither fire, nor candle, nor a morſel to eat, nor a drop of water; we did nothing but ſtumble and fall, but very well pleas'd. *Bleſſed be the* LORD, *for whoſe ſake we ſuffer'd.*

11. We ſpent ſome days very uneaſily. The governor at twice ſent us two hundred and fifty ducats in ſilver; it was a noble alms, and well tim'd for us. Who would imagine a heathen ſhould be ſo good to us? With this ſupply ſome little cells were contriv'd, in which we liv'd very contentedly. The diſpute with *Macao* prov'd very dangerous to that city, they were about deſtroying it, and bringing all the inhabitants into *Canton*. The news from court was various and confuſed; the opinions of the miſſioners very oppoſite to one another as to the event of our affair. Some, with good reaſon, thought it was ended, ſince we were baniſhed by the emperor's order. Others fancy'd it would all come to nothing, and we ſhould all ſoon be reſtor'd to our churches. In this confuſion we paſs'd our time in ſtudy and prayer; our life as to the world being ſad and diſmal, but happy with regard to GOD, for whoſe faith we had loſt our liberty.

12. A year and a half after there came to *Macao* an embaſſador from *Goa*, as from the king of *Portugal*. He was brought into *Canton*, meanly treated, and look'd upon as a ſham embaſſador, upon which account there was ſomething to do. He was brought ſick, and his ſecretary, one companion and the chaplain, ſaw the governor, who commanded them to bow both knees, and touch the ground with their foreheads, which was a great affront. The governor enquir'd after the embaſſador's quality; the chaplain thinking it a great honour, ſaid, He had been a captain of horſe. The governor laugh'd and anſwer'd, My ſervants are captains of horſe, and ſome of them greater officers. And he was in the right;

he ſent them to the metropolis, with orders they ſhould be receiv'd within the walls, and care taken of them; they had a mean houſe aſſign'd them, and the governor ſent advice to the emperor. Tho' this be notorious and publickly known, yet the following year the *Portugueſes* writ to *Goa*, giving an account that the embaſſador had been receiv'd with the greateſt honour in the world; that the petty king came out himſelf to meet him, with galleys full of muſick, with flags and ſtreamers, and had receiv'd him into them; and that afterwards they lodg'd him in a ſumptuous palace, and much more to this effect. We ſtood amaz'd when we heard this account afterwards; but we could not diſcover the author of the report, tho' he was ſhrewdly gueſs'd at. He that has ſeen ſuch things will not be ſurprized, tho' they ſhould write there was no ſuch place as *China* in the univerſe. Another ſtrange paſſage happened at the imperial city: Some letters from *Europe* came thither by the way of *Macao*; one was for F. *Francis Ferrari* of the ſociety, a *Savoyard*, born at *Coni*; in it they told him that a letter had been writ to the duke of *Savoy* by order of Pope *Innocent* the tenth, wherein his holineſs congratulated with him for having a ſubject in *China*, who was a great favourite of the emperor's; through whoſe means it was hop'd he and all his empire would be converted to our holy faith. This was meant of the aforeſaid F. *Ferrari*. He, who is a very good religious man, was aſtoniſh'd, and ſmil'd. He ſhew'd the letter openly, and we had good ſport with it, being certain he had never ſeen the emperor, nor been within his palace. How can it be found out who writ ſuch an invention? perhaps he who writ ſeveral other things F. *Kircher* relates was the author of all.

13. Let us return to our embaſſador. He deſign'd to viſit the petty king, and then took into conſideration what reſpect he was to pay him. He ſent a meſſage to us about it: opinions vary'd; mine was, that he ſhould not contend about it, but ſubmit to what the petty king thought fit, taking it for granted, that he would rather exceed than fall ſhort in civility. The *Chineſes* are very obliging in this particular. He follow'd his own head, articled that he was to carry colours, trumpets, and many other things. They told us the interview was fix'd for the next day; I never could be perſuaded it would come to any thing, becauſe of the precautions he had us'd. Next day he and his family dreſs'd themſelves very gay; and when they were ready to ſet out, a meſſage came from the petty king, to tell him he was buſy, and could receive no viſits. This was a great mortification. This was the occaſion that no *Mandarin* viſited him. NAVARETTE.

14. I profeſs'd my ſelf his friend in a particular manner, gave him good advice, but he endur'd ſome trouble and affronts. He was detain'd two years, during which time he was expenſive to *Macao*, that city being at the charge of the embaſſy. Orders came from the emperor for him to go to court, but the preſent he carry'd, of which the particulars had been ſent up, ſeem'd very mean to the emperor; and yet to ſay the truth, it was worth above thirty thouſand ducats. But a little before he had receiv'd a great one from the *Dutch*, which perhaps made this ſeem the leſs. He prepar'd for his journey, but before he ſet out, a pleaſant paſſage happen'd. The king of *Portugal*'s letter was read before the ſupreme governor (this was a new one, for his predeceſſor had hang'd himſelf) and the viceroy; when it was read, they took notice, that before ſigning he did not ſubſcribe himſelf, *YOUR MAJESTY's FAITHFUL SUBJECT*. They aſk'd how thoſe letters came to be omitted. They anſwer'd, it was not the cuſtom of *Europe*. They ſent the emperor word, and he ordered, that in regard the embaſſador had been long there, he might go to court, where they would examine into the omiſſion of the letters. I had no account afterwards what came of it. Two *Dutch* ſhips arriv'd there about that time; advice was ſent to court, and immediately a ſtrict order return'd for them to be gone immediately, without buying or ſelling any thing. All trade with ſtrangers was abſolutely prohibited. The captain's name was *Conſtantin Noble*; he viſited us, and deſign'd to return to *Europe* the following year; but I heard afterwards at *Muſulapatan*, that he was dead, and had taken a journey to hell.

15. In *October* 1669. the emperor's order concerning us came down, which made all deſpair of returing to the miſſion. The fathers at court having ſeen the emperor, found means to get ſome petty kings and counſellors to put in a memorial in our behalf, which they did. The contents of it were, that our enemy had accus'd F. *Adamus* wrongfully, touching the mathematicks: That the Chriſtians were a good people: That during all that time none of them had made any commotion, wherefore there was no cauſe to apprehend a rebellion: That we who were baniſh'd to *Macao*, ſhould be carry'd priſoners to the imperial city. The deſign of it was, that we might ſtay in the kingdom; for when we were come thither, they deſign'd to propoſe, that ſince we were grown old, and many of us ſickly, we might be ſuffer'd to return to our churches, 1669.

Navarrette. churches, to die there. The three fathers had before writ from *Pe King*, that all would certainly go on our ſide, and to the greater glory of our holy faith. F. *Emanuel George* and I were of opinion it would not be ſo; others held the contrary, and knew not what to think of it. A copy of the emperor's order came to our hands: I underſtood it as the reſt did, but none of us hit the right ſenſe. What was bad in it, could be underſtood in the main at leaſt. As we were afterwards ſailing one day, I look'd over and conſider'd thoſe letters, and with no little ſurprize hit upon the meaning. On S. *Tereſa*'s day I overcame another difficulty there was in that paper. The emperor's words were, *Jang Kuang Sien* (that was the *Chineſe*'s name who proſecuted us) deſerves death, but in regard he is very aged, making uſe of our magnanimity and bounty, we forgive him at preſent, and alſo remit the penalty of baniſhment to his wife and children (when a man is put to death, his wife and children are baniſh'd.) It is needleſs to bring thoſe twenty five that were ſent to *Macao* back to the court. As for the law of the Lord of heaven, F. *Verbieſt* and the other two may follow it, as they have done hitherto. Any further I am apprehenſive of allowing them to re-build churches in this or the other provinces, or bringing over people to the ſaid law, to propagate it as before. Let it be made known to them, that they are forbid preaching: the reſt as it is in the memorial.

Puniſhment.

16. We afterwards conſulted among our ſelves, whether we ſhould go to *Macao*, or ſtay there. The moſt were for going, for we had been there ſome time upon our own account, and were at liberty to go. Many thought it convenient to ſtay, that we might be nearer at hand, in caſe ſome overtures ſhould in proceſs of time be made for reſtoring of us to our churches: It was put to the vote, there was much canvaſſing, and nothing reſolv'd on. I then heard many things, and obſerved ſome againſt it proved uſeful to repeat them. All truths are not to be ſpoken, if no benefit is to come of them.

Earthquakes.

17. There had been already great earthquakes, towns overflow'd, mountains divided, and a great mortality. One city was ſwallow'd up by the earth. There was a report that a wonderful dragon had dropt out of the air; the news was ſent into *Europe*, but it was a falſe and mere fiction. An extraordinary comet was ſeen for three or four nights; I was the firſt that ſaw it in our houſe, and it was ſeen at *Macao*, it pointed to the eaſt. Soon after we all ſaw a ſtrange croſs in the air, but very perfect and compleat, the head of it was to the eaſt; every night it continued a conſiderable time, and then vaniſh'd by degrees. The ſad news was then come too of the loſs of the miſſions of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*, There were ſome famous men who gave their lives for the love of God in the latter; ſomething ſhall be ſaid of it in another place.

18. We had receiv'd good and bad news from our religious at *Fo Kien*. The provincial vicar went out to aſſiſt ſome Chriſtians; the ſervant that went with him was taken and by that means they diſcover'd the father. He was apprehended, and when I left *China* had been above ſix months in priſon. Afterwards I ſaw letters, giving an account that he was carry'd to *Canton* among the reſt, and nothing further had been done againſt the Chriſtians. I had ſome comical arguments with F. *Gouvea*; he was provoking, and ſaid, That his ſociety had founded the inquiſition in *Portugal*; that our inquiſitions were much improv'd ſince they join'd with thoſe of *Portugal:* That the univerſity of *Salamanca* gain'd reputation by fellowſhip with that of *Coimbra:* That in *Spain* there is no devotion of the moſt bleſſed ſacrament, and other ſuch fopperies. They are men bred in a corner of the world, have ſeen nothing but *Lisbon* and *Goa*, and pretend to know all the world, whereas they err groſly in things as plain as the ſun. This old man was inſufferable, I always ſhun'd him, and when I could not, thought it the wiſeſt way to hold my peace.

19. During all that time the fathers of the ſociety manag'd the expence of the houſe, they were more in number, they had more ſervants, the houſe had been theirs, and it was convenient for us, eſpecially becauſe they were able to ſupply us when we wanted, wherein they were very kind, and did it with a great deal of charity, tenderneſs, and affection, as I often writ to the general of the ſociety and ours; and ſhould not I and my companions own it, the ſtones themſelves would make it known. But it is not fit ſome impertinent perſon ſhould take a fancy to write into *Europe*, as they ſay it has happen'd, that thoſe of the ſociety were at the whole expence, and that we and the religious men of the order of S. *Francis* bore no part. I have no inclination to touch upon this particular, but it is fit the truth of the whole matter ſhould be known, and I have the accompts by me to this day. The V. F. *F. Dominick Coronado* was ſome days in the imperial city, he was taken out of priſon ſick, and carry'd to the church of the fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo*; his diſtemper increas'd, and eight or ten days after God took him to him. I am aſſur'd he was attended with extra-

extraordinary care and diligence. I coming afterwards to that church, F. *Bullo* gave me the account of what was expended in medicines, phyſicians, and the funeral, and acquainted me the deceas'd had given them a very fine large looking-glaſs, valu'd at fifty crowns plate in our church of *Lan Ki*, and beſides a piece of ſilver filigreen-work, valued at ſix or ſeven crowns more. It was afterwards propos'd to erect a tomb to him, after the manner of that country, for the building of which I gave F. *Bullo* all the ſilver he ask'd. This does not agree with what F. *Grelon* writ, that thoſe of his order had taken nothing for the medicines bought for that ſick man. My two companions, three ſervants and I continued in the imperial city from the twenty eighth of *June* till the thirteenth of *September*. During this time, bating fiſh, fleſh and wine, the emperor allow'd all our expence, as well as theirs; ſo that we had rice, wood, herbs, oil, and that they call *teu fu* in abundance brought in to us; ſo that when we went away the fathers of the ſociety that remain'd were ſtock'd for a great while with rice, wood, oil and vinegar. Nevertheleſs I gave them forty pieces of eight, which they receiv'd five or ſix months after, being carry'd ſix hundred leagues at our expence. Towards the journey to *Canton* I contributed thirty crowns in ſilver, of ten ryals each. During the time of our confinement we paid thirty five ryals plate a head *per* month. S. *Antony* of S. *Mary* paid after the ſame rate for himſelf. And when F. *Gregory Lopez* of my order, now biſhop of *Baſile*, ſet out from *Canton* to viſit all the Chriſtian plantations of the ſociety, I ſupply'd him with fifty crowns, F. *Antony* with twenty two, and thoſe fathers with only ſixteen, with which money he ſpent above two years in the ſervice of the ſociety, without ſo much as a letter, or GOD reward you, from its ſuperior. I could write more, were I not aſham'd to handle ſuch things. I am very ſure the fathers *Fabro*, *Brancato*, and *Balat*, would never mention theſe things. Certain I am we ſhould not have ſpent the third part of this at our churches. I would never take pen in hand to write of ſuch a ſubject, were I not in a manner forced to it by the great ſcrowls ſome men have writ, perhaps confiding that they would not come to my knowledge. NAVARETTE.

20. We had often diſputes during our confinement, which was what we ought to do, both to ſpend our time well, and to agree and ſettle what we were to do for the future, if it ſhould happen we were reſtor'd to our churches. In the ſecond tome I ſhall treat of theſe and other diſputations that have been held in that miſſion, it being ſo material a point.

CHAP. XV.

The Articles our Chineſe *Enemy, who rais'd the Perſecution, charg'd upon our Holy Faith.*

1. IT is requiſite that all miſſioners and thoſe who deſign to go over to thoſe countries, ſhould be well inform'd in theſe affairs, that they may be provided againſt all things that ſhall occur. That wicked *Jang Kuang Sien*, ſo he was call'd, in the year 1659 printed a book in the imperial city of *Pe King*, the title of it amounts to this, *Take heed of falſe prophets*, (ſo I tranſlated the *Chineſe* characters, *Pi Sie Lun*) all there lik'd my verſion, and to ſay the truth this is the genuine interpretation of thoſe words. In order to tranſlate the ſaid book, and the ſecond, which ſhall be inſerted hereafter into our language, we join'd four fathers of the ſociety, one of the order of S. *Francis*, and I, and we all agreed to this following ſenſe of it.

(1.) Firſt article. "That heaven has no "other principle but the matter and form, "from which it naturally flow'd without "admitting any efficient cauſe, diſtinct "from the heaven it ſelf, to produce it.

2. (2.) "That what we miſſioners call "the LORD of heaven, is nothing elſe, but "one of the two parts which compoſe "heaven; which being ſo, it is not poſſi- "ble it ſhould produce heaven without the "help of the copart.

This is a very material point, its difficulty will be made appear in the ſixth book, and more ſhall be ſaid of it in the ſecond tome.

3. (3.) "That if JESUS is GOD, how "can we ſay he is a man? And if he is "truly ſo, who govern'd the univerſe from "heaven during the thirty three years he "was on earth?

A *mandarin* put this queſtion ſome years before to certain miſſioners. I writ largely to the point, judging it convenient ſo to do. The *Chineſe* did not dive into what is writ in the books of our holy faith.

4. (4.) "That it was convenient GOD "ſhould have become man at the begin- "ning of the world, to redeem *Adam*, and "all mankind, and not ſo many thouſands "of years after.

A common argument the *Chineſes* uſe every day. F. *Emanuel Diaz* handles it very well in one of his books printed in the *Chineſe* character, where he quotes the

Navarrete. cauſes of conveniency the ſaints aſſign, and thoſe S. *Thomas* has, *p.* 8. *q.* 1.

5. (5.) "That from the beginning "of the world till an emperor living in "theſe days, there have paſt millions of "years.

The *Chineſes* aſſign an infinite number of worlds, paſt and to come; the duration of every one, according to the learn'd ſect, is three hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand years, and ſomething over. In the ſecond tome more ſhall be ſaid to this point.

6. (6.) "That it is ſcandalous Christ "ſhould have no father, ſince even brute "beaſts have one.

In this place he runs into enormities, like a barbarian void of the light even of natural philoſophy. The *Jews* according to *Theophil. in cat. D. Thom. in Joan.* viii. were guilty of the ſame blaſphemy.

7. (7.) "That there is neither heaven-"ly glory, nor hell. That heaven is no-"thing but the goods of this life; and hell "only its evils and ſufferings.

This is the doctrine of the learned ſect, as ſhall be made out in the ſecond tome. Some miſſioners poſitively aſſert the contrary, tho' they oppoſe their own body.

8. (8.) "That ſins cannot be alto-"gether forgiven; and if they are quite "forgiven, and ill men are ſav'd, thro' "the interceſſion of our Bleſſed Lady, "heaven will become a filthy loathſome "place.

Cajetan in *Heb.* xiii. ſays, *Herein conſiſts all Chriſtian faith, that* Jesus Christ *be believ'd true* God *and true man.*

9. (9.) "That it is falſe, to ſay there "were prophets, who beforehand foretold "the birth, life and death of Christ.

10. (10.) "That God did ill in cre-"ating *Adam* proud, knowing he was to "be the cauſe of all mens calamities.

He had not read the printed books concerning our holy faith.

11. (11.) "That God ought to have "created all men virtuous, and that Christ "ought to have apply'd himſelf to virtuous "actions, that the people might imitate "him, and not have imploy'd himſelf, "without knowing the important part of "virtue, in curing the ſick, raiſing the "dead, and preaching up of heavenly joys "and pains of hell, whence it follow'd he "was put to death for his crimes.

But the natural man receiveth not the things of the ſpirit of God, 1 Cor. ii. 14. The *Manichees* maintain'd the ſame error, according to S. *Auguſt. lib. cont. Fauſt.* A brutal and extravagant reflection.

12. (12.) "That ſince Christ pray'd "and kneel'd in the garden, he could not "be God, being inferior to him he kneel'd "and pray'd to

This inference would be good, were there not two natures, and two wills in Christ. The *Arians* alledg'd the ſame. See *Silvius* in iii. *p. D. Thom. q.* 21. *art.* 1. and *Suarez Tom.* 1. in iii. *part. diſp.* 33.

13. (13.) "That the viſible heaven is "the beginning of all things, and there "is no Lord above it, and therefore it "ought to be ador'd as Lord.

He handles this point at large in two places, and proves it out of their *Confucius.* Yet ſome *Europeans* would know more than the *Chineſes*, of what relates to their own ſects. It is the general opinion of this ſect, that there is no firſt efficient cauſe.

14. (14.) "That we call heaven God's "ſlave, whereas the holy *Chineſes* call their "emperor the ſon of heaven.

The antient *Europeans* gave *Jupiter* the ſame title.

15. (15.) "That we command the "Chriſtians to break the tablets of hea-"ven, earth, the king, parents and maſ-"ters.

This belongs to the ſecond tome.

16. (16.) "That we do not worſhip "heaven, becauſe it has no head, belly, "hands and feet; nor the earth, becauſe "we tread and throw all filth upon it.

This point is expounded in the books of our holy faith.

17. (17.) "That we do not honour the "emperor, becauſe he is the ſon of a "ſlave, that is heaven.

This was a malicious inſertion, for the contrary is contain'd in the books of our faith.

18. (18.) "That we do not honour "our parents, becauſe Christ had no "father.

He could not chuſe but have read the contrary in our books, which highly commend obedience to parents and ſuperiors.

19. (19.) "That heaven and earth "weep, ſeeing us trample upon the law "of nature.

The heathen raves.

20. (20.) "That any ordinary man "may be accounted king of the upper re-"gion, with more reaſon than Christ, "who was crucify'd as a malefactor.

He plays the *Gentile* and the *Jew*; obſerve the opinion they have of their king of the upper region, whom ſome have preach'd up as our God.

21. (21.) "That there never was a "holy man puniſh'd for his crimes.

The wicked wretch invents all theſe blaſphemies, tho' he had ſeen in our books what motives Christ had to lay down his life for us.

22. (22.) "That if Christ being "God could govern the world, how

"came

" came, it he could not govern himſelf?
As if he had ſaid, *He hath ſaved others, &c.* as the *Jews* did, who were certainly more to blame than this infidel, having been eye-witneſſes of ſo many miracles.

23. (23.) " That the books of the law " of GOD do not treat of CHRIST's paſ- " ſion, becauſe it was ſhameful; but on- " ly of his miracles, reſurrection, and aſ- " cending to heaven.

He ſpeaks in this place of the books of the ancient miſſioners, not of thoſe who have writ for forty years laſt paſt. F. *Emanuel Diaz* writ very much concerning the paſſion of our LORD. That is alſo later which F. *Henao* quotes *de divin. ſacrif. diſp.* 29. *ſec.* 17. *n.* 219.

24. (24.) " That it is a mere fiction " that CHRIST heal'd the ſick, and rais'd " the dead, and that it was unbeſeeming " GOD to be ſo employ'd.

25. (25.) " That it is a matter of " ſmall merit to relieve ſinners, and that " it had been very meritorious if CHRIST's " benefits had reach'd the whole people " for ever, like thoſe of their emperor *Ju*, " who drain'd *China*.

26. (26.) " That it had been a greater " benefit of CHRIST to cauſe men not to " fall ſick, or die, than to heal or raiſe " them again.

I ſaid enough to theſe three points in my apology.

27. (27.) " That F. *Matthew Riccius* " ſuppreſs'd the paſſion and death of " CHRIST, which he did to impoſe upon " the people.

It is plain that great man had no ſuch deſign.

28. (28.) " That we give Chriſtians " croſſes in token of rebellion.

A falſe calumny.

29. (29.) " That we impoſe upon the " *mandarines*, and gain the good will of " *mandarines* with the curioſities of *Eu-* " *rope*, more than the truth of our doc- " trine.

Watches, harpſicords, looking-glaſſes, proſpective glaſſes, twezers, and other preſents, brought this affront upon us.

30. (30.) " That the *mandarines* are " miſtaken in looking upon us as learned " men, who are nothing but great talkers, " mountebanks, and make uſe of their *Chi-* " *neſe* learning.

Some have deſerv'd the reflection.

31. (31.) " He ſpeaks of F. *Adamus*, " adding, that he accepted of the office " of a *mandarin*, tho' we boaſt we will " not accept of employments.

32. (32.) " That the *Portugueſes* of " *Macao* were plac'd there by F. *Riccius*.

This is a known falſhood.

33. (33.) " That of late years the " walls of that city were demoliſh'd, and " the inhabitants turn'd out. NAVARETTE.

The firſt part is true, but the ſecond falſe.

24. Theſe are the principal points he mentions, but adds much more, uſing a great deal of rhetorick and artifice, which is ſufficient to incline people, who have no better light, to believe it, dazling their underſtanding.

It is very plain that nothing here concerns Dominicans, Franciſcans, or Caſtilians; nor is there any mention of the king of *Spain*, *America*, or the *Philippine iſlands*; ſo that ſome people may be brought to look upon what they read of this nature as mere fiction.

This book ſpread through the imperial city, and other parts of that empire. The fathers who liv'd in the imperial city did not mind to anſwer, or take any notice of it. F. *Antony* of S. *Mary*, a Franciſcan, heard of it (we had it very late, as being far from court) he writ to thoſe fathers to know why they were ſo ſilent, intimating that their ſilence would be interpreted a tacit confeſſion: All ſignify'd nothing. When we were all at the imperial city, it was propos'd to write an anſwer when it was too late, and impoſſible to publiſh it.

36. They had before put out a little book, of which mention has been made, and at which our enemy was enrag'd, who immediately printed another with this title, *Po Te I*, that is, as a faithful ſubject I cannot forbear appearing and ſpeaking the truth. Among the reſt he ſaid in it.

" That CHRIST was crucify'd for at- " tempting to uſurp *Jewry*, which he re- " peats ſeveral times; and that he fled in- " to the garden to eſcape from thoſe that " came to apprehend him.

" That the people who applauded him " on *Palm Sunday*, forſook him after- " wards, fearing he would be puniſh'd for " encouraging rebellion.

" That he contriv'd to kill the king, " that he might uſurp the crown.

" That ours is a rebellious law, and " owns neither parents nor kings.

" That there are ſo many people at " *Macao* in order to a rebellion; and that " to this purpoſe we have ſuch and ſuch " churches in *China*, where father *Adamus* " accepted the office of a *mandarin*, that " he might diſperſe the fathers throughout " all the provinces.

" That we go in and out of *China*, " privately, and our deſigns unknown to " any body.

" That by degrees we take draughts of " the fifteen provinces, and inquire into " the number of ſoldiers, ſtrength, *&c.*

" That ſuch people were never admit-

NAVARETTE. "ted into *China*, and that we had hidden "arms.

"That father *Riccius* went into *China* "the foregoing years, and had quoted his "bible and comments of his ſaints to pal- "liate his bad doctrine; and that they "who compos'd the book above-mention'd "had done the ſame. He condemns us "for ſaying that *Foe* (the founder of the "idolatrous ſect) is in hell, and urges that "we only ſay ſo out of envy.

"That the heavenly joys, and pains of "hell, the ſect of *Foe* preaches up, are "nothing but a politick invention to keep "the people in awe, not that there really "is any ſuch thing.

The ſectaries themſelves hold the ſame.

36. Not one of all theſe articles is particularly charg'd upon *Franciſcan*, *Dominican*, or *Caſtilian*. He ſpeaks againſt the *Portugueſes*, and their city *Macao*; ſo that all men will be ſatisfy'd that we ſhar'd in the perſecution, paſſively and not actively; and that the particular *Chineſes* bear no particular hatred to the *Caſtilians*, as ſome have written and given out.

37. After this he preſented other memorials, in one of which he ſaid, we had been baniſh'd *Japan* for attempting to poſſeſs our ſelves of that kingdom; and that the *Europeans* (without ſpecifying *Caſtilians* or *Spaniards*) had ſeiz'd the *Philippine iſlands*, and that ſome years before the fathers of the ſociety had been baniſh'd out of *China*. Here he ſpeaks of the baniſhment in the years 1617, and 1618, when no friar had yet entred upon that miſſion.

38. Before I conclude this chapter, I muſt in this place take notice, that among the *Chineſe* ſects, whereof I ſaid ſomething in the ſecond book, there is one more which is convenient to be known, in order to what we ſhall treat of in another place. The founder of it was born at *King Hoa* in the province of *Fo Kien*, his name was *Ling*, and it is about a hundred thirty ſix years ſince he laid the foundation of it. The temples of it are call'd *of the three legiſlators*. This ſect unites and incorporates the three principal ſects of *China*, which are thoſe of the learned, the idolaters and the ſorcerers, whoſe origin is in reality the ſame, tho' they expreſs it after ſeveral manners. The learned *Chineſes* agree to this. F. *Longobardus* proves it ſufficiently, and F. *Riccius* does not diſſent, as ſhall be proved in its place. On the altars of this ſect are placed the images of the three legiſlators, *Confucius*, *Lao Zu*, and *Foe*; this laſt as a gueſt and ſtranger is in the middle. F. *Athanaſius Kircher* has the cut to the life. There are very many of this ſect; F. *Gouvea* told me he had ſeen of them. Some learned *Chineſes* profeſs it, who are very modeſt in their demeanour. Whilſt I was in *China*, a Chriſtian of the imperial city writ a book, the deſign whereof is to unite and incorporate our holy law with thoſe three we have ſpoken of; they all tend to the ſame end, ſays he. It is likely that author follow'd the advice of doctor *Michael*, mention'd by F. *Longobardo* in his treatiſe. *Linus*, whom I ſpoke of before, read this book, and diſapprov'd of it. Any man that values himſelf upon being a Chriſtian, muſt be of the ſame mind. I treat of this and other points more at large in my ſecond tome.

Sects.

As the *Romans* had a law againſt allowing any ſtrange religion, upon which *Trajan* and *Adrian* perſecuted the Chriſtians, as *Spondanus* writes, *Ann.* 120. *n.* 2. ſo have the *Chineſes*; but they obſerve it not any further than in not following that of our LORD.

39. S. *Leo*, *ſerm.* 1. *in nativit. Apoſt. Petri & Paul*, ſays of *Rome*, *It follow'd the errors of all nations, and ſeem'd to it ſelf to have taken up a mighty religion, becauſe it rejected no falſhood.* This in ſome meaſure might be ſaid of the errors the *Chineſes* have admitted. F. *Arias*, *tom.* 1. *tract.* 8. *cap.* 12. writes, that the *Chineſes* are moſt ignorant and ſtupid in point of religion and virtue, do not know one GOD ruler of all things, are full of ſuperſtitions and idolatries like the other *Gentiles*, adore heaven as god, and men who have been among them governors, judges, and brave ſoldiers in war, and ſuch as have led a hard and penitent life; and in their temples have idols, the ſtatues of theſe falſe gods, of whom they beg temporal bleſſings, and offer ſacrifice to them. It is wonderful that they who are ſo witty, ſharp, and ready for worldly affairs, ſhould know nothing material of what relates to their ſalvation, GOD, and another life, as if they had no manner of reaſon in this particular. In his thirteenth chapter he ſays, The *Gentiles* that have been diſcover'd as to idolatry and the worſhip of devils, follow the ſame errors and ſuperſtitions the antient *Gentiles* did: This is the opinion of the ancient miſſioners of the ſociety. In ſhort, that nation is ſo full of fopperies and abſurdities, that nothing can outdo it, and they would have receiv'd more had more come to their knowledge. But in reſpect to the law of GOD, they are deaf and dumb to all that is ſaid to them. GOD of his infinite mercy and goodneſs enlighten their underſtandings, that they may confeſs, worſhip and adore him.

Religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

My Departure from Canton to Macao.

1. THE fathers of the ſociety very well knew my intention, as to going out of *Canton*, becauſe I had made it known upon ſeveral occaſions, and writ about it to their F. viſitor *Luis de Gama* who was at *Macao*, giving him ſufficient reaſons for my going to ſee him. This my reſolution being known, the fathers conſulted whether my going away might be prejudicial or hurtful to them, as F. *Lubeli* told me. They and I both knew it would not, but it was a kindneſs to them, for they brought in another of their own in my ſtead, as I was afterwards inform'd, and I had my ſelf urg'd before. That which made me moſt eager to be gone, was, that I knew F. *Intorceta* was gone for *Rome* the year before, after the diſputations we had held; and there being many points in which I and others could not agree, I was troubled I could not go to *Manila* to confer about them with my ſuperiors, for to manage this by letter is endleſs. I alſo deſign'd to diſcourſe the F. viſitor upon the ſame ſubject, and to propoſe accommodating ſome matters betwixt us. F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* a *Franciſcan* deſir'd the ſame. I afterwards ſlacken'd in this part at *Macao*, by reaſon of ſome idle ſtories that were carried backwards and forwards at *Macao*.

Having conſider'd the buſineſs, which was not eaſy to compaſs, tho' there was no difficulty in going about it, and having communicated it to perſons of undoubted reputation, I made uſe of a Chriſtian *Chineſe* merchant, not very conſiderable; and the time being fix'd and agreed upon, I went out very cunningly upon pretence of viſiting the embaſſador. This was eaſily credited, becauſe I often did it: being come to the Chriſtian's houſe, ſome *Portugueſes* viſited me that afternoon, but nothing was done that night. Before break of day we went into a paſſage-boat, which ſail'd at ſun-riſing with ſo fair a wind, that by noon we had run ten leagues. We ſtopt at a village, where we lay that night very uneaſily, for the weather was very cold, and the room was ſo good, that we could ſee the ſtars thro' ſeventeen ſeveral places; there we ſtaid for the paſſage-boat till noon. All the country is cut acroſs with rivers and lakes, ſo that there ſeldom wants boats. We found a very great one, and full of people, which I did not like at that time. They took me in, the commander immediately came out to receive me, put me into his cabbin, and made very much of me.

2. The ebb came on, and our veſſel ſtuck upon the owſe; we were oblig'd to ſtay for the flood, which was a cruel check, conſidering my haſte and impatience. We came to the town of *Hiang Xan Ngao*, which is the capital of the iſland in which *Macao* ſtands. Abundance of ſoldiers were about there, they all look'd at me, and I paſs'd thro' them more afraid than aſham'd, till I got into an inn. The next day I did not travel for want of a ſedan, and it was GOD's mercy, for I muſt of neceſſity have met with the *mandarin*, who has charge of *Macao*, who came thither that day with an hundred ſedans, and ſome horſes. Tho' the days are ſo ſhort in *December*, yet this ſeem'd to me a whole year. The next day we ſet out by land, I was eaſily to be known in that country, ſo that I was not a little afraid, eſpecially becauſe all intercourſe with *Macao* was cut off. The Chriſtian was a bold man, and attempted any thing, tho' never ſo raſh; I follow'd his opinion, though with ſome reluctancy. At the midway there was a company of ſoldiers in a houſe, and juſt oppoſite to them the Chriſtian took up his reſting-place; the ſame did the chairmen who carried me, following his example. I was much troubled at it, being in great fear, but no body came to look into the chair. We eat at another place, where there were houſes of entertainment; but I came not out of the chair, becauſe the foregoing year F. *Intorceta* was known there, and I was afraid the ſame might happen to me. I went away to a village, where I waited two days expecting how to get over; during that time I ſcarce ate or ſlept. They put me into a ſtraw-loft to ſecure me againſt the ſoldiers, where I lay in great fear and conſternation. We reſolv'd, through my impatience, to travel two leagues by night to another village, to ſeek ſome conveniency there: the gates were ſhut, and a guard within, we expected in two hours to have them opened; it was then the 17th of *December*, I was hot and weary with walking. We ſaw a light in a little houſe without the gate, and I aſk'd for ſome water; I drank near a pint, and wonder it did not kill me; beſides we were in no ſmall fear of the tigers. We got into the village, hir'd a cloſe ſedan, went down by-ways to the ſhore, that we might croſs over from thence to *Macao*, to which was about half a league by ſea. I ſaw *Macao*, heard the bells, and was forced to turn back, becauſe all about was full of ſoldiers; I abſolutly deſpair'd

NAVARETTE.

Navarette. of getting over, and return'd to the ſtraw-loft. The Chriſtian was not diſcourag'd in the leaſt, he did not like of that day's journey; it was my contriving, but raſh and fooliſh. That afternoon a veſſel the *Chineſe* had beſpoke the day before, came near to where we were: becauſe it had out-ſtaid its time half a day, I thought the infidels would not be ſo good as their words, and that was the reaſon we took the courſe I have ſpoken of. We went aboard at night-fall, and rowing as ſtill as might be, paſs'd by the guards that were along the ſhore. The wind came ahead, and put us into ſome fear; the little boat took in water, and though we laded it out continually, yet we could not keep our ſelves in ſafety. It pleaſed God we landed at nine of the clock that night at the captain-general's door. Becauſe I would not diſturb the monaſtry, I went to a friend's houſe, where they were amaz'd to ſee me. I came weary, thin, and hungry, and all was well when I found my ſelf free and among catholicks; this was on the 18th of *December*, on which day died brother *Reyes* the famous procurator of a monaſtry in that city, who had been the cauſe of great troubles and diſorders there. No body lamented his death, and as the captain-general told me, he left above fifty thouſand ducats without his houſe. A conſiderable hiſtory might be writ of this man, perhaps we may give hints of ſome ſmall particulars. The next day my arrival was publickly known, by means of ſome *Chineſes* who had ſeen me on the other ſide; ſeveral judgments were made upon it, ſome for, ſome againſt me, and ſome indifferent; certain prieſts particularly declar'd againſt me, which made me backward in communicating ſome points concerning the miſſion with them. I was viſited by perſons of note, and the ſuperiors of religious orders. I contracted a particular friendſhip with D. *Alvaro de Sylva* captain-general of thoſe forts, which prov'd very advantageous to me. He made much of me, fitted me out, found me convenient ſhipping, and join'd me in a meſs with ſome worthy friends of his, moſt excellent perſons.

3. The governor of the biſhoprick, formerly my intimate friend, and now a profeſs'd enemy, for ſome good and holy conſiderations, endeavour'd to do me a miſchief with the captain-general, putting him in mind of what others had quite forgot, which was, that through my means that city had been about ſubmitting to *Manila*, which he altogether imputed to me; therefore he ſaid I was a traitor to the king of *Portugal*, and the peace having not been yet proclaim'd there, it was enough to breed ill blood. The captain-general anſwer'd very well, ſaying, He is no traitor, but a very loyal ſubject to his king; to endeavour the delivering of this city to his king, was a good piece of ſervice. If I could deliver *Badajoz* to my king, would it be treaſon, or a good ſervice done my king?

The honeſt governor us'd his endeavours with the government of the city not to let me go: but they anſwer'd him with a letter the embaſſador's ſecretary had writ to them, declaring that city was very much oblig'd to me for the ſervice I had done the embaſſador, and embaſſy, which was very true. The embaſſador writ to the captain-general to the ſame effect, ſo that F. *Emanuel de Angelis* was very much ſham'd.

My deſign being only to go over to *Manila*, I agreed with ſome maſters of *Siam*, to whom I deliver'd books, clothes, ſome baggage, and other curioſities, though but few, for them to carry to *Siam*, whence I was to croſs over to the iſlands. The *Dutch* at *Malaca* would not conſent to it, for I have heard no more of them ſince; it is moſt likely all I ſent is loſt.

4. On the 11th of *January* the captain-general carry'd me aboard the ſhip, where I thought my ſelf free from impertinent people, though I had a great deal to go through. One thing I was much ſurpriz'd at in *Macao*, and had it not been told me by one of the graveſt citizens I had not believ'd it. *Vaſco Barboſa de Melo*, who is well known to be honeſt, well born, and a good Chriſtian, told me, that the foregoing year 1668, ſome perſons had taken out certificates, that we had ruin'd the miſſion of *China*, and were the cauſe they had no trade or commerce. As to the laſt point, I do not concern my ſelf with it, becauſe it belongs not to me; let them look to it. *Alexander* the ſeventh, *Clement* the ninth and tenth, have iſſued their Bulls, repeating what *Urban* the eighth order'd in his of 33, be it for theſe or thoſe. As to the firſt I ſay, it is no new thing in the world for men to lay their own faults upon others, to excuſe, and endeavour to conceal them. Let us caſt our eyes upon *Adam*, *Gen.* iii. He excus'd himſelf, laying the blame on *Eve*, ſhe on the devil, or ſerpent. Let us go on to the thirty firſt chapter, Laban *ſaid to* Jacob, *Why haſt thou done ſo?* Corn. à Lapid. v. 16. *Obſerve here in* Laban's *words the humour of the world; for tho' he knew he by his perfidiouſneſs had given the juſt man cauſe to fly, yet he diſſembles it, and caſts all the blame upon the juſt man*, &c. *So the world palliates its own faults, and lays all the blame on the godly. So* Ahab *charges* Elias *with diſturbing* Iſrael; *when as he, wicked king, was the cauſe of all evils.* Read S. *Chryſoſtom in cat. aur. Joan.*

Joan. i. ℣. 29. and *Lippomanus in Gen.* xliv. 12. The king of *England* complain'd of S. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, that he could not enjoy peace for one prieſt in his kingdom, whereas he himſelf was the only cauſe of the diſcord.

5. The manner of obtaining thoſe certificates, make the thing yet more foul and criminal. *Vaſco Barboſa* having attended the embaſſador two years in *Canton*, and knowing this buſineſs perfectly well (the ſecond is known to all the world) he ſpoke with the judge who had ſign'd thoſe certificates; the *Portugueſes* call him *Veador*, and ſaid to him, how came you, ſir, to ſign ſuch a thing, when you ſo well know the contrary? He anſwer'd, Mr. *Vaſco Barboſa*, I was ſick in bed, and ſomewhat caſt down; two, to wit, *N.* and *N.* came to me and ſaid, Sir, we bring you ſome papers of ſmall conſequence; you muſt ſign them. I, ſir, ſat up, and ſign'd without reading them; who would imagine that ſuch men ſhould impoſe upon me? (I bring GOD to witneſs that what I have writ is true.) I then ſaid to *Vaſco Barboſa*, Sir, who was moſt to blame in this affair? This gentleman, who did not read what he ſign'd, or they that tender'd the papers, deſiring to have them ſign'd? Doubtleſs the latter, firſt becauſe they ſin'd deliberatly and deſignedly. (2.) Becauſe they ſin'd maliciouſly. (3.) They deceiv'd in a matter of conſequence, and to the detriment of a third perſon. (4.) In regard they were prieſts. (5.) Becauſe of the motive and end, which could be no other than worldly honour and vain glory. (6.) Becauſe they were the efficient forcing cauſe that the judge ſin'd. (7.) Becauſe of the ſcandal of ſuch proceeding; and if the matter be further look'd into, other deformities will appear. The layman may alledge many excuſes, and the reader may reflect on them, without inſerting them here.

6. Knowing this caſe. I thought it requiſite and neceſſary to prepare my ſelf to make a defence; this is nature, and no doubt in many caſes we are bound to it, *leſt ſilence ſeem to imply guilt.* And this being prejudicial and diſhonourable to a whole religious order, the defence is more abſolutely neceſſary. S. *Thom.* ii. 2. *queſt.* 26. *art.* 2. *corp.* ſays thus, *For any part has a principal inclination to a common action to the benefit of the whole.* Any man is bound to appear upon ſuch like occaſions. Eſpecially, becauſe as S. *Ambroſe* ſays in *epiſt. ad Philip. He is cruel who ſlights his own reputation.* And S. *Auguſt. de bono viduit. They are not to be hearken'd to who cruelly deſpiſe men's reputation, becauſe our life is uſeful to our ſelves, our good name to others, our conſcience to our ſelves, our reputation to our neighbour.* This ſuffices for our purpoſe; it were eaſy to add more, but it being a common caſe and out of diſpute, I think it needleſs. NAVARETTE.

7. For theſe reaſons I obtain'd fourteen certificates from the clergy, ſuperiors of orders, the captain-general, and others of the principal men of that city, who all upon oath teſtify and declare, who were the cauſe that the miſſions of *Japan*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and other places in the eaſt were loſt. I had duplicates of the ſaid certificates, one parcel I deliver'd to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, by order of cardinal *Ottoboni*; another parcel I have by me, beſide an authentick copy taken at *Rome*. If any curious perſon pleaſes to read them, I will lend him them very freely.

8. As for the miſſion of *China*, I will write the matter of fact briefly, as all men own'd it who were there when the perſecution began. When they told us the news of our baniſhment in the imperial city, F. *Gouvea* ſaid to F. *Canari*, I being by at the ſame time; F. *Matthew Riccius* brought us into *China* by the mathematicks, and F. *John Adamus* now baniſhes us by his.

9. F. *Gouvea* diſcourſing with me at *Canton*, told me, That the ſtrangers of his ſociety, who were in *China*, had ruin'd the miſſion. Another time he explain'd himſelf further, and told me plainly, That their *French* fathers had been the cauſe of it: and perhaps it was becauſe of the diviſion there was among them about ſuperiors, a little before the ſtorm roſe. F. *Humbertus Augeri* talking with me concerning this point, ſaid, What have we *French* done? Our want of unity and mutual love, has ruin'd this miſſion. F. *James Faber* who was ſuperior at that time told me, When I was at court, I perceiv'd that when F. *Adamus* dy'd, there would riſe a great perſecution. I look'd upon it as certain, and ſo I writ to our father-general. The fathers *Canavari* and *Balat* imputed it to the law of GOD's being imperfectly preached in that kingdom. Beſides all this, the fathers of the ſociety ſeveral times ſaid in my hearing, that the little book the four fathers who reſided in the imperial city had publiſh'd, was the only cauſe of all that diſaſter.

10. Our *Chineſe* enemy in his memorials quotes F. *Adamus*, and charges him as has been writ; he quotes F. *Matthew Riccius* his books, and others of the ſociety. The emperor's edict that was brought up, expreſly names F. *Adamus*, and F. *Verbieſt*, and their two companions, and no other except F. *Antony* of S. *Mary*, not becauſe he was a *Franciſcan*, but becauſe his name was the firſt in the paper, becauſe he came

to

Navarette. to the imperial city before any other. The petition that was preſented in our behalf was F. *Adamus*'s. The *Dutch* who went to court after we came from thence, and knew all that had happen'd in their *Mercuries*, mention none but thoſe of the ſociety. The mathematicks, whence the diſpute ſprung, were follow'd by the ſociety, not by us, or the *Franciſcans*. The preſents that were made in *China*, with which our enemy ſays we infatuated the *Chineſes*, were given by thoſe of the ſociety, not by us, who had ſcarce bread to eat. Who but the ſociety has made uſe of the *Chineſe* learning in the books of the law of God, which our enemy ſays we do to palliate our ill doctrine? Theſe articles are made out in the foregoing chapter.

11. Did not the firſt impriſoning begin with F. *Adamus*, and the other three in the imperial city? it muſt be underſtood that of eleven there were then of my order in *China*, only four went up to court. One fell ſick to death in priſon, he was taken out from thence with leave from the judges, and carried to the church of F. *Magallanes*, who was then in it, where a few days after he gave up the Ghoſt. We three came afterwards, the judges never put any queſtions to us. Now how are we brought in here, but only to ſuffer, to loſe all we had, and leave our Chriſtians expos'd to our enemy? It is a neceſſary duty to obſerve what the Holy Ghoſt ſays, *Eccluſ.* xxxvii. 20. *Let a true word go before thee in all works.*

12. It may be urg'd that thoſe of the ſociety had contriv'd to return to their churches, for which they deſerve much praiſe and honour. I ſay it is but reaſon they ſhould have it, and that it has been an heroick action, and ſuitable to their zeal, yet this does not detract from the truth of what has been written. It is well known there were no Dominican, Franciſcan, nor Auguſtinian miſſioners in *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and other parts, ſo that the loſs of thoſe miſſions cannot be imputed to them. I ſhall ſay ſomewhat to the point of perſecutions in the ſecond tome. Leaving aſide ſeveral ſtories I heard at *Macao* during my ſtay there, and other matters that were given me in writing, before I put to ſea, it will be convenient in this place to make one particular chapter of the city *Macao*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the City Macao, *its Situation, Strength, and other Particulars.*

1. I Have hitherto obſerv'd, and will for the future, what I lately quoted out of *Eccleſiaſticus*; wherefore no man need make a doubt of what I write, but ought rather to give entire credit to it. *Cajetan* in *Pref.* in *Luc.* ſays, *For it is moſt reaſonable, that all credit be given to thoſe who have not only ſeen, but whoſe duty it is to teſtify to others what they have ſeen.* As I am a religious man, prieſt, apoſtolical miſſioner and preacher, tho' unworthy in all reſpects, what I relate deſerves and ought to be look'd upon as undoubted truths, eſpecially in regard I am an eye-witneſs.

Trade. 2. The *Chineſes* from all antiquity had prohibited the admitting of ſtrangers into their kingdom, and trading with them; tho' for ſome years, covetouſneſs prevailing, they have ſail'd to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Siam*, and other parts within the ſtraits of *Sincapura*, and *Governador* in the ſea of *Malaca*, as I have obſerv'd before: but it has always been an infringement of the ancient law, the *mandarines* of the coaſt conniving at it for their private gain. This is the reaſon why when the *Portugueſes* began to ſail thoſe ſeas, they had no ſafe port, nor any way to ſecure one. They were ſome years in the iſland *Xan Choang*, where S. *Francis Xaverius* dy'd; ſome years they went to the province of *Fo Kien*, another while to the city *Ning Po* in the province of *Ghe Kiang*, whence they were twice expell'd, and the ſecond time ill treated. They attempted the place where *Macao* now ſtands, but without ſucceſs; they return'd, and the *mandarines* of *Canton* ſending advice to the emperor, he order'd they ſhould remain there undiſturb'd, paying tribute and cuſtoms for their merchandize. Thus they ſettled there, and had continued till my time the term of a hundred and thirty years. Many of the inhabitants of *Macao* ſay that place was given them, for having expell'd thence certain robbers, who did much harm to the neighbouring *Chineſes*, to which they ſay they oblig'd themſelves, whence they infer that place is their own. The *Chineſes* diſown it, and ſo does the *Tartar*, who is now the lord of it. And if the grant was upon condition, they ſhould pay tribute and cuſtom for merchandize, as they have always done, the difference is not much. At beſt they are like the *Chineſes*, among whom no man is abſolute maſter of a foot of land. Macao.

3. The place is a ſmall neck of land running off from the iſland ſo ſmall, that including all within the wall the *Chineſes* have there, it will not make a league in circumference. In this ſmall compaſs there are aſcents and deſcents, hills and dales, and

and all rocks and ſand. Here the merchants began to build: The firſt church and monaſtery built there was ours, of the invocation of our Lady of the Roſary, and the *Portugueſes* ſtill preſerve it. Afterwards there went thither fathers of the ſociety of the orders of St. *Francis*, and St. *Auguſtin*. Some years after they founded a monaſtery of St. *Clare*, and carry'd nuns to it from that of St. *Clare* in *Manila*: The foundation was without his majeſty's leave, he reſented it when it came to his ears; and not without reaſon, for a country of infidels, and ſo ſmall, is not proper for nuns. That monaſtery has of late years been a great trouble to the city. Before I proceed any further, I will here ſet down what was told me by the licentiate *Cadenas*, a great prieſt of that city. When the *Tartars* conquer'd *China*, thoſe nuns fearing leſt they might come over to *Macao*, and ſome diſaſter might befall them, petition'd the city to ſend them to ſome other place. Having weigh'd and conſider'd the matter, they anſwer'd, That they need not be in care, for if any thing happen'd, they would preſently repair to the monaſtery with a couple of barrels of gunpowder, and blow them all up, which would deliver them from any ill deſigns of the *Tartars*. An excellent method of comforting the poor afflicted creatures!

4. There are in the city five monaſteries, three pariſh-churches, the houſe and church of the *Miſericordia*, or Mercy; the hoſpital of S. *Lazarus*, and ſeminary of the ſociety; one great fort and ſeven little ones: The plan is very bad, becauſe it was built by piecemeal. It was afterwards made a biſhop's ſee; the firſt biſhop was of my order, and till my time no other proprietor had been conſecrated to it. It ſhall be argued in another place, whether that lord biſhop has a ſpiritual juriſdiction over all *China*, or not; as alſo whether *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* belong to him. At preſent it is certain they do not, for his holineſs has divided *China* into three biſhopricks, under whom are *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and the iſland *Hermoſa*. And tho' the *Portugueſe* reſident at *Rome* oppos'd it, he could not prevail.

5. That city throve ſo much with the trade of *Japan* and *Manila*, that it grew vaſtly rich, but never would vie with *Manila*, nor is there any compariſon between the two cities. I find as much difference in all reſpects betwixt them, as is betwixt *Madrid* and *Vallecas* (much the ſame as between *London* and *Hammerſmith*) and ſomewhat more, for the people of *Manila* are free, and thoſe of *Macao* ſlaves.

6. I take it for granted, that what *Emanuel Leal de Fonſeca*, knight of the order of CHRIST, ſaid in my hearing, upon *Maunday Thurſday* at night, in our monaſtery of *Macao*, is certainly true, That the governor of *Manila* had more employments to give than the *Portugueſe* viceroy at *Goa*, even before the *Dutch* had taken ſo much from them. It is alſo certain that his majeſty has more lands and ſubjects in the *Philippine* iſlands, than the *Portugueſes* had ſixty years ago throughout all *India*. Theſe things were unqueſtionable. NAVARRETTE.

7. The trade of *Japan* failing, *Macao* began to decay; and that of *Manila* ceaſing, it almoſt fell to the ground. I was told ſo in that city, and it was viſible in the wants they endur'd. The monaſteries which ſome years before maintain'd twenty four religious men, in my time with much difficulty and want maintain'd three. The two trades above being at an end, they took up with *ſandal* of *Timor*, *ateca* of *Siam*, *roſamulla*, *rota* (all drugs) and ſuch-like commodities, which the *Chineſes* bought, and they took ſilks, calicoes, and other merchandize in exchange, which they ſold at *Siam* and *Macaſar* to the *Spaniards* by a third hand.

8. *Macao* ever paid ground-rent for the houſes and churches to the *Chineſe*, and anchorage for ſhipping. As ſoon as any ſhip or pink comes into the harbour, a *mandarin* preſently comes from the metropolis, and takes gage of it, and receives the duty according to his computation of the burden. When the ſhip goes out, he takes the dimenſions again, and receives freſh cuſtom. Every year their meaſures alter. Is this any thing like being abſolute maſters of that place? They have loſt what they had, and would appropriate to themſelves what is none of their own.

9. They complain and alledge, nay the embaſſador *Emanuel de Saldanna* ſaid in my preſence, that our king employ'd all his ſtrength in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſuffer'd the *Eaſt* to decline, becauſe it belong'd to *Portugal*. But I confuted him with my anſwer, and ſaid, If the king of *Spain* was lord of both *Indies*, and his grandeur conſiſted in maintaining his dominion from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, why ſhould he ſuffer that to decline which he poſſeſs'd as abſolute lord and maſter? for that would be leſſening his own greatneſs, which he ſo much valu'd.

10. Secondly, When D. *John de Sylva* was governor of the *Philippine* iſlands, his majeſty order'd all the force of *Manila* and *Goa* ſhould rendezvous at *Malaca*, and that the governor and viceroy ſhould go aboard in perſon, in order to fall upon *Jacatra*, and drive the *Dutch* quite out of *India*. The governor came with five mighty ſhips, the beſt men in the iſlands, ammunitions, proviſions, and all neceſſaries. He arriv'd

Navarette. at *Malaca*, where he expected the viceroy two years, but he is not come yet. D. *John de Sylva* went away ſad and troubled to *Siam*, where he was forced to fight ſome ſhips of that country and *Japan*. After which he dy'd for grief of the diſappointment; many more dy'd, the reſt return'd to *Manila*, having been at vaſt expence. All that ever ſpoke of this ſubject ſay, that if his majeſty's orders had been obey'd, the *Dutch* had infallibly been ruin'd and expell'd *India*.

11. Thirdly, About the year 1640, one *Meneſes* a gentleman of *Goa* came to *Macao*, in his way to *Japan*, whither he was going embaſſador. He proceeded no further, becauſe of the ill ſucceſs of another embaſſy the year before. This gentleman talking with F. *Antony de Santa Maria*, a *Franciſcan*, of the power of the *Dutch* in *India*, told him, that our king had writ into *India*, to acquaint them that if they thought fit he would ſend them a ſtrong fleet, and in it D. *Frederick* of *Toledo*, as viceroy of *Goa*, *Malaca*, and *Manila*, who would ſcour the ſea, and make it ſafe to them from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. We would not accept of what was offer'd for our good, ſaid *Meneſes*, and that was the reaſon we are in ſuch a poor condition. The embaſſador anſwer'd me, I did not know all that.

12. After this on *Midſummer-day*, I being invited with F. *Gouvea*, and two others of the ſociety, the ſaid F. *Gouvea* maliciouſly inſinuating, That our king could not recover *Braſil*, and their new king had done it: The embaſſador ſaid, I was a ſoldier in that mighty tho' unfortunate fleet king *Philip* the fourth ſet out for that purpoſe. The *Portugueſe* general was one *Maſcarenhas* Count *de la Torre*. who was in fault that it was not recover'd. The *Spaniſh* commander was to keep the ſea, the count to act aſhoar, and to that purpoſe had thirteen thouſand choſen men. The *Spaniſh* general offer'd him three thouſand muſquetiers of his men; he ſeveral times deſir'd him to land, and he would ſecure the ſea, but he never durſt. It was the count's fault, concluded the embaſſador, that *Braſil* was not then recover'd. I was very well pleas'd to hear it, and what is it now they complain of? I often heard it ſaid, that *Malaca* was loſt during our king's government in the year 1639. *Bento Pereira de Faiza* the embaſſador's ſecretary, ſaid before all the *Portugueſes* then at *Canton* who were in that error, It is not ſo, fathers, for the revolt of *Portugal* was in *December* 1640, and *Malaca* was loſt the following year. I was well pleaſed at the anſwer.

13. Diſcourſing about the loſs of *Maſcate*, *Emanuel de Fonſeca* a worthy *Portugueſe* told me at *Canton*, That it had been loſt, becauſe, contrary to our king's orders, they had tolerated a ſynagogue of *Jews* there. Avarice made them connive at thoſe infamous people.

14. At *Diu*, ſaid the ſame man, they allow'd of a *Mooriſh* moſque on the ſame account, and contrary to his majeſty's commands. Speaking of the loſs of *Ceilon*, the bare-footed *Franciſcan* gave the account I ſet down in another chapter. I afterwards heard it over again, That it was well it was loſt, for otherwiſe fire muſt needs have fallen from heaven, and conſumed it all.

15. Talking about ſome towns along the coaſt, F. *Torrente* ſaid, the *Portugueſe* commanders us'd horrid injuſtice towards the natives.

16. Upon diſcourſe of the loſing of *Ormuz*, F. *Ferrari* related, That he being at *Malaca*, heard ſome who had been preſent at the action, and among them the enemy's admiral, ſay, If the *Portugueſes* the day after the fight had come upon us again, they had certainly catch'd us all, for we were undone; they went off and left us conquerors and poſſeſs'd of all.

17. Father *Antony Gouvea* talking at *Canton* of the loſs of *India*, ſaid, God had taken it from them for two reaſons; one was, the inhuman uſage of the natives, eſpecially of the women, towards the blacks, and the other for their luſt.

18. Theſe and ſuch-like things F. *de Angelis* might have inſerted in his general hiſtory; what the *Spaniards* did in *America* we know and abhor. It is unreaſonable to ſee the faults of others, and be blind to our own.

19. We being altogether at *Canton* there was ſome diſcourſe with the embaſſador's gentlemen concerning the loſs of *Cochin*. The *Portugueſes* fathers of the ſociety imputed it to ill fortune, and to the natives aſſiſting the *Dutch*. A layman who was by took up the buſineſs, and ſaid, Alas, fathers, we *Portugueſes* are the moſt barbarous people in the world, we have neither ſenſe, reaſon, nor government. He went on with much more to this purpoſe, and concluded, They overcame, ſlew, and took that country from us, as from baſe and mean people. The ſociety was much blam'd; all the religious orders ſpent all they had to relieve the ſoldiers and townſmen, the ſociety not one grain of rice. The *Dutch* entred the place, and took all they had.

20. We talk'd of the miſerable condition *Macao* was in of late years (I deſign'd this city for the ſubject matter of this chapter; but becauſe one thing draws on another, and all tends to make known what I ſaw

and heard in thoſe parts, it is convenient to write all) the embaſſador's ſecretary ſaid to F. *Gouvea*, Father, the truth of it is, that brother *Reyes*, and his *Chineſe* friend *Li Pe Ming*, are the cauſe of the ruin of *Macao:* He had not a word to anſwer. All this has been inſerted here, to prove they have no reaſon to complain, that our king was the cauſe of their loſing *India*.

21. The miſerable ſtate and wretched condition the *Portugueſes* do now, and have liv'd for ſome years in thoſe parts, might make them ſenſible, if prejudice did not blind them, that their own ſins, and not thoſe of others, have brought all theſe miſfortunes upon them. They liv'd ſome
Macaſar. years at *Macaſar*, in great ſubjection to the *Mahometans*, neither the laity nor clergy had the leaſt authority, ſo the governor of the biſhoprick of *Malaca* who reſided there told me, his name was *Paul d'Acoſta*. Upon *Maunday Thurſday* when I was in the church, a company of *Moors* came into the church and went up the ſepulchre to ſee what was in the *cuſtodium*, no body ſtirring to oppoſe them. When they ſearched for any criminal, the ſumbane ſent five or ſix thouſand *Moors*, who look'd into the privateſt cloſet without ſparing any place. They always watch'd at night to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Moors*, who ſtole all they had. They told me above four thouſand Chriſtians had turn'd *Mahometans* in that country. When expel'd thence by the *Dutch*, ſome of them went
Camboxa. over to *Camboxa*, ſubmitting themſelves to ſuch another king, others to *Siam*, where they live in ill repute, and deſpis'd by the natives and *Chineſes* that are there. Some would fain get away from thence, but are not ſuffered by the king, who ſays, they are his ſlaves; and the reaſon is, becauſe ſome *Portugueſes* have borrow'd money of the king to trade, and pawn'd their bodies for it. The king eaſily lent it them, and it is his maxim, that all who in that manner receive his money, are his ſlaves, and have not the leaſt liberty left them.

Cochinchina. 22. Thoſe who live in *Cochinchina* and *Tunquin* were expel'd thence. In the year
1667. 1667, this I ſhall now relate happen'd in *Cochinchina:* The women there being too free and immodeſt, as ſoon as any ſhip arrives, they preſently go aboard to invite the men, nay, they make it an article of marriage with their own countrymen, that when ſhips come in, they ſhall be left to their own will, and have liberty to do what they pleaſe. This I was told, and F. *Macret* who had been a miſſioner there affirm'd it to me to be true. A veſſel from *Macao* came to that kingdom, and during its ſtay there, the *Portugueſes* had, it is likely, ſo openly to do with thoſe infidel harlots, that when they were ready to ſail, the women complain'd to the king, that they did not pay them what they ow'd them for the uſe of their bodies. The king order'd the veſſel ſhould not ſtir till that debt was paid. A rare example given by Chriſtians, and a great help to the converſion of thoſe infidels! Another time they were ſo lewd in that kingdom, that one about the king ſaid to him, Sir, we know not how to deal with theſe people, the *Dutch* are ſatisfy'd with one woman, but the people of *Macao* are not with many. F. *de Angelis* may take theſe virtues of his countrymen along with him. NAVARRETTE.

23. Whilſt the government was in the *Chineſes*, the people of *Macao* own'd themMacao. ſelves their ſubjects; now the *Tartars* rule, they are, and confeſs themſelves their ſubjects. When the city has any buſineſs they go in a body with rods in their hands to the *mandarin* who reſides a league from thence, they petition him, and that on their knees. The *mandarin* in his anſwer writes thus: This barbarous and brutal people deſires ſuch a thing, let it be granted, or refus'd them. Thus they return in great ſtate to their city, and their *fidalgos* or noblemen with the badge of the knighthood of the order of CHRIST hanging at their breaſts, have gone upon theſe errands; and I know one there to this day of the ſame rank, who was carry'd to *Canton* with two chains about his neck. He was put into priſon, and got off for ſix thouſand ducats in ſilver. If their king knew theſe things, it is almoſt incredible he ſhould allow of them.

24. Ever ſince the *Tartars* made the people retire from the ſea-coaſts up the inland, to avoid the attempts of the *Chineſes* of *Cabello*, as was writ in the firſt book, they began to uſe rigor with *Macao*. At a quarter of a league diſtance from that city, where the narrow part of that neck of land is, the *Chineſes* many years ago built a wall from ſea to ſea, in the middle of it is a gate with a tower over it, where there is always a guard, that the people of *Macao* may not paſs, nor the *Chineſes* to them. The *Chineſes* have ſometimes had their liberty, but the *Portugueſes* were never permitted to go up the country. Of late years the gate was ſhut, at firſt they open'd it every five days, then the *Portugueſes* bought proviſions; afterwards it grew ſtricter, and was only open'd twice a month. Then the rich, which were but very few, could buy a fortnight's ſtore; the poor periſh'd, and many have ſtarv'd. Orders came again that it ſhould be open'd every five days. The *Chineſes* ſell them proviſions at what rate they pleaſe.

25. The *Chineſes* have always liv'd in *Macao*, they exerciſe mechanick trades, and

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Navarette. are in the nature of factors to the citizens. They have often gone away with all their truſt. Sometimes the *Chineſe* government has obliged them to depart *Macao*, which has much ruin'd that city: Becauſe ſeveral inhabitants, and ſome monaſteries have nothing of their own, but a few little houſes the *Chineſes* live in, when they were gone they loſt the rent of them.

26. It would take up much time and paper to write but a ſmall epitome of the broils, uproars, quarrels and extravagancies there have been at *Macao*. Among other things our enemy alledg'd in his memorials preſented to the emperor, one was that F. *Adamus* had thirty thouſand men conceal'd at *Macao* to invade *China*. No doubt but it was a great folly. He added that ſome years before the city had rais'd walls, which were demoliſh'd by the emperor's command. This was true. In another memorial he accus'd us, that the *Europeans* reſorting to *Japan*, had attempted to uſurp that kingdom, for which many were puniſh'd, and the reſt baniſh'd; and that we had poſſeſs'd our ſelves of the *Philippine* iſlands. But never any particular king in *Europe* was mention'd; nor was there any naming of religious orders, or religious men. They always made uſe of the general name of *Europe* and *Europeans*.

27. The two councils of rites and war, put in a memorial, adviſing it was convenient the people of *Macao* ſhould return to their own country. The government anſwer'd in the emperor's name, That ſince they had liv'd there ſo many years, it was not convenient to ſend them away, but that they ſhould be brought into the metropolis, for as much as their own ſubjects had been drawn from the ſea-coaſt to the inland. This was the beginning of much debate and confuſion. The *mandarines* make great advantage of the inhabitants of *Macao*, and would not have them change their habitation. At court they inſiſted on what has been ſaid, and order'd a place ſhould be aſſign'd them to live in. One was appointed near the river of *Canton*, the worſt that could poſſibly be found. Notice was given to *Macao*, the city divided into two factions. The natives and mungrels were for going, the *Portugueſes* againſt it. The ſupreme governor beſet them by ſea, order'd their ſhips to be burnt; accordingly ten were burnt before their faces, and they ſeiz'd the goods ſeven of them had brought the foregoing year.

28. We at *Canton*, and they at *Macao*, were in great confuſion, things growing worſe and worſe every day. The city promis'd the ſupreme governor twenty thouſand ducats, if he could prevail that they might continue in their city. Intereſt mov'd him to uſe all his power to obtain it. He obtain'd leave for them to ſtay, but that they ſhould not trade at ſea. The governor demanded the promis'd money; they anſwer'd, they would pay it if he got them leave to trade. This enrag'd the governor, who endeavour'd to do them all the miſchief he could. He ſhut up the gate in the wall, allowing it to be open'd but twice a month. It pleas'd God, or rather it was his permiſſion, that the governor having been at variance with the petty king, hang'd himſelf the ninth of *January* 1667, upon which *Macao* recover'd ſome hopes of bettering its condition. The embaſſador's buſineſs was at a ſtand the mean while; he was full of trouble, eſpecially becauſe he had brought but two thouſand eight hundred pieces of eight with him, and had above ninety perſons to maintain out of it. *Macao* could aſſiſt him but little, and afterwards excus'd it ſelf. All complain'd of the ſociety, which had adviſ'd that embaſſy. True it is that this complaint being made before me to thoſe that were in *Canton*, F. *John Dominick Gaviani* a *Piemonteſe* anſwer'd: Gentlemen, all the ſociety had not a hand in this embaſſy, ſome particular perſons had, you are not therefore to condemn the whole ſociety. *Pereira* the ſecretary, who was all fire, reply'd, We do not blame the ſociety in *Rome*, *France* and *Madrid*, but that in *China*. Your reverences procur'd this embaſſy, and that *Macao* ſhould bear the charge of it, which has ruin'd us; therefore the complaint is made here, not before the fathers in *Europe*. One of the greateſt troubles the *Portugueſes* had, was to ſee and hear how they us'd their embaſſador. They call'd him a *mandarin*, that was going to do homage, and pay an acknowledgment from the petty king of *Portugal*. When he went up to the imperial city, there was a flag or banner upon his boat with two large characters on it, which according to our way of ſpeaking ſignify'd, This man comes to do homage. All embaſſadors that go to *China* muſt bear with this, or they will not be admitted. 1667.

29. I write what follows for F. *Emanuel de Angelis*. The vileſt, baſeſt, and moſt infamous action that has been heard of in the world, was done at *Macao:* The revolt of *Portugal* being known there (I will not inſert in this place what F. *Gouvea* told me to prove and evince, that his brethren had brought about this action, as allowing it for a certainty among them and many others, tho' the governor of the biſhoprick of *Macao* would attribute that action to his family; read *M. Seneir* of the order of S. *Auguſtin*, *cap.* iii, iv, & v.) they painted our king under a gallows, and their own

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as hangman hanging of him; this picture was expos'd in a publick place of the city. Some miſlik'd, others were aſham'd of it, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe of the honourable employment they had given their king; ſo it was taken away and hid. I had made many reflections upon this paſſage, which at preſent I lay aſide, but muſt obſerve that in *China* the gallows is for noble and great men, and baſe people are beheaded, juſt contrary to what is practis'd in *Europe*. To be hangman is the vileſt thing that is throughout the world. The *Chineſes* are in the right in calling the people of *Macao* barbarous and brutal, this action alone is enough to entitle them to it. I ſuppoſe ſome mungrels were the authors of it, and not others, whom I have heard talk of our affairs with all imaginable reverence. What the people of *Macao* did in *Japan* is well known, and they ingenuouſly confeſs it; they own'd it to me in that city, and F. *Gouvea* told it me at *Canton*. It was, that till the ſhips return'd, they publickly without any ſhame keep common women in their houſes. A good help towards the converſion of thoſe people! F. *Torente* told me they did the ſame at *Tunquin*.

30. But a little before I came to *Macao* the governor of the dioceſs had committed to priſon a woman for living in open ſin with a *Tartar* ſoldier; the ſoldier with others of his companions came to the goal at noon-day, broke it open, and carry'd away the woman, no man daring to open his mouth. About the ſame time a maiden daughter to one of the principal inhabitants of that city, run away into *China* with an infidel. Of late years many women expos'd their bodies to infidels for bread. The governor baniſh'd ſixty of them; the third day the ſhip ſail'd ſhe was caſt away, and not one of the women eſcap'd.

31. Some years before a great many arm'd *Portugueſes* aſſaulted the captain general's-houſe; he hid himſelf under the ſtairs, they found and ſtuck him in ſeveral places. After this an ordinary fellow with a black murder'd the town-mayor. A man flying from his enemy took into our church, and ſtood betwixt the altar and the prieſt that ſung high maſs, who had conſecrated; his enemy purſu'd, and murder'd him in that place. Many baſe murders have been committed in that city. In my time one diſmal enough, and ſoon after at noon-day the curate of the great church was murder'd. About ſix or ſeven years ſince a *Portugueſe* kill'd the curate their nation has at *Siam*. The curate of *Macaſar* was very familiar with the *Dutch*, he told them he had two daughters at home, and the governor had one, and yet they think GOD will not puniſh them. *For they are humbled for their iniquities*, Pſal. cvi. Excepting *Goa* and the northern parts, which is as much as nothing, they have not one foot of ground in all *India*, but are every where ſubject to *Gentiles*, *Mahometans*, or Hereticks, and by them cruſh'd, contemn'd and deſpis'd. Kingdoms, ſays S. *Thomas*, *lib.* IV. *Opuſc.* 41. are loſt through pride. Who is ignorant how guilty that nation was of it?

32. Thus *Macao* may be ſufficiently known, and ſeveral particulars relating to that city and other parts. We may ſay with S. *Auguſt. ſer.* 6. *ad frat.* that all is, and has been a great mercy of GOD. *It is a mercy if* GOD *ſcourges, that he may correct, if he delivers from ſin through tribulation, if he permits hypocrites and tyrants to reign. For* GOD *does all theſe things in his mercy, being deſirous to give us life everlaſting.* The *Tartars* entring *China* to afflict thoſe Gentiles, and diſtreſs *Macao*, the *Dutch* poſſeſſing themſelves of *India*, and other accidents we have ſeen, are all the mercy of GOD, and for our good, if we our ſelves will with patience, humility and ſubmiſſion, make our advantage of what his Divine Majeſty ordains and diſpoſes.

33. To conclude this chapter I will add certain revelations, as they call them, in great vogue at *Macao*, and other parts of *India*; I do not look upon them as ſuch, nor can I find any ground to allow them the name. Theſe revelations are pretended to be made to *Peter de Buſtos* at *Malaca*, about the years forty and forty two. (1.) Four years before the revolt of *Portugal*, ſay they, he foretold it, almoſt in the ſame manner as it happen'd; it was reveal'd to him by GOD in the conſecrated hoſt. The revolt was in the year 1640, the revelations began at the ſame time, then how could he foretel it four years before it happen'd? (2.) That in the ſame conſecrated hoſt he ſaw a ſtately throne, and our king *Philip* the fourth ſitting there on a pine-apple, from the bottom whereof iſſu'd four branches of thorns, which growing up by degrees, preſt him ſo hard that they caſt him from his ſeat, and that he heard a voice, ſaying, The monarchy of *Spain* is at an end.

34. This brother ſaw our king in a better place than the people of *Macao* had aſſign'd him. GOD's will be done, but we ſee he was a falſe prophet, for the monarchy ſtill continues under *Charles* the ſecond, and we hope for much proſperity in his time. (3.) That there would in a ſhort time be a pope of the ſociety: That new miſſions ſhall be diſcover'd, and thoſe that are loſt reſtor'd; and that there ſhould be mighty converſions in *India*, ſo that the ſociety ſhould not be able to go through the work, ſo it ſhould be proſperous.

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35. All that relates to the ſociety I look upon as likely enough, and there needed no new revelations for it. The daily experience we have of their increaſing in learning and virtue, may be ground enough for us to hope as much. As for the miſſions, the time is not fulfill'd; for tho' he ſays ſhortly, it may be many years to come, and yet be ſo call'd.

(4.) That the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch* would be as cloſe as the nail and the fleſh; That he ſaw a mitre and other epiſcopal ornaments with the arms of *Portugal* over *Jacatra.*

36. The firſt article I can expound no otherwiſe, than that the *Dutch* are the nails that have claw'd off all the fleſh the *Portugueſes* had in *India.* The miſſioners in *Canton* us'd to laugh at the ſecond.

(5.) In the year 1640, he propheſy'd the miſerable ſtate of *Macao*, and that *India* ſhould be reſtor'd to the condition it was formerly in.

37. The firſt part we are eye-witneſſes to, and it was a neceſſary conſequence of the loſs of its trade with *Japan* and *Manila.* The ſecond is at preſent worſe than it was then, for that year they loſt *Malaca*, after it *Ceylon*, and laſtly *Cochin.*

(6.) In the year 1641, he ſaid, a way would be open'd into *Japan*, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt appear'd favourable to that kingdom, and that he ſaw many things relating to it in the conſecrated hoſt. No part of this prophecy has been verify'd to this day.

38. He ſays further, That he ſaw F. *Cyprian* in the conſecrated hoſt on the right hand, cloth'd in glory, with many rays of light coming from him; and *Buſtos* ſaid, That father was a great ſaint, but that he was not yet perfected, nor did he know which way God would guide him, but yet he was much belov'd by God.

39. This ſpoil'd all the reſt, and proves they are fictions and frauds, and no revelations, for *Cyprian* was a great knave, hypocrite, and cheat: it is wonderful what falſe miracles he gave out, and how he counterfeited ſanctity; let it ſuffice that he is at this time in the priſon of the inquiſition at *Goa*, and condemn'd to perpetual confinement there. The embaſſador *Emanuel de Seldanna* told me, he was a treble hereſiarch. There it is he will be perfected.

(7.) In the year 42 he propheſy'd the martyrdom of five perſons, but two of them gave an ill account of themſelves.

40. Thoſe men believe, applaud and extol theſe follies.

41. Juſt before my departure from *China*, ſome news arriv'd out of *Europe*; one piece was, that *Bandarra* had been a notorious *Jew*, that his tomb was thrown down, and his prophecies ſuppreſt.

42. That the *Engliſh* at *Bombay* overthrew the churches, and cut to pieces the pictures of the altars. I was afterwards told at *Goa*, who had been the cauſe of it; perhaps in another place I may give a hint at it, and perhaps not, for all truths are not to be writ: *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient*; it is enough it be known in thoſe parts of the world.

43. That the infidels attack'd *Goa*, took two thouſand Chriſtians, and kill'd a *Franciſcan*, and that the viceroy did not behave himſelf well.

44. Conſidering the preſent condition of *India*, we may well apply it to the words of *Macchab.* i. 40. *As had been her glory, ſo was her diſhonour encreas'd, and her excellency was turn'd into mourning.* And thoſe of *chap.* ii. ℣. 12. *And behold our holy things, even our beauty and our glory is laid waſte, and the Gentiles have profaned it. Mahomentans, Gentiles*, and *Hereticks*, have all defil'd the beauty and glory of our religion in thoſe kingdoms and provinces.

CHAP. XVIII.

My Voyage to Malaca, *and Stay there.*

1. THE captain and pilot of the ſhip's name was *Stephen Diaz*, a man in great repute at *Macao*, but he loſt much of it this voyage. There are many ill-grounded opinions; becauſe four or five ſay ſuch a man is an able pilot, or good ſoldier, they preſently applaud him as ſuch, and when occaſion offers, he appears to be a mere *ignoramus.* Certain it is, he was an honeſt man and good Chriſtian; ſo that doubtleſs God favours him, which is knowledge and good fortune enough. He never ſwore nor curs'd, a thing rare enough in an *European* and *Portugueſe* ſailor. When angry he would ſay, I vow my ſoul to God. He pray'd inceſſantly, his beads were never out of his hands, and he delighted in hearing talk of ſpiritual things. He offer'd me all he had aboard; I ſtood not in need of it, but was thankful for his good will, and did him all the ſervice I could. When the *Tartars* oppreſs'd *Macao*, he put to ſea, and to ſave his ſhip and men's lives, he went to *Manila*, which port he put into upon the ſecurity of a paſs he had from the governor D. *James Salcedo*; who did not obſerve

ſerve it, but took his ſhip. All men diſapprov'd of this action, and when that governor was ſeiz'd, he that ſucceeded him, reſtor'd the ſhip to the right owner, and he return'd in it to *Macao* in *Auguſt* 69. I had good accommodation given me in the great cabbin, where there were ſome other paſſengers, who all were extremely kind to me. The firſt night he ſteer'd eaſt, and then tack'd and ſtood away to the ſouth, thinking he had left the flats of *Puliſiſi* aſtern (they are famous in that ſea, and extend below *Camboxa*) here it was he began to loſe the reputation of being an able ſeaman. A great pilot who went aboard as a paſſenger, ſaid to him, Captain, how can you expect in one night's ſail to come up with the flats along the ſhore? The pilot ſtill fell off to leeward, which was making up to the flats. One night when the pilot was gone to reſt, after having given his orders to the ſteerſman; the pilot who was a paſſenger, his name *Vincent Fernandez*, aſk'd for his ſword, and bid his men take his ſpear, and be on the watch; he was perſuaded we ſhould be upon the flats, and deſign'd to betake himſelf to the boat. He came up ſoftly without any noiſe to the bittake, and ſaid to the ſteerſman, We are running right upon the flats, pray bear up eight points to windward; and if the pilot ſays any thing, tell him the ſhip flew from the helm. Under GOD this precaution ſav'd our lives, for notwithſtanding that bearing away eight points one morning, we found our ſelves within a ſtone's throw of the points of the flats, the current running off it, we were all much frighted. Every day the roſary, ſalve, litany, and other prayers were ſaid kneeling, few days paſs'd without ſaying maſs, we had frequent ſermons and exhortations, and often going to confeſſion and communion. We arriv'd at the iſland *Pulocondor*, which is large and well wooded; the natives came out to us with ſome refreſhment of fruit: they brought with them a little animal the *Portugueſes* call *perguiza*, that is, ſloth; it was very ſtrange and odly ſhap'd, its ſlow motion and looks ſeem'd to be the very emblem of ſloth. It brought forth a young one aboard, the young one clung faſt to the dam's belly, and ſhe with it hanging crept up the ſhrouds extraordinary leiſurely.

2. We made thence for the ſtrait of *Sincapuera*, our pilot had never paſs'd it; we came within muſket-ſhot, and no ſign of a paſſage appear'd: he was about to tack and ſteer away for the new ſtrait call'd *del Governador*, which is wider, and at preſent moſt people go that way. Some aboard were ſatisfied the ſtrait was there, as having paſs'd it ſometimes; but honeſt *Stephen Diaz* was ſo poſitive, he would believe no body. At a point of land which conceal'd the paſſage, there was a great number of fiſhermen there call'd *Salſetes*, who always live upon the water, and in their boats carry their wife, children, cats, dogs, hens, *&c.* as I mention'd in the firſt book many liv'd in *China*. One of the boats made to us, the maſter of it came aboard and carried us thro' very ſafe. That country belongs to the king of *Jor*, who has abundance of pepper. Having diſcover'd the paſſage, which we admir'd to ſee how cloſe nature has hid and conceal'd it, we ſail'd eaſily along. I had heard it ſaid at *Canton*, that when ſhips ſail'd thro' there, the yard-arms hit againſt the trees on both ſides, and that the current was ſo violent, it whirl'd a ſhip about with all her ſails aboard. The firſt is a mere fiction, the ſecond is falſe; though perhaps when the ſouth-weſt winds reign there may be ſomething of it, but it is not likely conſidering the poſition of the continent and iſlands about it. The paſſage is ſcarce a bow-ſhot in width, two ſhips cannot paſs it board by board; it preſently grows wider, and abundance of iſlands appear. Our obſtinate pilot would needs keep cloſe under the ſhore; he loſt the channel, and the ſhip ſtruck upon the ſand; being it ſprung no leak, we were not much troubled. As ſoon as this happen'd, abundance of the *Salſetes* took their poſts to obſerve us, to make their advantage in caſe the ſhip were caſt away. Practice had made them very expert at it; the flood carried us off ſafe. On ſaturday, being the eve of the *Purification*, or *Candlemas*, we came to an anchor in ſight of *Malaca*. I went aſhore that afternoon, and told the governor I deſir'd to make my way thence to *Manila*, either thro' *Siam* or *Camboxa*. He would not conſent to it; I us'd all my intereſt and art, but in vain, which made me very melancholy: I ſpoke to the chief *domine*, who did all he could for me, but obtain'd nothing. I was in a paſſion one day, and ſaid to him, So it is then, that your lordſhips in this place tolerate *Gentiles*, *Mahometans*, and all barbarous nations, and will not admit a *Spaniſh* religious man for one month, tho' we are at peace with you; what reaſon is there for it? there is none but their profeſſion and our meanneſs.

NAVARETTE. Salſetes. Malaca.

3. That afternoon the ſtewards of the brotherhood of the *Roſary* invited me to go up the river at eight of the clock at night, where moſt of the Chriſtians live, there to ſing the ſalve and litany of our Lady. I could not avoid it, but went; their church was adorn'd: after the roſary, the ſalve and litany was ſung very well, I being in a cope, brought out the image of our

Navarette.

our bleſſed Lady, which was a very beautiful one. Then I heard ſome confeſſions, and having taken my leave of the people, went away to reſt at the houſe of an honeſt *Portugueſe*, who was married to a *Malaye* woman. I was twelve days aſhore; the evening and morning was ſpent in hearing confeſſions. I ſaid maſs every day but one, and adminiſter'd the bleſſed ſacrament: the reſt of the day I viſited the ſick, and that they might all be pleas'd, ſaid maſs one day in one houſe, and the next in another; thus we ſecur'd our ſelves againſt a *French domine* who was watching of us. There was another *Portugueſe domine* born in *Algarve*, who was more truſty, and a better friend to his countrymen. At *Jacatra*, as I was there told again, though I had heard it before, there were two other *domines*, they were both of conſiderable families. It is well known who the governor was originally, who has govern'd thoſe parts ſeveral years.

4. There were about two thouſand catholicks in that place, as I was told; the women were extraordinary good Chriſtians, ſome of the men were ſo too; many did not confeſs, becauſe it was eaſy to them to reſort to an *Indian* clergyman who was diſguis'd there: I am perſuaded ſome as lukewarm in the faith, by reaſon of their converſing with the *Dutch*. Hereſy, ſays St. *Paul*, is like a cancer, it is a plague and poiſon that inſenſibly infects. I ſhed tears as I walk'd thoſe ſtreets, to ſee that country poſſeſſed by enemies of the church, for it is a mere garden, and paradiſe for worldly pleaſure; in ſpirituals it was once a great colony, and the church has many children there ſtill, but they are among bloody wolves. The women wiſh they could get away from thence, but are ſo poor they cannot; thoſe who have ſome wealth are pleas'd and ſatisfied.

5. That place is in two degrees and a half of north-latitude; the climate is charming, the place where the catholicks live the beſt in the world. The coco-trees grow up to the clouds; there are orchards full of orange, limon, and plantane-trees, papagos, xambos, and other ſorts of fruit. They have two other places there, but not ſo pleaſant. The fruit then began to come forwards, there were very good and well-taſted pine-apples. The Chriſtians furniſh'd me with ſeveral neceſſaries againſt I went aboard, and ſome money given me for maſſes. Another religious man of my order, took up his lodging in an acquaintance's houſe; he and I took all the pains we could, and had we ſtaid there much longer, we had found enough to do. Among the reſt there was a woman, an extraordinary good Chriſtian, ſhe furniſhed bread and wine for the maſſes. She had a daughter whom ſhe had educated with all poſſible care; yet when grown up, ſhe married a heretick, who ſoon perverted her, and ſhe prov'd a mortal enemy to catholicks.

6. The *Dutch* gave good alms even to the catholick poor, but almoſt oblig'd them to be preſent at their ſervice. A poor lame man ſaid to me, Father, I cheat them very handſomely, for being lame, as I go up that hill I feign my ſelf lamer, and ſit down to reſt every ſtep, ſo that I never get to the top, nor never will. Upon ſunday-nights the hereticks make their feaſts in the ſtreets. As I was going home with ſome friends, we found a jolly *Dutch* man with his table and bottles in the cool air; he invited us, and I accidentally aſk'd, Are you married, ſir, in this country? He anſwer'd me very pleaſantly, Yes, father, I married a black; ſince I cannot eat white bread I take up with brown. Some of us from a catholick's houſe, ſaw a *Dutchman* laſh two blackamore women moſt cruelly, they ſeem'd to be catholicks; he had ty'd them to coco-trees, and beat them unmercifully: one of them call'd upon *Jeſus* and *Mary*, and we ſaw him for that reaſon laſh her again in a moſt outrageous manner.

7. *Anthony Marinho* a *Portugueſe* told me, That *Emanuel de Souſa Coutinho* had baſely loſt that place of ſo great moment and conſequence. He that has it commands the *Strait*, and that place is the general rendezvouz for all the kingdoms of *India*. When all was taken by the *Dutch*, three fathers remain'd there; two of them I knew very well, the other who was a *Frenchman*, dy'd ſome years ſince in *Europe*. They demanded a place where they might adminiſter to the catholicks; the *Dutch* had ſent to *Jacatra* for orders to give them a church, and it is reported they deſign'd it ſhould be that of S. *Anthony*; but the fathers being too impatient of delay, tho' the *Dutch* themſelves adviſ'd them to be moderate, they threaten'd the *Dutch* they would take from them the water of the well of *Batachina*, which is the beſt they have, and is always guarded. Theſe threats provok'd the *Dutch*, who ſent them to *Jacatra*, where they were forbid ſaying maſs. The *French* father, who was over-zealous even in the opinion of his own brethren, continued ſaying of it. They grew angry at him, took away a crucifix he had, and the villains burnt it publickly; the father himſelf was at the foot of the gallows, happy he, had he ended his life there.

8. The compaſs of *Malaca* is ſmall, but the ſituation ſtrong. It is encompaſs'd with good walls and bulwarks, it is in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf, in the upper part

ſtood

ſtood the houſe and church of the ſociety; the monaſtry at preſent is a magazine: It was a great annoyance to the *Portugueſes*, as they themſelves ſay, that they had not levell'd that eminence. Among the hereticks there was one who always valu'd himſelf upon his wiſdom, tho' he had none; he obſtinately urg'd that woman was more perfect than man, without alledging any reaſon but his repeated affirmation. He expos'd the error he had in his heart; but when the words of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xi. *For man was not created for woman, but woman for the man; and man is the head over woman, and let women be ſubject*, &c. were urg'd againſt him, he had not one word to ſay for himſelf. NAVARETTE.

9. The hereticks adminiſter baptiſm and matrimony to the catholicks. I found there ſome *Indians* of *Manila*, they enjoy their liberty, and are free from taxes and other duties that lie upon them in their country.

10. On the 11th of *February* we went aboard again, and the 12th with a fair gale left cape *Rochado* aſtern, it belongs to *Malaca*, and is poſſeſt by the *Hollanders*. Now we begin another voyage, therefore it will be fit to conclude this chapter, and begin another.

CHAP. XIX.

My Voyage from Malaca, *as far as* Madraſta Patan.

1. THEY told us at *Malaca*, the ſeaſon was too far advanced for us to reach *Goa*, ſo that we went in fear and dread. To encreaſe it the more, we had a dead calm in that narrow ſea: we caſt anchor at ſun-ſetting, and at ſun-riſing again weigh'd very leiſurely. Thus we came to an iſland uninhabited, call'd *Pulo Pinang*, well wooded; there we took in water very leiſurely. We continued there two days, and one of them the wind blew very fair, and we afterwards miſs'd it to compaſs our deſign. On the firſt of *March*, after ſun-ſetting, the wind blew terribly, and we being juſt ready to paſs betwixt two of the iſlands of *Nicobar*, the pilot was afraid and back'd his ſails, ſo that we loſt way every moment. The ſecond of the ſaid month, as we ſail'd betwixt the ſaid iſlands, ſeveral boats came out to us with freſh proviſions; our people dealt for hens, cocos, plantanes, and ſome amber, all for old rags. The veſſels were extraordinary fine, ſome had thirty oars, and row'd to the admiration of us all. The people were ſomewhat black, and had red hair, which is wonderful; among them that row'd there were women, all naked, ſaving juſt before and behind, where they had ſome dirty rags. As they ſaid aboard our ſhips, thoſe people were ſo warlike, that they had boarded a *Dutch* ſhip. It is certain they devour the *Europeans* they catch alive, as near as they can. The pilot told me there was a ſtrange well in an iſland we ſaw there, whatever is put into it, whether iron, copper or wood, comes out gilt; I do not remember whether that gilding is laſting, but it is very remarkable. The weapons thoſe people uſe are their oars, which we ſaw were very ſharp-pointed; the wood is very hard, I believe they will ſtrike thro' a mud wall.

Nicobar.

Cannibals.

2. The wind held us the two following days, and we wanted forty leagues of paſſing the gulph of *Ceylon*. The third day we were becalm'd, and endeavour'd to avoid the currents, which they ſaid ran toward the *Maldivy* iſlands; we fell ſixty leagues below cape *Gallo*, and all things conſpir'd to thwart our courſe. We had been three days making for the iſland *Ceylon*. On the 9th of *March*, when the pilot leaſt expected to make it, the captain accidentally went out of the cabbin, and bent his ſight to diſcover land. The pilot ſaid to him, It would be a miracle to ſee land now. The captain cried out, Land ahead; had we ſail'd one minute longer, the ſhip had been aſhore. They furl'd the ſails, and dropt anchor with all poſſible expedition, then we plainly ſaw the ſhore. It rain'd apace, the wind blew hard, and was right aft. It was very ſtrange, we diſcover'd a league below us two ſhips at anchor as well as we; one of them weigh'd immediately away, and ſail'd to windward of us. We lay there till next day; the weather clear'd up, and we ran along the iſland with a fair gale. On the 25th of *March* we left cape *Gallo* aſtern, with terrible thunder and lightning that blinded us; three men ſpent that night, till ſun-riſing the next day, at play, without riſing off the ground; the reſt of us were very fearful, for the wind ſtill encreas'd, ſo that we had a diſmal night of it; but the three being intent upon gaming, minded nothing.

3. The *waggoners* directed to coaſt cape *Gallo*, then along by *Columbo*, and to hold on to *Nigumbo*, as the beſt way to ſtrike over to cape *Comori*. The pilot would not ſteer the uſual courſe; and it ſucceeded accordingly, tho' the reaſon he gave for it ſeem'd good enough in regard to the voyage he was to make; but new ways are always dangerous. Next we had calms and hazy weather; we met a pink bound

NAVARETTE. our way: every body was for making up to it to get ſome information, but the pilot thinking it a leſſening of him, would not conſent. They are ſtrange people, tho' they periſh by it, they will not aſk advice, nor follow it. The ſea ran as ſwift as an arrow towards the continent, and the pilot thought he ſhould fall upon the *Maldivy* iſlands. One night two lights on the coaſt were ſeen, ſo near were we to it: we tack'd and in the morning found ourſelves near land, but knew it not; in the afternoon two blacks came up to us in a *Catamaron*, which is only three pieces of timber, on which they go out to ſea. They told us we were off of *Comori* and *Tutucori*. The wind came to ſouth-weſt, ſo that in eight days we did not advance a foot. We had ſight of cape *Comori*, but could not poſſibly weather it at that time. It was then propos'd to make for the coaſt of *Coromandel*. *Lent* was near at an end, no body in the ſhip eat meat ſo much as once, all did the duty the church impoſes. That *Lent* I ſaid maſs thirty one times, and preach'd nineteen, which is enough at ſea. I bleſs'd palm on palm-ſunday, and we did the beſt we could.

Catamaron.

4. A council was held about going into port; they had before talk'd of and reſolved upon it, yet none would give his opinion in publick. I took upon me to ſhew the reaſons that obliged us to put into a harbour, which afterwards all agreed to. That night we ſail'd before the wind, and if they would have done as the pilot adviſ'd, which was to go to *Columbo*, it had been better for us. We ſail'd as far as the *flats*, which are fifty leagues above cape *Gallo*; all the buſineſs was in paſſing them. On the 8th of *April* ſo furious a wind roſe with the moon, that we were forced to run before it. The next night we found ourſelves againſt *Gallo*, we were willing to put in, but no body knew the way; they deſign'd to winter there. We paſt on to *Columbo*, caſt anchor; ſome went aſhore, but they would not give leave for the prieſts, and we were three of us. There are above three thouſand catholicks there, they have had no prieſt among them ever ſince the *Portugueſes* loſt that iſland to the *Dutch*, as baſely as they had done *Malaca:* So I was told aboard the ſhip. Some blam'd *Antony de Souſa Coutinho*, brother to him that loſt *Malaca*; others ſaid it was a judgment, as I have mention'd before. His own countrymen report it of *Philip de Maſearenhas*, who had been governor there, that he us'd to ſay, The king of *Candea*, who was lord of that noble iſland, ſhould be his footman and groom. There are men of wonderful pride in the world; they ſay the king, tho' a heathen, begg'd peace of him with a crucifix in his hands; what more could a Chriſtian expect from that pagan? yet the *Portugueſes* complain'd that the natives of the iſland took part againſt them; what reaſon had they to favour them? it were no wonder tho' the elephants and wild beaſts had fought againſt them. General *Machuca* who took that place, and afterwards *Cochin*, two months before our arrival, made war upon the blacks of *Tutucori*, kill'd fourteen thouſand of them, built a ſtrong fort, garriſon'd it, and return'd to *Columbo*. He came aboard us civilly, gave us wood of the cinnamon-trees; we chew'd many of the leaves, and they taſted like fine cinnamon; we were ſupply'd with all things. Some catholicks came aboard to confeſſion; the women ſhew'd much devotion, ſent beads and candles to bleſs; aſk'd for holy water, written goſpels: ſome were for ſending their ſins in writing, others for telling them to the ſeamen, that they might confeſs by a third hand. An honeſt *Frenchman* and his wife writ to me very feelingly, and preſented me; I ſent them beads and pictures. Another *Frenchman*, whoſe name was *Bertran*, very old and honourable, had been fourteen years a ſlave to the king of that country; he fled, I heard his confeſſion, and got him ſome alms of the *Portugueſes*. They hang'd two blacks on the ſhore in ſight of us: they were catholicks, and ſome *Portugueſes* who were aſhore told me, that a heretick preacher going along with them, one of the blacks turn'd to him and ſaid, Do not preach or talk to me, I know what I am to do, I am a catholick, and ſo I will die. There was oil of cinnamon ſold there, but under half a *Quartillo* (that is, half a pint and half a quartern) for ſeven or eight pieces of eight: the ſcent was enough to raiſe a dead man; I twice anointed my ſtomach and noſtrils with two drops of it, it burnt my bowels, and I was forced to rub my ſelf very well with a cloth, my noſe ſwell'd and burnt. Had theſe two anointings been one ſome time after another, I had never ventur'd upon the ſecond; but they were preſently one after the other, which made the effect the greater.

Columbo.

Tutucori.

5. The iſland is eighty leagues in length, and ſixty in breadth; it is one of the beſt in the world, if not the beſt, the temperature incomparable; fields green all the year, the waters many and pleaſant; it produces precious diamonds and rubies, and another rich ſtone they call *cats-eye*; it has the mines of gold and ſilver, cryſtal, and the beſt cinnamon in the world; abundance of rice, coco-nuts, fruit; the choiceſt elephants, to which thoſe of other parts pay homage. Some few months before the

Dutch had been a hunting of theſe creatures, they drove a hundred and fifty of them down towards the ſea, ſixty took into the places they had enclos'd for them, where they were tam'd; they ſell them to the *Moors* for three or four thouſand ducats a-piece; there are ſhips that carry four and twenty of them: They are very good at ſea, becauſe they always bear up againſt the upper ſide, and being ſo heavy do much good, and are a ſtay to the motion of the ſhip.

6. Many *Portugueſes* live in the *Hollanders* pay. At preſent they own how careful our king was of preſerving that iſland: He was us'd to ſay in all his orders, Let all *India* be loſt, ſo *Ceylon* be ſav'd. He was in the right, for that iſland alone is worth more than all they had in the *eaſt*. We were told there were above four hundred *Portugueſes* at *Candea*, which is the king's court, and is in the middle of the iſland, with their wives and children, and maintain'd by the king; but they affirm he is jealous of them. He was at war with
1669. the *Dutch*. In the year 1669 the *Dutch* took the prince; eight days after they ſent him to *Jacatra*, in order to be ſent into *Holland*. Unhappy prince, what a diſaſter befel them!

7. All ſpice, as cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, *&c.* are in the power of the
Dutch. *Dutch*; but the *Engliſh* and *French* deal in pepper, becauſe it is to be had in many places. In *Ceylon* there are abundance of horſes, cows, ſheep, aſſes. The *Portugueſes* ſaid they had five thouſand ſlaves only to work at their fortifications.

8. The principal places in that iſland are *Nigumbo*, *Columbo*, *Gallo*, *Maturè*, *Matuturè*, *Triquimalè*, and others of leſs note. Beſides this, the *Dutch* are at preſent poſſeſs'd of *Manor*, all the kingdom of *Negapatan*, *Jafanapatan*, *Java*, *Tutucori*, *Cochin* and *Macaſar*. They have abundance of factories in thoſe eaſtern parts, the greateſt of them are *Peru*, *Queda*, *Varqueron*, *Vencelam*, *Pegu*, *Racon:* Fifty in the kingdoms of *Bengala*, *Vipelapatan*, *Cararga*, *Palacot*, *Clicaceli*, *Mahilapatan*, *Carcal*, *Napapatan*, *Calipiti*, *Caimal*, *Calature*, *Batacolor*, *Punta de Piedra*, *Caulon*, *Carneculom*, *Peria*, *Caſtel*, *Cangranor*, *Canonour*, *Bingorla*; in all theſe places they have forts and gariſons. *Paliacate*, *Muſulapatan*, *Golocondar*, are only factories; *Suratte*, *Congo*, *Bandarabaſſi* a port in *Perſia*, are alſo factories: So they have at *Hiſpaan* the court of *Perſia*, *Baſora*, *Meca*; *Agra* the *Mogol's* court, *Borneo*, *Siam*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina* and *Japan*.

Engliſh. 9. The *Engliſh* are at *Congo*, *Suratte*, *Bombaim*, which was part of queen *Catherine's* dowry, *Carbat*, *Cape de Rama*, and near *Goa*, *Madraſtapatan*. Here they have a very fine fort, with a good gariſon, and heavy cannon; *Muſulapatan*, *Madapalam*, *Velaſor*, *Ugali*, *Bantam*. When I came away they quitted *Siam*, they lik'd not the country and trade: They have alſo footing in the iſland *Hermoſa*. The *French* begin to have a trade in *India*; they have factories at *Suratte*, *Rogiapur* near *Cochin*, *Muſulapatan*, *Bengala*, *Siam* and *Batang*. Not long ſince I was inform'd, that the fleet I met at the iſland of *Madagaſcar* had put into *Ceylon*, where they built a fort, with leave and permiſſion of the king of the country; but the *Dutch* deſtroy'd it, took their men, ſhips, and other things. Afterwards underſtanding the wars were in *Europe*, they kept all they had taken, and the *French* remain'd priſoners. The other part of that fleet laid ſiege to the city S. *Thomas*, and took it, the infidels being unprovided. Afterwards a great power of infidels came down, and beſieg'd the *French*; what the event was I know not, but it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould maintain themſelves without a miracle. They have no proviſions but what the country muſt furniſh; and the *Dutch* will uſe all means, and preſs at *Golocondar* that they may be expell'd. NAVARETTE. French.

10. When the *Dutch* had taken *Columbo*, they ſent an embaſſador to the king of *Candea*. He ſuffer'd him not to depart his court in eleven years. By degrees he made an orchard and garden to his houſe, planted fruit-trees, and curiouſly adorn'd his habitation. The king gave him leave to return to *Columbo*, and he, that the natives might not enjoy the fruits of his labour and induſtry, cut down the trees, pull'd up the flowers, and ſpoil'd all. The king being told of it, was very much concern'd, and for a puniſhment order'd he ſhould ſtay there till the garden and orchard were in the ſame condition they had been before he had ſpoil'd them. He aſked of the *Dutch* a ſmall ſhip to ſee the ſhape and manner of thoſe uſed in *Europe*. They made a fine one lin'd with copper, and ſent him word it was all gold. He found it was not, reſented the fraud, and conceiv'd an ill opinion of thoſe people. What a folly it was to think he ſhould not diſtinguiſh betwixt gold and other metals! He left two kingdoms and retir'd into the heart of the iſland. Not long before his own people had aſſaulted him in his palace, deſigning to kill him, but he made his eſcape, and abſconded for a month. Then he return'd, found means to execute ſome great men, and put their wives to death, by which he ſecur'd himſelf. The *Portugueſes* told us thus much during the twelve days we ſtay'd in the port.

11. The *Dutch* judge ask'd the captain of

NAVARETTE. of our ſhip, whether the pope had power to take away king *Alfonſo*'s wife, and give her to his brother prince *Peter*. The *Portugueſes* had not one word to ſay, as he himſelf told me.

12. The coin that paſt at *Columbo* was rix-dollers, rupies, S. *Thomas's*, pagodes, pieces of eight, and a particular coin for the country like that they had at *Malaca*. I ſent a ſample of it to the governor of *Manila*, that he might ſee the metal and form it, in caſe he would coin any like it, which has been talk'd of many years, but is not yet begun. There is no compariſon between the *Philippine* iſlands, and *Malaca* or *Columbo*, or others of the ſame ſtamp; and yet theſe have coin'd a current ſort of money, which never goes out; and in the *Philippine* iſlands for theſe hundred years, they have had no coin, but the ſilver of *new Spain*. I have ſeen a memorial at *Madrid*, which treats of this ſubject.

13. *Francis Caron* a *Dutchman* took *Nigumbo*. He himſelf told me the manner of it, and ſaid, the *Portugueſes* might eaſily have hindred them landing, and then they could never have hurt them; but they ſcoffed at them, and cry'd, Let thoſe drunkards land, and then we will treat them as they deſerve (it is great folly and pride to deſpiſe an enemy) they landed, drew up, the fight began, and the *Portugueſes* fled. The river of the fiſhery is near *Nigumbo*, the *Dutch* are maſters of all. Our pilot being old and worn out, aſk'd for a *Dutch* able pilot, who knew thoſe ſeas at *Columbo*. He deſign'd if the weather would permit to put into *Gallo*, and lie there till *September*. There is a port, tho' none of the beſt, and plenty of proviſions. We came near the mouth of the harbour, the wind was ſcant and we were to leeward, therefore we dropp'd two anchors. That night was one of the diſmalleſt that ever man had at ſea. The ſhip was foul of the cables, the ſea ran high, the motion was ſo violent that a man was ſafe in no place, there was not a bed or couch but broke, the laſhers, boxes, cheſts, jars, and every thing was beaten to pieces. The worſt was, that every time the ſea beat againſt the ſhip, we imagin'd ſhe would founder. It bore much, and at laſt began to leak ſo faſt that the pumps could deliver the water.

14. Thus we continued till one of the clock next day. Good GOD, what falls and bangs we had! It pleas'd GOD we had leiſure to weigh. We ſail'd quite round the iſland with a ſtiff gale, and ſo to *Jafanapatan*. Oppoſite to *New Port* a *Dunkirker* came up with us, ſhe put into that port, and we paſt on. That day we diſcover'd S. *Thomas's* mount, and ſaluted the ſaint with five guns. On the ſecond of *May* we anchor'd before *Madraſtapatan*. I had an extraordinary deſire to be aſhore. A *Portugueſe* came aboard, and I got into the boat that brought him, ſo did others. Thoſe are very odd boats, they have no nails or pins, but the boards are ſew'd together with ropes made of *Coco* outward ſhells; and tho' the infidels aſſur'd us they were ſafe, yet we could not but be in great fear. When they come towards the ſhore, they take the ſurges, which drive them up ſo that we ſtept out of the boat upon the dry ſand. Thouſands of ſouls waited there to know the ſhip, and who came aboard it. I went immediately to the church of the *French* capuchins, who reſided there, to give GOD thanks for having deliver'd us from the ſea.

CHAP. XX.

My Stay at Madraſtapatan.

1. WHEN we came to this place, we found it beſieg'd by the king of *Golconda*'s army, but without his orders; their deſign was to extort ſomething from the *Engliſh*, but they were diſappointed. It is on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, half a league ſhort of the city of S. *Thomas*, otherwiſe call'd *Meliapor*. Here the *Engliſh* have a noble fort; they have alſo other walls but ſmall within which live all the *Portugueſes*, who after the loſing of *Jafanapatan*, *Negapatan*, and St. *Thomas*, went to ſeek places to dwell. The *Engliſh* receiv'd them, and they live under their protection and government. They ſtand the *Engliſh* in ſtead, for upon occaſion they make uſe of them, as they did at this time, when all men took arms and guarded the walls. The enemy had ſtopp'd all the avenues, ſo that proviſions grew ſcarce. There is neither port nor water, this laſt they get out of ſome ſmall wells they have digged. Ships lie ſafe ſix months, then they go away till the fair weather comes again. The *Engliſh* allow a publick church, kept by two *French* capuchins; and tho' there are ſeveral clergymen, they all ſay maſs there, with no ſmall ſubordination and diſſatisfaction: but the *Engliſh* who are maſters there, favouring the religious men, they muſt have patience *per* force.

2. Two years before, there had been a great conteſt there betwixt two *Engliſh* governors, both of them would govern the place, and there was no reconciling of them. The *Portugueſes* were divided, ſome favour'd the

the one, and others the other. One got the better, and baniſh'd many of the *Portugueſes* that oppos'd him, together with the *French* Capuchins. Above a year after he gave them leave to return.

3. It is in about twelve or thirteen degrees of north latitude, and an excellent climate, any nice man may live there; the conveniency of buying clothes is great, all thoſe people living upon it. I took up in a little room the religious men gave me, there I ſtudy'd, and eat what an honeſt *Portugueſe* ſent me. Another maintain'd the religious men. There I found a *Biſcainer*, whoſe name was *Dominick Lopez*, an honeſt man in good repute, had a wife and two children, but was poor. He told me very great hardſhips he had endur'd among the *Portugueſes*. I advis'd him to ſend his ſons to *Manila*, what he did I know not. I alſo found a *German* who was a mighty mathematician, ingineer and good ſoldier; he did the *Portugueſes* good ſervice, but they requited him ill. Knowing who he was, and how well look'd upon, I propos'd to him to go away to *Manila*, where he might come to preferment with eaſe. He agreed to it, I writ to the governor about it, and directed him how to ſend his anſwer.

S. *Thomas.* 4. I went with him to S. *Thomas*, we were firſt in a church of *Franciſcans*, which they call our Lady of light; there was a religious man there poorer than I, he gave us to eat, and me his hat, becauſe I had none. I ſpoke with the governor of the biſhoprick, who told me he would go the next day to the mount. We ſpent that evening in a houſe of the jeſuits, but there was never a one in it. There we ſaw the fountain the holy apoſtle made between two rocks, and drank of it with much ſatisfaction; we alſo ſaw two croſſes cut in the hard rocks, the workmanſhip of the ſame ſaint. We went into the cave where we pray'd, it was very ſmall, they afterwards cut the rock and enlarg'd it. On one ſide there is a breach in the rock, which made a ſmall window. They recount for a certain truth, and receiv'd tradition, that when the infidels came to kill him, he would transform himſelf into a peacock, and get out that way.

5. In the way hither it is that happen'd to me which I have often told. A pair of little curious *Chineſe* wallets ſlipt off the little horſe I rode on, and in them my breviary and ſome other little things; I did not obſerve it, but met two Moors with their ſpears, they ſaluted me, and went their way: ſoon after I heard loud calling out, which made me turn about to ſee what was the matter, and perceiv'd the Moors pointing with the ſpears to my wallets. I return'd, and made ſigns to them to reach it up to me, they would not touch it. I made ſigns again that they would reach them me upon the point of their ſpears. They underſtood me, and one of them taking it up with his ſpear gave it me. I thank'd them by ſigns, and went my way. What *European* would have done ſo much here, or there? NAVARETTE.

6. That evening we came to the mount, there are two little houſes at the foot of it uninhabited, beſides others gone to ruin. When the infidels took the city, they deſtroy'd all about it, but durſt not meddle with the apoſtles church, nor with that of our Lady of light I ſpoke of before. The aſcent of the mountain is ſteep and difficult, but well provided with ſeats and reſting-places at certain diſtances. On the top is a ſmall flat or plain, kept in good order, wall'd about breaſt-high, with good ſeats, and large trees to make a ſhade. In the middle is a curious little church, with a houſe for a prieſt and two ſervants. The proſpect all about the hill is incomparable, and extends as far as the ſight can reach. To lie that night, we went down from the mountain, and took up under a tree upon the bare ground. Our reſt laſted not long, for a violent ſhower came on, which oblig'd us to get into a little houſe, into which we felt our way, and fear'd to meet with ſome vermin. It ſecur'd us from the rain, but we had a troubleſome night of it, for we were engag'd with the knats which never ceas'd tormenting of us.

7. Next day we went up the mount again. The governor came, we ſaid maſs, I diſcover'd the holy croſs and picture of our bleſſed Lady. The holy croſs is exactly as hiſtorians deſcribe it, part of it is bloody, they ſay it is the apoſtles blood; I worſhip'd and touch'd my beads, and other that were brought me to it. Our Lady's picture is painted upon board, very beautiful, but the colours ſomewhat decay'd. There they ſaid, it had been found at the ſame time with the croſs, which is a mighty evidence againſt ancient and modern hereticks, who oppos'd pictures; we worſhip'd, and I touch'd the beads to it. The ſecond maſs being ended, the tabernacle in which thoſe great relicks are kept, was cover'd and lock'd up. The good prieſt made much of us, we ſpent another night there upon the bricks. The bed not being very eaſy, we got a horſeback betimes in the morning; I went to ſay maſs at our Lady of light, there I ſtay'd till evening, being left with only my *Chineſe*, and that holy religious man, for the *German* went home, carrying my horſe with him. We went to ſee the city of S. *Thomas*, the Moors would not let us in; from the gate we ſaw ſome good buildings, the walls are very fine. A gentleman that was with me lamented that

Navarette. loſs very much. The *Engliſh* are not ſo ſtrong at *Madraſtapatan*, yet they hold it and are like ſo to do. What ſignifie walls and bulwarks, where there is no government? I ſaw ſome curious temples of the natives, and wonderful large, deep, and wide ponds, with artificial iſlands in the middle curiouſly contriv'd. I walk'd home gently along thoſe habitations of infidels, obſerving what was worthy of it. This was the twenty firſt of *June*, and on the twenty fourth I was to travel by land.

8. But before I ſet out it is requiſite to obſerve ſome things and to know them, not to follow, but reject them. The inhabitants of the city of S. *Thomas* came to be very rich, and conſequently grew very proud. It is generally reported of one woman that ſhe grew to that height of vanity, that when ſhe went to church attended by many women-ſlaves, one went before with a cenſor perfuming her with burnt-ſweets. Can any madneſs be greater? She had, ſay they, ſo many S. *Thomas's*, (they are crown-pieces with the effigies of the apoſtle) that ſhe meaſur'd them by the peck. What follows is worſe; many told me, (would to God it were a lie, and I had not heard it) that catholick men were pimps to catholick women, with *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*. F. *de Angelis* will do well to note this; A beautiful and honeſt maid was forc'd out of her father's houſe, and deliver'd to a *Mahometan*. The king of *Golconda* has a concubine to this day, the daughter of a *Portugueſe*. At a proceſſion of the holy week in the city of S. *Thomas*, they drew their ſwords one againſt another; a ſpecial proceſſion and good example! It was common to permit the infidels to make proceſſions within the walls, and ſo it was to be godfathers at chriſtnings, and fathers at weddings, in heretick churches along that coaſt. At *Travancor* one *Portugueſe* kill'd another cloſe by the altar, as maſs was ſaying by F. *Michael John*, who had then conſecrated, and whom I viſited, ſaw and diſcours'd with at *Madraſtapatan*.

9. The Capuchins are not belov'd by the *Portugueſes*, one of them holds ſome odd opinions. One is, that the apoſtle S. *Thomas* did not feel our Saviour's wounds, and therefore he does not paint him as we do, but with his hands join'd. I had never heard of any ſuch opinion before. We have in our office an *Antiphon* to this ſaint, in which are theſe words: *O Thoma, qui meruiſti Chriſtum tangere*, &c. S. *Gregory* in his homily upon this ſaint particularly mentions it. I had a mind afterwards to be ſatisfy'd as to this point. I look'd into *Cornelius à Lapide*, who propoſes the doubt; and tho' he quotes two or three authors for the negative, yet he proves the affirmative by the common conſent of ſaints and doctors. *Tirinon* does the ſame. Read *Sylveira tom.* 5. *lib.* IX. *cap.* 5. *num.* 31. where he mentions the holy doctors and others. Is not this enough to make a man follow the opinion, if it were only for quietneſs ſake? Neither would he admit of carv'd images in the church. I fancy'd perhaps they might not be us'd in *France*, but was convinced they were.

10. There was a great and ſcandalous contention about who ſhould be governor of that dioceſs, two competitors ſtrove for it. *Silva* was one of them, and *Diaz* of *Canara* the other. The latter was at *Trangamba*, the firſt near S. *Thomas*, and is the ſame that went with me to the mountain, when I viſited that holy place, F. *Peſoa* favour'd him; and the *Franciſcan*, *Auguſtinian*, and *Dominican* fathers having ſpoke for the other at *Goa*, *Peſoa* ſaid, they were all ignorant fellows. *Peſoa* went away to *Madraſta*, and affirm'd that *Silva* was legally excommunicated by F. *Diaz*, who was the lawful governor. Notwithſtanding all this the next day he admitted him to ſay maſs in his church. *Peſoa*'s companion ſided with *Diaz*. He writ a large paper in defence of *Diaz*, and his opinion, and challeng'd the *French* Capuchins, who ſtood for *Silva*, to diſpute that point with them, appointing the *Engliſh* preacher judge betwixt them. Was ever the like heard of among the barbarous blacks?

11. *Diaz* took the ſhort cut, and had recourſe to the *Mahometan* king of *Golconda* to uſe force; he ſent his officers, who carry'd away with them F. *Sylva*, two jeſuits, and above forty *Portugueſes* men and women priſoners. They were brought before the king, who bid them chuſe one of the two in his preſence, and obey him. They did not agree, were caſt into priſon, where one *Portugueſe* kill'd another; they gave very ill example, one jeſuit was expell'd the ſociety, ſome men and women dy'd of the fatigue of the journey. F. *Ephrem* a Capuchin aſſur'd me that above fourſcore had been foreſworn upon the evangeliſts in that quarrel.

12. *Diaz* afterwards betook himſelf to the *Engliſh* governor of *Madraſta*, and ſought his protection. He ſollicited the aſſiſtance of a *Mahometan* and a Heretick. The diſpute is ſtill afoot. I left two governors, I know not whether either of them is dead, this is the only way of adjuſting that difference.

13. It is a ſad thing to ſee the *Portugueſe* nation, formerly ſo famous, and dreadful in thoſe parts, now ſo oppreſs'd and trampled on by thoſe people.

14. F. *Silva*, the day we were at S. *Thomas* his mount, told me ſome paſſages that had

had happen'd at *Goa*, concerning ſome wills made there; but *many things were ſaid, which are not prov'd*, we muſt not believe all things.

Madraſta. 15. At *Madraſta* I ſpoke with the *Malabar* maſter the Capuchins had at their church to inſtruct the natives. Inquiring into ſome particulars, I found that nation owns five elements, fire, earth, water, air, and wind. They adore the ſun, moon and ſtars (tho' *Mahometaniſm* is introduced there, yet moſt of the natives ſtick to their paganiſm) they have a great reverence for cows. They ſay, a certain god took fleſh upon him in one of them, and that they are that god's horſes. The greateſt oath kings ſwear, is by a cow, and they never break it. They kill no creature, undervalue thoſe that eat them, and deſpiſe thoſe of their country that become Chriſtians. The greateſt reproach they caſt upon a Chriſtian, is to tell him, he eats beef. When they are near death, they endeavour to have a cow near at hand, and they clap her fundament as near as they can to the dying perſon's mouth, that as he breathes out his ſoul at his mouth it may go in at the cow's back-door. They honour the lion, ſaying, another god rides on him; and they pay a reſpect to deer, dogs, mice and kites. Many days they will not break their faſt till they have ſeen a kite. When they yawn they call the dog, ſnapping their fingers, which is calling of the god that rides upon the dog, who has power to hinder the devil from entring the body when the mouth opens.

NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XXI.

My Journey to Golconda.

WHEN we arriv'd at *Madraſtapatan*, our pilot ſaid he would make a voyage to *Tenaſeri*, or ſome other place, to make amends for the great expence he had been at; his reſolution was diſlik'd. For this reaſon, and to avoid the ſea which had quite tir'd me, I reſolv'd to go to *Goa* by land: They gave me ſuch a deſcription of the road, that it would have put any man into the mind of ſeeing it, tho' he had never ſo little mind to travel. I ſold ſome rags at a poor rate, left ſome books and papers with my friends, borrow'd eight pieces of eight to be paid in *Goa*. I went to the *Engliſh* governor, rather to beg an alms, than to take my leave; told him my want and deſign, he immediately with much courteſy gave me five *pagodes* of gold, which amount to little leſs than ten pieces of eight. A native of *Canara* gave me two, ſo I thought I had enough for my journey. The day before I ſet out, I took more notice than I had done before of the practice of the *European* factors in thoſe parts; they are all ſerv'd by the natives, who are moſt faithful, ſubmiſſive, and punctual in doing what they are commanded. Some factors have above a hundred ſervants; they are very chargeable, every one has a piece of eight and a half, or two pieces of eight wages a month; all theſe come together in the evening to bid good night to the factor, governor, or commander, and take their leave to go to their own homes to bed. They rank themſelves over againſt the fort; ſome have lighted torches in their hands, others beat kettle-drums, others ſound trumpets, others play on fifes, the reſt beat their ſpears and bucklers together for above a quarter of an hour. After this a great lanthorn was put out on the top of the governor's palace; he appear'd at a balcony, they all made him a low bow, and there was an end of the ceremony, which indeed was pleaſant enough to ſee. Thoſe gentlemen take great ſtate upon them, I thought it too much.

21 I bought a horſe to carry me my journey for eight pieces of eight, for four I hir'd an ox to carry my *Chineſe*, and a *Gentile* who ſpoke a little *Portugueſe*. A poor *Portugueſe* went along with me to add to my charge. On *Midſummer-day* at three in the afternoon we ſet out of *Madraſta*. During this journey, which held me twenty four days, God be praiſed nothing happen'd amiſs. The lodging houſes, which they call *chauril*, were not all alike, but all open alike, without any door free to all the world: Nevertheleſs we always lay quiet and ſafe, and ſometimes in great towns, without being moleſted by any body in the leaſt, which would be rare among Chriſtians. The *Portugueſes* had a ſmall leather-bottle for water; they are made at *Golconda*, they would be of no leſs value in our part than in thoſe hot regions. When the water had been an hour in it, tho' the weather were never ſo hot, it became ſo cool, I daily admir'd it anew, and in two or three hours it was very cold; thus we never wanted good drink all the way: I afterwards bought one, which laſted me a long time, and was well worth my money; at *Suratte* I gave it to an *Indian* of *Manila:* they would ſave a great expence of ice in *Europe*. Our food was not good, for there was nothing but milk, whey, curds and onions; but abundance of theſe things, as well in towns as on mountains, on which there is abundance of cattle. When we ſaw a cottage, at the leaſt call out came the ſhepherds

Leather-bottle.

Navarette. herds with a pot of milk, four of us drank our belly-full for a halfpenny.

3. A very remarkable paſſage befel me with the *gentile*, who was owner of the ox: He carry'd his pot to dreſs his meat (ſo they do all) wrap'd in cloths, and put into a ſack: My man touch'd it over the ſack, the heathen ſaw it, and came to me in a rage, complaining that his pot was defil'd, and there was no pacifying of him. At laſt he pull'd the pot out of the ſack, and with wonderful rage daſh'd it againſt the ſtones, I was forced to buy him another. I ſaid enough to have convinc'd a ſtock, but thoſe people are harder than ſteel in the obſervation of their barbarous cuſtoms. There are three ranks or degrees of people in that country: The *banianes* are the no-
Banianes. bility and gentry, they are great faſters, and abſtain from fleſh all their life-time: Their ordinary food is rice, ſour curds, herbs, and the like. Others are call'd *pa-*
Parianes. *rianes*, theſe neither eat nor drink any thing that another has touch'd, nor out of a veſſel that another has touch'd, tho' there be many clothes over it. My heathen ox-driver was one of theſe, he would never eat any thing from my hand, nor drink out of any veſſel of mine; he broke the pot becauſe it had been touch'd. Among theſe *parianes*, there is one ſort who are look'd upon by the reſt as baſe and vile people. Theſe on the roads, when they ſee one of the others, ſtep aſide and give them the way: In towns they come not to any body's door but their equals; in the ſtreets as ſoon as ever they ſee a man that is not of their own rank, they run or hide themſelves. They are deſpis'd and hated by all men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious perſons. I heard ſay, they had been formerly the nobleſt people in that country, and that for a piece of treachery they committed they were ſo caſt down; in ſo much that the others will not admit of them as ſervants or ſlaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the houſe of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole ſtructure. They are the moſt miſerable people in the world; the greateſt affront is to call them *Parian*, which is worſe than among us dog, and baſe ſlave.

Sheep. 4. It is wonderful what numbers of great and ſmall cattel we met with in the fields; I ſaw two ſpecies of ſheep and goats, ſome like thoſe of *Spain*, others much bigger. There are alſo of thoſe ſheep which are in many other parts, and we uſually ſay have five quarters. The goats are vaſtly taller than ours; the ſhe's had at their throat two little dugs longer than their ears. As the *Egyptians* kept ewes and cows for their milk and wool; ſo do theſe people for the ſame reaſon. *A Lapide*, in 47 *Gen.* v. 17.

5. There are infinite groves of wild palm- *Palm-trees.*
trees. At *Manila* they are not minded, and here they are the greateſt riches of the earth: They draw from them a great deal of the liquor I ſaid was call'd *Tuba* at *Manila*, which yields them good profit. They alſo produce a ſort of fruit which I ſaw not in any other place, and is like ſnow, the cooleſt thing in the world. It is wonder-
ful to ſee what woods there are of tama- *Tamarines*
rine-trees, we often travel'd a conſiderable way under their ſhade. I gather'd the berries as I rode, and eat them with a guſt. Near them we often found ſtately ponds all of ſtone; when it rains they fill up to the top and that water laſts all the dry ſeaſon; there travellers ſtopt, reſt, drink, and water their beaſts. They told me they were the work of great and rich heathens, who being mov'd to compaſſion ſeeing there was no water for travellers in ſeveral places, had caus'd thoſe ponds to be made to ſupply this defect and want.

6. The tamarine trees are planted very regularly; the natives make uſe of their ſhade to weave their webs in it, ſheltred from the ſun. Their houſes are little and dark, they cannot ſee in them to weave ſo fine, nor is there room for the looms, therefore they have provided that ſhade for this purpoſe. They make much uſe of the fruit in dreſſing their diet.

7. We alſo ſaw ſtately and antient temples, and wonderful moſques of the *Mahometans*. The further we travel'd the greater towns we met with; in ſome of them there was a mighty concourſe of paſſengers, horſes, elephants, and abundance of camels, which in that country carry all burdens. The *Mahometans* travel with great ſtate; the governors of large towns had royal attendance: They were always very civil to me, I had occaſion to ſpeak to one of them; I took off my hat, he would not hear a word till I was cover'd and ſat down by him. In ſome places I met *Perſians* and *Armenians*, fine men, graceful, tall, well-ſhap'd, very courteous, they have the beſt horſes in the world.

8. About the middle of *July*, near a town, we found a little brook ſo clear and cool we were ſurpriz'd at it; I gueſs'd the ſpring was near; we drank unmercifully, and our diet being ſlender it did us harm, but me particularly; we were forc'd to ſtay a day there. Next day a ſcorpion ſtung the *Portugueſe* I really thought he would have dy'd, and this ſomewhat retarded our journey. We came to a river ſo wide and deep, that the horſe who was but ſmall, could dot carry me over: It was ſome hardſhip, for we waded with the water up to

our

our breaſts; the current was rapid, the *Portugueſe* a poor heartleſs man began to cry out, the water carry'd him away; and it was ſo, we had all enough to do to bring him off. After this we paſs'd another not ſo deep; for more ſafety I deliver'd the papers and letters I had to my man, charging him to be very careful: No ſooner was he in the river, but he fell, and left all he carry'd in the water. I was much concern'd at this misfortune; to remedy it in ſome meaſure, I laid all the papers in the ſun, and ſome *Chineſe* books, which being of extraordinary fine paper ſuffer'd the more; in this place we ſpent ſome hours. To mend the matter we came afterwards to a lake, the *Gentile* was poſitive we muſt croſs it to ſhorten the way; I was ſo unlucky that my horſe fell, and I too, with my wallets that carry'd the papers; I gave all for loſt, tho' with ſome trouble and loſs of time all was reaſonably retriev'd.

9. By the way we met a *Pagan* youth of a good preſence; the horſe he rode on was very fine, his attendance numerous; he was going to court to be marry'd, and *Elephants* had with him for ſtate a mighty elephant, well adorn'd with clothes and bells. This was the ſecond I had ſeen till that time; when we ſtop'd, I drew near to take a full view of him: This I did particularly one afternoon; as ſoon as I came near him, his governor ſpoke one word to him which I did not underſtand; but the conſequence ſhew'd what he had ſaid, for he preſently fac'd me, and made a profound reverence, bowing all his four feet at once; I ſaw them give him meat and drink. It happen'd a native, without reflecting on it, was going to paſs before him; as he came up the elephant ſtretch'd out his trunk, and gently gave him a blow on the forehead, which ſounded like a good cuff on the ear. The man's colour chang'd, and he ſtagger'd backward a good way as if he had been beſides himſelf. Our laughing brought him to himſelf, and he kept off from the mountain of fleſh. I fancy'd the elephant thought it unmannerly to go by ſo near him, and therefore he friendly warn'd the man to look before he leap'd. I was much aſtoniſh'd at what I had ſeen.

10. After this we came to a mighty river, the boat was loſt the day before, for they had ſwam an elephant over, ty'd to the boat; and he growing angry, carry'd the boat down the river; then he got to the ſhore, broke the rope, and ran about the fields; his driver went to catch him, but the elephant being ſtill in a fury, took hold of him with his trunk, caſt him up into the air, of which he died. There are *Ferry-boats.* two other ferries there, and the comicalleſt that can be imagin'd; they were round wicker baſkets, cover'd without with cows hides; we hired one, put in all our baggage, more people came up, and fourteen paſſengers of us went into it; the horſe and ox ſwam, we holding by the halters; we ſtruck aſlant over, and ſail'd a quarter of a league whilſt one might ſay the creed three or four times. The current was violent, we all quak'd for fear, and were cram'd together without the leaſt motion. We landed, I paid our paſſage, the owner took his baſket out of the water, and clapping it on his head, walk'd up the river to carry over to the town others that waited for him. NAVARETTE.

11. Four leagues ſhort of the court we ſtop'd at a great town which they call the *Queens's Palace.* The mother or grandmother of the king then reigning had built that ſumptuous palace, from which the town took its name. We could not go in, but the front and all we could ſee of it might vie with the beſt in *Europe:* Before it is a ſquare not inferior to any in *Spain.* We went to a moſt beautiful and ſpacious court almoſt ſquare; in the midſt of which was a ſtone moſque well built, with a porch before it. The court is like a cloiſter, arch'd all round except where the gates interrupt it. At every ſix foot diſtance there are ſtone arches, and in the hollow of the ſix foot there is a fine cell within vaulted like the reſt, and all white as ſnow. I counted a hundred and eighteen cells in all, well contriv'd, and curious and exact windows and doors. The floor was very hard plaiſter; thoſe rooms were for the king's followers, when they came thither to divert themſelves. The ſquare was in the ſame nature, but had a ſtorey above which the court had not.

12. In one corner there was a door which led to a large and deep pond cut out of the ſaid rock, with ſtairs cut in the ſame ſtone to go down for water, all we paſſengers drank that water; I don't doubt but what we ſaw coſt many millions. I would have ſeen the moſque, but as I was going in a *Moor* came out, who would have thrown me down the ſtairs and ſaid nothing, but deſiſted. Before I came to this town, and from thence to court, I took notice of another thing of which the *Portugueſe* had given me a hint, and was, that I ſaw ſeveral parcels of horſes, mules and aſſes, loaded with the *tuba* of the palm-trees I have mention'd, all running as faſt as they could; and the drivers, who ſtrain'd their hearts, with their laſhes took care the beaſts ſhould not ſtop a moment. This they do that the liquor may come ſweet before it ſours; abundance of it is conſum'd at court, eſ-

Navarette. especially the *Mahometan* women drink much of it. The drink is very pleaſant, it would take more at *Madrid* than mead or ſherbet. Thoſe people ſay the king's greateſt revenue comes out of it.

13. To ſave time and charges we did not go through a great gate of the court, all that come in through theſe gates, wait for leave from ſome great men, have all they carry ſearch'd and pay duties. I was not concern'd for the ſearch, though ſomething muſt be always given. We went almoſt two leagues about, which was a great trouble; nevertheleſs we paſt three cuſtom-houſes, but they ſaid not a word to us. Being come to the fourth, they talk'd big to us, but were ſatisfied with a few pence. Half a league further we came to the place where they ſold horſes, there was a pleaſant grove, divided by four large and ſpacious walks, in which were abundance of people, and very fine horſes, which they rode about to ſhew them. Then we paſt a river, and ſaw a multitude of people on the bank; we drew near, and it prov'd to be the funeral of a young woman, who lay barefac'd on the bier, very well ſet out and adorn'd with flowers; next to the corps were muſicians and dancers. There was one (perhaps the huſband) whoſe body was dy'd of ſeveral colours, and he ſkip'd and made a thouſand motions. Other ancients wept when a child was born, and rejoic'd at its death, ſo did thoſe we ſaw. At laſt we came to a little church, where one *Martinez* a *Portugueſe* prieſt reſided; he receiv'd me with all poſſible kindneſs, and great tokens of affection. There I reſted a little, but not ſo much as I had need. *Funeral.*

CHAP. XXII.

My Stay at Golconda, *and Journey to* Muſulapatan.

1. I Was inform'd there was in thoſe parts one *D. Felix Enriquez*, a native of *Madrid*, whom I had been acquainted with in the apothecary's ſhop of S. *Paul* at *Valladolid*, tho' I could not call to mind his name. He was phyſician and ſurgeon to the king's army there. I preſently ſent him a note, his anſwer was very civil, next day I went to his houſe. It is a long league from the city to the forts, where the king is always cloſe for fear of his ſubjects, as I was told. The road, beſides its being very plain and broad, was ſo full of people, that there were ſcarce more in the cities of *China*, all of them clad as white as ſnow, moſt afoot, ſeveral in half coaches, half carts, drawn by oxen, and well cover'd, and many on mules; ſome *Perſians* and *Moors* excellently mounted, and well attended. Some great men were carry'd in rich and ſightly palanquines; inſtead of umbrelloes they uſe large ſhields gilt and painted of ſeveral colours, the ſervants carry them on their arms, and lifting them up defend their maſters from the ſun. They carry plumes of peacocks feathers with the quills ſtuck in ſilver, which ſerve to drive the flies away, they are properly fans. All the *European* captains and factors in thoſe countries make the ſame uſe of thoſe feathers. It all look-ed to me like court-grandeur. There were about that place abundance of great and leſſer elephants, I was much diverted with the ſight of them, and admir'd their motion; I rode upon a good horſe, and had much ado to keep up with their walk. *Elephants.*

2. I took notice that there was abundance of people on the one ſide of the way, and that more continually flock'd to them. I aſk'd the black that went with me, what it meant? He anſwer'd, Father, the ſaints of this country are there. I drew near, and ſaw they were men quite naked, as if they had liv'd in the ſtate of innocence; perhaps they were *Adamites*. Their habitations were on certain mountains, whence the men came down at certain times to beg alms. They walk'd among the people ſtark naked, like brute beaſts. When I return'd to the church I ſaw them again, and women looking at them very devoutly. Preſently I diſcover'd a ſumptuous palace, and beautiful towers and pinnacles all cover'd with lead. The palace of *Segovia* is not more beautiful, I admir'd nothing ſo much in that country, methought I was looking upon *Madrid*. I came up to the great fort where the king's apartment is; I went not in, but it had a fine outſide, and look'd great, the walls were ſtrong and ſtor'd with cannon, the ſituation high, the ditches wide and deep. They told me the king had nine hundred concubines within there, and among them the *Portugueſe* woman of S. *Thomas* I mention'd above. Next I met ſome *Portugueſes* who expected me, many of them ſerv'd in that king's army for bread. They carry'd me to *D. Felix*'s houſe, which was very little, low, and inconvenient, like the reſt of the commonalty. He receiv'd me very lovingly and truly, I knew him again, tho' I had not ſeen him in twenty four years, he had a good mark to be known by. He gave me an account of part of his life, had been in *Ceylon* phyſician to the *Dutch*, marry'd there, left his wife at *Columbo*, and

went over to *Madraſtapatan*, was there phyſician to the *Engliſh*, and then went to *Golconda*, where he received the king's pay, twenty pieces of eight a month, beſides what he made of his ſalves. Hard by was a mighty army commanded by the great *Nababo*, (that is as much as the great duke of that kingdom) he was an eunuch and man of great parts, he govern'd all; the king kept in his *Mahomet*'s paradiſe among women, muſick, dancing, and other ſports, all unbecoming the duty of a king. It is a ſhameful thing, ſays S. *Thomas de Erudit. Princ. lib.* I. *cap.* 10. that he who is lord over others, ſhould be a ſlave to his ſenſes. And talking of muſick, he tells how *Antigonus* maſter or preceptor to *Alexander* the great broke his lute, and ſaid, He that is of age to reign, may be aſham'd to be ſubject to theſe paſſions. The ſaint has much very good to this purpoſe. The king of *Golconda* lives in worldly pleaſures and paſtimes, without the leaſt regard to the government, having committed the whole charge of it to the great *Nababo*; what can this king expect but what *Job* ſays, *cap.* xxi. *They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the ſound of the organ: They ſpend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to hell?* The moment that puts an end to their pleaſures, begins their eternal torments. What an unhappy and wretched caſe! The ſame will befal all that follow ſuch a courſe. There cannot be a double glory, that of the life to come is not the conſequence of the worldly. The words of *Tertullian* are common: *After gall the honey-comb.* CHRIST taſted not the ſweetneſs of honey till he had gone thro' the bitterneſs of his paſſion. What can be the conſequence of dancing, muſick, plays, feaſting, and the pleaſures of this life, but the neglect of one's duty, forgetfulneſs of one's ſoul, and future calamities? The *Chineſe* is much more vigilant and careful of the government, and if he forgets himſelf, they mind and reprove him, as appears in the ſecond book. Two years before this one of the *Nababo*'s teeth dropt out, he ſent it with ſix thouſand ducats to *Mecca* an offering to *Mahomet*'s rotten bones. At this time another dropt out, and it was reported he would ſend it with ſix thouſand more. He order'd a temple to be built, which I ſaw, but it was not yet finiſh'd, becauſe they ſaid he had dream'd he ſhould die when the building was finiſh'd, ſo he order'd the work to ceaſe. He was then ninety years of age, pay'd the ſoldiers punctually, and gave the *Perſians* great wages. In that country there is abundance of very fine ſilver, and they ſay abundance of rich diamonds. I was aſſur'd the *Mahometans* gave above fifty thouſand ducats for ſome.

3. I diſcourſed *D. Felix* about my journey to *Goa*, he repreſented it very eaſy; others objected difficulties, and no doubt but there were enough, eſpecially in going from one kingdom to another. Next day I ſaid maſs in a chapel the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers and ſome mungrels and blacks had there. They gave me to underſtand it would pleaſe them I ſhould ſtay there three months, till it were time to go away to *Goa*, and they offer'd to aſſiſt me according to their power, which was ſmall. I had certainly ſtay'd there, had not what I ſhall write preſently happen'd and I believe it had gone but ill with me. I went that afternoon to ſee the *Dutch* factor, for whom I had a letter. I went on *D. Felix* his horſe, which was better than mine. I again obſerv'd what I had ſeen before, and again was aſtoniſh'd at the multitude and diverſity of people. I croſs'd all the capital city, which is very large, and in it at ſmall diſtances excellent buildings, and innumerable multitudes of people. The great ſquare was very beautiful; the royal palace, an admirable ſtructure, fills one ſide of it. They ſhew'd me a glaz'd balcony, and told me the king ſometimes ſhew'd himſelf there to his ſubjects. It was a long time before I came to the *Dutch* factory. Thoſe men had a fine palace there, and richly furniſh'd. The factor was a mungrel begot on a *Japoneſe* woman, and ſhew'd it in his carriage. We diſcours'd a while with a great deal of coldneſs on his ſide; the *European Hollanders* did not ſerve me ſo, and this appear'd preſently, for within half an hour another *Dutchman* came out of a room who was infinitely obliging; he gave me *cha* of *China* to drink, and ſome of the wine they made there, he courteouſly ſhewed me the orchards, gardens, and a ſtately bath. There I was inform'd of the great modeſty and reſervedneſs of the women of that country, not much inferior to that of *China*, as they told me. A great ſhame for *European* Chriſtian women. NAVARETTE.

4. When I took my leave he aſk'd me, Whether I had viſited the *French* that were in that city? I anſwer'd I had not, nor thought of it, becauſe I knew none of them, nor had any buſineſs with them. He earneſtly deſir'd me to viſit them, I did all I could to excuſe my ſelf, but ſtill he urg'd it. I to avoid that viſit, wherein my happineſs then conſiſted, ſaid, Sir, I neither know their houſe, nor have I any body to conduct me to it. I'll ſend a ſervant of mine, ſaid he, to wait upon the father, and ſhew him the houſe. There was no withſtanding it any longer, I went thither directly, they receiv'd me with ſingular kindneſs and affection; brought out fruits of *Perſia*, dates, almonds, raiſins,

Navarette. ſins, and other things of the country. They treated me well, I thank'd them, and took leave. They would not ſuffer me to be gone preſently, ſo we held on our diſcourſe. The director ſpoke good *Spaniſh*, he had been ſeveral times at *Cadiz*, and carry'd millions of pieces of eight from thence into *France*, and told me how he dealt with our ſhips and aſhore. It is a ſhame to ſee how many officers manage the king's buſineſs. He freely offer'd me paſſage in his ſhip as far as *Suratte*, and thence into *Europe*, with all the accommodation his people could afford me. I went back to lie at the church, and he ſent me in his palanquine with twenty four ſervants to attend me. Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to *Goa*, and that the difficulty every day increaſed, becauſe a rebel whoſe name was *Subagi* rang'd thoſe countries with a powerful army; I made thoſe gentlemen a ſecond viſit, and finding a fit opportunity accepted of the favour they offer'd me. They aſſur'd me they had orders from their king to be aſſiſting to the miſſioners, and that they went to *India* for that purpoſe. There is no doubt but the end is very good and holy.

Subagi.

5. We left the royal city on the 28th of *July*, there went twenty two carts loaden with goods and neceſſaries for the journey, ſix officers of the company a horſeback, four ſtately *Perſian* led horſes with rich furniture: One of them dy'd by the way, that had coſt five hundred pieces of eight: Four colours, four trumpets, four waits, two kettle-drums, ſixty ſervants, and five palanquines, with five or ſix men to carry each of them, it was a train for a king. We croſs'd a wide but ſhallow river, there were a great many elephants waſhing in it. We obſerv'd with how much eaſe thoſe mountains of fleſh tumbled in the water, and ſtarted up again. All the carts were covered with oil'd cloths, ſo that not a drop of rain-water came through. The palanquines had the ſame covering. There is no ſuch eaſy way of travelling in the world. We paſt through the middle of the royal city with all that noiſe, attendance and muſick, and went to lie at a ſtately orchard. Half a league of the way was among fine trees, the reſt of the way very plain and eaſy. We came to a noble ſtone-palace, which had beautiful halls, rooms, and balconies, and much ornament in ſeveral curious riches, with ſeveral figures of plaiſter and ſtone. The orchard was vaſtly big, full of abundance of fruit-trees and innumerable oranges and limons. The walks were wide and very clean, with ponds at diſtances, and water-works continually playing; it appear'd to me a place fit for any prince. Two days we ſtay'd there, and ſpent the time in obſerving at leiſure, what I have writ in ſhort.

6. My company carry'd good proviſion and plenty, which made the way eaſy to me, and made amends for the want I endur'd in my journey to the royal city, whence we now came. One morning we came to a place, where there was the liquor of palms I ſpoke of in the laſt chapter; we drank to our hearts content, it was as cold as ice, and ſweeter than honey; it did us much good, for it purg'd us to the purpoſe. We paſt over a mighty river with ſome trouble but on the further ſide found the beſt olives in the world, for a penny a pound. It is incredible what quantities of delicate painted and plain calicoes there were in every town, they came out to the roads to offer and preſs us to buy.

Palm-liquer.

7. In every town we found women that play'd on muſick and danced. There are certain women there, who alone can follow this trade, for which they pay a duty to the king. When any gueſts of note come, they preſently repair to their houſe, make their obeiſance, and immediately ſome begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dreſs'd, and had gold and ſilver enough about them, ſpent two or three hours in this exerciſe, were well paid, and went their ways. I was ſeldom preſent at theſe entertainments, but indeed they were worth ſeeing and hearing.

Dancers.

8. It was alſo very common to meet with many tumblers that ſhew'd tricks of activity; they have no ſettled place of abode, but ramble up and down like gypſies. Sometimes we met them under the trees in the field, ſometimes near towns in the barracks made of wicker, which they always carry about with them. As ſoon as they ſee any likely people, they make to them, and offer to ſhew their activity; then they ſet up their ſticks and canes, and play wonderful tricks. Both the men and women would certainly be much admir'd in *Europe*. Two women, one old and the other young, did ſuch things in a town, as amaz'd us all. One man beſides many ſtrange tricks, took a ſtone betwixt his teeth; his companions threw others up, which he catch'd in his mouth without ever miſſing a jot; afterwards he lay'd it upon one eye, and on it receiv'd the others that fell from above, and never miſs'd in all the time. Another thing aſtoniſh'd us yet more, and we thought the devil had a hand in it, he ty'd a ſtone of about a quarter of a hundred weight to a ſtick which had another croſs it; he alone laying hold of the ſtick with one hand held up the ſtone in the air, and kept it without the leaſt motion; then he put together eight or ten men, and gave them the ſtick to hold as he had done, and they

Tumblers.

they could never beat it up tho' they put all their ſtrength to it, but the ſtone bore them all down. We could never find out what art that black us'd to do that which we ſaw with our eyes.

Snakes dance.

9. There are another ſort of men, who make a trade of carrying about ſnakes that dance; they are ridiculouſly dreſs'd, wear feathers on their heads, and little bells about their body, all naked but their privy-parts, and daub'd with ſeveral colours. They carry a little trumpet in their hand, and two baſkets cover'd on their ſhoulders full of hideous ſnakes; they go where they are call'd, open their baſkets, and as the trumpet ſounds the ſnakes riſe, uſing ſeveral motions with their bodies and heads; ſometimes they cling to their maſter's arm, or thigh, and ſet their teeth in it. I ſaw one of them whoſe body was all over as if it had been pink'd by the ſnakes. A ſtrange way of getting their living! At firſt it was dreadful to me to ſee that dancing. They give them a half-penny or a penny, the ſnakes return to their baſkets, and away they go. I obſerv'd ſeveral times, that as ſoon as they catch'd and laid them in the basket, they roll'd themſelves up and remain'd immoveable; and tho' they open'd the basket, they never ſtirr'd without the trumpet ſounded. Some were thicker than a man's wriſt, they ſay thoſe that carry'd them were anointed with the juice of ſeveral herbs, ſo that tho' they bit they could do them no harm. There are others who have dancing cows, and get their living by them.

10. One night we lay in an idol-temple, one of the beautifulleſt in the world; it had jaſper-ſtone and marble, as curiouſly wrought as any in *Italy*, and three chapels dedicated to three gods. There were in it ſome cows cut in ſtone as black as jet, and as lively as poſſible. The prieſt came to us, and we diſcours'd him with the help of ſome ſervants of the *French* company, who ſpoke ſeveral languages. He gave a very bad account of the origin of thoſe three gods, made them all men, and ſaid they came thither upon the waters of the ſea from very far countries, and had produced the world. We objecting, how it could be made out that they had produced the world when there was before them a ſea, and other countries from whence they came thither; He anſwer'd, It was ſo written in their books. Speaking of the parents of his gods, he aſſerted they were of other countries: and we anſwering, Then there were men before thoſe gods; he laugh'd and ſaid, I ſay nothing but what is in this book. Two leagues ſhort of *Muſulapatan* we found a great many *Frenchmen* in a noble orchard, expecting their director and companions. There was muſick, dancing, and a plentiful entertainment. That afternoon we went into the city, it was the eighth of *Auguſt*, paſt over a wooden-bridge, little leſs than half a league in length, a wonderful crowd of people came out to ſee us. *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, *Portugueſes*, *Mungrels*, *Mahometans*, *Gentiles*, *Blacks* and natives, were all ſpectators. The factory was a ſtately large houſe, the people many in number. There was a great confuſion that night, however we had ſome reſt.

NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XXIII.

My Stay at Muſulapatan.

Muſulapatan.

1. THE city of *Muſulapatan* is famous all along the coaſt of *Coromandel*, it is ſeated ſixty leagues north of *Madraſta*, a very populous place, and of great trade. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and at preſent the *French* have conſiderable factories there. Some years ago beſides theſe the *Danes* had one too. Some *Portugueſes*, *Mungrels* and *Blacks*, who are catholicks, live there, and have a little church where there was a father of the order of S. *Auguſtin*. Some *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who have diſcharg'd themſelves from their companies, have ſettled there, and live with their families. The climate is very bad and unhealthy. They ſaid, the heat from *Auguſt* till *April* was intolerable. All that country abounds in wheat, rice, ſheep, hens, geeſe, fiſh, and fruit, all at reaſonable rates. I ſtay'd with my *Chineſe* in the *French* factory, where I ſaid maſs to them every day, and din'd and ſup'd at their table; they treated me in health and a ſmall ſickneſs I had, with extraordinary kindneſs, love, and affection. Afterwards ſome *Frenchmen* fell ſick; and I aſſiſted them with a great deal of care and good will. The ſhip that was to ſail for *Suratte* lay ſix leagues lower at *Roſipor*, it was to be ſheath'd, and they had not yet began to work upon it, which troubled me extremely, and I repented my leaving the *Portugueſe* ſhip, which I was inform'd was bound for *Goa*.

2. There were in the factory abundance of monkeys, which ſerv'd to divert us; ſometimes they would be as furious as lions, ſometimes they play'd, and did a thouſand tricks. After dinner they commonly carry'd them to a large pond in the middle of a great court. It was pleaſant to ſee what pranks they play'd there, they ſwam juſt like men, and would leap

Navarette. into the water, dive and come up again exactly like them. They had also a little deer, which a servant fed with milk, he once amaz'd us all. The servant came into the court, the deer saw, and immediately went to him; it was beyond all belief how he made much of and caress'd him; he would leap up on both sides, lick his hands and feet, and put his nose to the man's face, all tokens of gratitude for the kindness he receiv'd from him. Good God, how even wild and savage beasts teach us gratitude! *F. Mascarenhas* the *Augustinian* kept the feast of the nativity of our Lady and the Octave, and it was perform'd with all imaginable solemnity; all the catholicks resorted to it, and I gave a sermon. About that time arriv'd ships loaded with elephants. One *Mahometan* merchant alone brought thirty in one ship, which is a mighty stock; they carry them up the country, where they sell them at great rates, and get much by them.

3. There were two directors in the factory; one whose name was *Macara*, an *Armenian*, had been at *Rome*, *Florence* and *Paris*. This man procur'd the setling the factory at *Golconda*, under the same privileges the *Dutch* and *English* enjoy'd; He was a catholick, and had a son and nephew both catholicks. The other was a *Frenchman* of the territory of *Roan*, his name *Francis Gouxon*; he had orders from the director general residing at *Suratte*, to apprehend *Macara*, on account of expences he had made. He being a stranger, and those who had been his friends become his enemies, because he knew not how to preserve their friendship; every body was against him, which he was sensible of, and therefore was jealous, and fearful of what happen'd. He might have prevented it by staying at *Golconda* among his country-men and *Mahometans* of note, who had a kindness for him. I told him so afterwards, he was sensible of his error and all his repentance could not mend it. In short upon S. *Matthew*'s day, after baptizing a godson of his with great solemnity, they seiz'd him with a great deal of noise, and seiz'd his son. *Macara*'s servants fled, and gave an account of what had happen'd to the *Mooriſh* governor of the city. The *French* immediately sent advice to the captain of their ship to be upon his guard, and it stood them in good stead, for without it the ship had fallen into the governor's hands. Next day he sent three hundred men commanded by the supreme civil magistrate to beset the factory, hinder any provisions from being carry'd in, and by that oblige them to set *Macara* at liberty. The *French* took up arms, which was a rashness in a strange country, where they had no force, nor so much as a ship in the harbour. They fell to blows; a handsome young *Frenchman*, and good Christian, was kill'd, and another much wounded. Of the infidels four or five were slain, and several wounded; this made a great uproar. The governor seeing the fury and resolution of the *French*, caus'd his men to draw off, and sent to acquaint his king with what had happen'd; the *French* sent too. Whilst the answer came back, they arm'd themselves very well, and provided fire arms, which the *English* and some other friends lent them underhand. The governor was for composing the matter, and would have them send some persons of note to his house, or me. The *French* were afraid to trust him. As for me, they answer'd I was a *Spaniard*, and no way concern'd nor understood that affair. It was fear'd they might attack us in the night, and fire the house. I was not a little concern'd for it, but much more to see my voyage, which I was so eager upon, obstructed.

4. The director was indispos'd, these troubles made him worse, so that in eight days he dy'd on *Michaelmas* day, having receiv'd the sacraments. I lost more than any man, because he had a particular kindness for me. I was also much oblig'd to him that succeeded in the post. His funeral was great; First went two horses in mourning, then the kettle-drums and trumpets making a doleful sound, above a hundred servants *Portugueses* with lights in their hands; I went along with only one *Frenchman*, the rest stay'd to secure the house and themselves; the *Dutch* and *English* attended the funeral. The body was left in the church till eight at night. The tide flow'd, and we went over in boats to an island, which is the catholick burying-place. Those people will not allow any to be buried in towns.

5. The king's answer came, he order'd no words should be made about those that had been kill'd on both sides, and that the *French* if they pleas'd might carry away *Macara*, but should pay what he ow'd, which amounted to two thousand ducats. Several odd things happen'd during that time, which I would here relate if I had more leisure. The country is singular, and there being such diversity of nations, there falls out something new every day, among *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Moors*, &c. That city resembles *Babel* in the variety of tongues, and difference of garbs and customs, but I lik'd the natural inclination of them all. I sometimes went to the church, which was a considerable distance from the factory, met several sorts of people by the way, and they were all courteous and civil. I talk'd with some *English* and *Dutch*, visited them, because it was necessary, and found

found them very obliging in words, and ſome no leſs in their actions. Two came to take their leave, the night we went aboard; one of them took me aſide, we talk'd a long while, he offer'd me all his intereſt at *Suratte:* when we were parting, he ſaid to me with much humility and ſubmiſſion, Father, I know I am a heretick; but I beg the favour of your bleſſing. I was ſurpriz'd and anſwer'd, Sir, if you are a heretick and deſign to continue ſo, why would you have my bleſſing? He reply'd, That's true, Father; but for all that I beg you will grant me this ſatisfaction. He preſs'd very earneſtly, I gave him my bleſſing, ſpoke a few words to him, which he requited by embracing me, and went his way. I heard them cenſure ſome churchmen. We ought all of us to be very cautious of our carriage among ſuch people for they pry into every action. They told me two paſſages, and one of them very trivial, at which they were very much ſcandaliz'd; but they do not reflect upon their own heinous faults they commit every day; yet this is no excuſe for us, who ought ſo to order our lives, that they ſeeing our actions might glorify GOD the author and cauſe of all good. NAVARETTE.

6. It pleas'd GOD our ſhip came, in two days all was ſhip'd, and I had thought it would have taken up eight at leaſt; the weather was calm, which help'd to expedite our buſineſs. On the 17th of *October*, at eleven at night, we went aboard; I had ſo much intereſt, as to get three *Portugueſes* in. The night was ſo dark, we had much ado to find the ſhip. That very night we ſail'd, all of us well pleas'd to leave that baſe country, and draw near to *Europe*. From that place, according to the courſe we took, it is above ſix thouſand leagues. Being upon a freſh voyage, it is requiſite to begin a new chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

My Voyage to Suratte, *and other remarkable Occurrences.*

1. IN the way from *Golconda*, I heard ſeveral diſputes concerning matters of religion between *Frenchmen*, I took them to be all catholicks; doubtleſs they were not all ſo, for I never heard any thing of that nature between *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*. Several reports went concerning *Macara*, who was priſoner in our ſhip; ſome maintain'd he was half a *Mahometan*, others that they did not know what religion he was of. He always own'd himſelf a catholick to me, and ſo heard maſs, and ſaid the Roſary, but upon ſeveral occaſions he ſaid unto me, Father, whilſt I took care to ſerve GOD, and perform'd the duty of a Chriſtian, GOD aſſiſted me, and I throve, but declin'd when I fell off; it is ſome time ſince I neglected all things that belong to a Chriſtian, and therefore I believe GOD has puniſh'd me, and I am now in irons. Hence I took occaſion to comfort and exhort him to patience in his ſufferings. They treated him too cruelly, not allowing him the means of defending himſelf. They examin'd and laid things to his charge with four piſtols at his breaſt; he anſwer'd, not the truth, but what they would have him ſay, as he own'd to me. The general director was his mortal enemy, his judge, and a great heretick.

2. There was a youth in the factory, whoſe name was *Portal*, all the reſt look'd upon him as proud and haughty, and I had grounds to believe him ſo. He contracted friendſhip with me, and told me many things I was no way concern'd with. He was a good grammarian, lov'd reading, had ſome books, and among them *Matchiavel* and *Bodin*, which he ſtudy'd more than the reſt. He was for reducing all religion to policy, like the *Chineſes*, and thoſe authors. I often told him my mind friendly, and ſometimes haſtily, for I thought him ill grounded in matters of faith. At *Suratte* he went aboard a ſhip that had no chaplain, and dy'd by the way to *Madagaſcar*, where the ſhip took harbour, as ours did. I was much troubl'd at it, but ſomething comforted, becauſe they told me he had prepar'd himſelf for death.

3. I often heard it ſaid at *Muſulapatan*, that the *French* own'd no ſuperior but GOD and their king. Upon which I us'd to call them ſchiſmaticks, for not owning the *Pope*. They anſwer'd they did in ſome things, but not as the *Spaniards* did, who dreaded his cenſures. This I took as an honour. Thoſe *French* were merchants and no divines, they knew not how to diſtinguiſh betwixt the ſpiritual and temporal power.

4. Some divines at *Paris* in *May* 1614 ſign'd the following propoſitions. 1. That the king of *France* holds his dominions of GOD and the ſword only. 2. That the king in his dominions owns no ſuperior but GOD. 3. That the *Pope* cannot interdict the king, nor abſolve his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. 4. That the *Pope* has no authority direct or indirect, mediate or immediate, coactive or coercive over the king, upon any account whatſoever.

5. One *Molheſe* ſaid in my hearing, that GOD was cruel in making the pains of hell everlaſting;

Navarette. everlaſting; and why ſhould he condemn them for ſins of the fleſh, which were natural to man? And that ſince man in compariſon with God was leſs than an ant, why ſhould he be offended at them? And tho' they offended, why ſhould he damn them eternally? I was much provok'd, and told him my mind, but leſs than he deſerv'd. He ſaid he was a catholick, and his father a heretick, but his words prov'd him a liar, as to himſelf. Many of them learn grammar, and thruſt themſelves into higher ſciences. The quality of a grammarian, ſays *Spondanus*, is pride, that ſets them againſt God himſelf, which is the property of that horrid vice. There was an antient error, that God did not puniſh ſenſuality, and this *Molfeſe* follow'd it. S. *Paul*, *Heb.* xiii. condemns it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers* God *ſhall judge.* Read S. *Thomas* on this place, *lect.* 1. For the reſt he would revive *Origen*'s error, who ſaid the pains of hell ſhould have an end; which Chirst condemns, ſaying, *They ſhall go into everlaſting fire.* The hereticks of theſe times do not maintain the extravagancies that man did.

Mogol. 6. It is fit to ſay ſomething of the great *Mogol*. He that now reigns, put his father in priſon, where he dy'd, and he uſurp'd the crown. This man has a ſon who governs a province eight days journey from *Golconda*, towards *Bengala*, which properly belongs to the prince, who deſigns to follow the example his father ſet him, and get all into his own hands. *Antony Coello* a *Portugueſe*, who had ſerv'd under him, told me he had already two hundred thouſand horſe and three hundred thouſand foot. A brave army, if they are but good men. He deſigns to join in league with the rebel *Subagi*, who is very great and powerful. I mention'd in another place, how he attack'd the territory of *Goa*, and carry'd away two or three thouſand Chriſtians and a *Franciſcan*. He ſent to demand of the viceroy of *Goa*, to make good a ſhip of his the *Portugueſes* had taken. The viceroy was in a paſſion, and beat his embaſſador, an action no body could approve of. The *Engliſh* governor of *Madraſtapatan* told me that infidel would make war upon *Goa* by ſea and land, and make ſlaves of all the *Portugueſe* men and women he could light of. *Subagi* may do it, and the *Mogol* better, but he will not take ſmall things in hand. The king of *Golconda* is more to be fear'd, becauſe *Coromandel* and all thoſe coaſts are ſubject to him. This being a conſiderable point, an account of it was ſent ſeveral ways to *Goa* and *Madraſta*.

7. I heard much of the kingdom of *Bengala* as to its fruitfulneſs and plenty of corn, rice, ſheep, cows, fruit, ſilk, and cotton. This country, as I ſaid, belongs to the great *Mogol*'s eldeſt ſon. There are in it fathers of the order of S. *Auguſtin*, who adminiſter to the *Portugueſes*, and *Mungrels*. Some of theſe are of note, and wear the badge of the order, of knighthood of Christ, but are baſely uſed by the natives, for the leaſt matter they drive them to priſon with a cudgel. There are alſo *Indians* of *Manila* in that country, I ſaw one at *Muſulapatan*; I ſaid at *Liſbon*, there was no need of carrying people to *India* becauſe there were infinite numbers diſperſed thro' thoſe countries; but the ſecretary of ſtate anſwer'd me, Will it be eaſy to bring thoſe together that are ſcatter'd abroad? I reply'd, It would not, for they all fled from *Goa*, where they wanted bread; but if he would allow them a ſufficient maintenance, they would rather ſerve their own king, than infidels and hereticks, as they did for want.

Mogol. 8. The *Mogol* is a mighty prince, his dominions are vaſtly large, his people numberleſs, his wealth inexhauſtible. A *Portugueſe*, who had ſerv'd in his army at *Agra*, which is the ſeat of the court, aſſur'd me, he had three hundred thouſand horſe there beſides other vaſt numbers. Some years ſince on the ſame day he declar'd war againſt the *Turks*, *Perſians*, and *Portugueſes*. What more could *Alexander* the great have done? He has many tributary kings under him; and it is not long ago that the king of *Golconda* having conquer'd the empire of *Narſinga*, which had been famous in thoſe parts, the *Mogol* took it from him, and it ſtill continues under his dominion. The *Mogol*'s dominions extend above three hundred leagues in length.

Sophi. 9. I was told that at *Iſpahan*, the *Perſian* court, there were miſſioners of the orders of S. *Auguſtin*, *Carmalites*, *Jeſuits*, and *Capuchins*. They do no good upon the natives, but ſerve the *Armenians* that are there, who are made very ſmall account of. The emperor ſometimes goes out to *Pecorea*, but firſt orders the *Armenians* to repair to ſuch or ſuch a place; the women ſtay at home, and the emperor goes to ſport and divert himſelf with them. They that are grounded in the love of God, have a good opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. A *Capuchin* father is in great eſteem at that court, on account of the mathematicks. Let him have a care he comes not off as *F. Adamus* did in *China*.

10. In the year 1663, when I was at *Rome*, there came thither two *Armenian* religious men of my order, who brought letters from the *Sophi* of *Perſia* and his ſecretary for his holineſs, in anſwer to thoſe

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our *Armenian* arch-biſhop carry'd four years before. His holineſs writ to him again, thank'd him for his kind uſage of Chriſtians, and exhorted him to continue it. I read the letter cardinal *Altieri* writ to the ſecretary upon the ſame ſubject, it was in eaſy and elegant Latin, ſo finely pen'd the beſt ſcholar would admire it. The *Sophi* now reigning is almoſt always drunk; tho' I was told by the *French* he had caus'd abundance of vineyards and houſe-vines to be deſtroy'd, others ſay it was his father.

11. Let us now return to our voyage. The fourth day a furious guſt of wind ſtarted up about evening, but laſted a very ſhort ſpace; for had it held us three or four hours, there had been an end of our voyage. Being come to *Suratte*, we underſtood by letters brought over land, that four ſhips, which were at anchor at *Muſulapatan*, were caſt away, and all loſt that were in them. The ſame fate had certainly attended us, had we been near that coaſt. Every year infallibly about that time eight days ſooner or later, there is a terrible ſtorm upon that coaſt, they call it *Bara*. The wind was ſpent when it came to us, and fallen with the great rain, which was our good fortune. The eighth day we diſcover'd the iſland *Ceylon*, and for fear of the north eaſt winds which reign about that time, ſtood out to ſea a day and a night, and got out ſo far, that we were afterwards eleven days before we could come in ſight of the land again, tho' it was in another place. We paſs'd cape *Gallo*, which is in ſixty degrees north latitude; there we lay five days without advancing a foot, and met the ſhip of *Macao* bound for *Goa*, we hal'd one another with a great deal of ſatisfaction. Before we could make cape *Comori*, we had furious north winds, terrible currents, and after all dead calms. They made the cape, the water run againſt us like an arrow out of a bow. I having ſeen ſo much of the ſea, took upon me to play pilot, and contended to have us get in under ſhore. I argu'd, Who would run upon an enemy's ſword? That the beſt way was to avoid and come in with him; that there we lay oppoſite to that point which did us all the miſchief; that we ſhould remove from it, and expect a wind, for ſince it muſt come from ſhore, we ſhould be ſo much the more to windward. This was accordingly done; one night a furious north eaſt wind blew, we were but a league and a half from the cape, and yet were above five hours weathering of it, ſo rapid is the current. On the 22d of *November*, by break of day we had the cape aſtern. The *Portugueſe* ſhip ſtood ſo far to ſea, that we loſt ſight of her, and ſhe was two days longer a geting clear. The north eaſt wind abated, and within two hours we had a freſh gale at eaſt. A little boat of Blacks came ahead of us; our men looking at it off the poop, perceiv'd the ſhip was running directly upon a rock that lay under water; they were all ſurpriz'd, and the wind freſhned as if ſome evil ſpirit had ſent it to deſtroy us all; they ſtood in to ſhore, and in a moment I ſaw the rock a ſtone's throw from the ſhip. The Blacks were aſtoniſh'd, as if they concluded we were either blind or mad. It was GOD ſent thoſe Blacks, for had they not come we had ended our days there. The rock is mark'd down in the chart, but they were ſo joyful they had weather'd the point, that no body thought of it, and it was very ſtrange that as ſoon as ever the danger was over, the wind ceas'd and the ſails flagg'd. NAVARETTE.

12. That afternoon a little boat came aboard with a *Dutchman*, who brought fruit, and ſtuffs, and told us abundance of news, but all prov'd falſe. That they call the coaſt of *Malabar* is very pleaſant and delightful, we wanted not for fruit, fowls, and other refreſhment whilſt we run along it; it lies north and ſouth, every night we came to an anchor, which makes it toilſom ſailing along that coaſt. On the 27*th* of the month we loſt our anchor, the 28*th* we appear'd before *Coulan* with a good gale, the *Dutch* fir'd two guns at us. On S. *Andrew*'s day we ſail'd before *Cochin* and *Calicut*, where we were inform'd that the king of the country was engag'd in a bloody war with the *Dutch*. In the night we got up to *Cananor*. Here I might write ſome things memorable enough. Thoſe who were acquainted with that coaſt ſaid, that when ſome perſons marry'd, the husband carry'd his wife before he had to do with her himſelf, to the king, who kept her eight days in his palace, making uſe of her at his pleaſure; and that time being expir'd, the man came for his wife, taking it as a great honour and favour that his king would make uſe of her. In other places they carry them to the temples of the idolatrous prieſts, and left them there the ſame number of days to the ſame purpoſe; this ſanctifys them, and the huſbands carry them home well pleaſed. Thoſe prieſts ſeem to act like the ſons of *Eli*, 1 Sam. ii. 11. *They lay with the women that aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle*; but the difference was, that in *India* the women and their huſbands are conſenting, and look upon it as no ſin. *Marriage.*

13. When the huſband dies, the wife muſt die too, but after ſeveral manners, the dead body is burnt, and if he was a nobleman, the woman is ſeated in his lap, and *Funerals.*

Navarette. and then they lay the wood about, ſet fire to it, and they are both burnt, the one dead and the other alive. Other women clap their arms about their dead huſband, and are burnt with him. The third manner is, when the body is burning in a pit, the wife walks round weeping, attended by her kindred and friends; in the height of it one of the next kindred thruſts her into the pit, then they heap wood upon her, hollow and ſhout, and there the wretch periſhes. It is look'd upon as a great infamy not to do ſo. Not many years ſince, as they were carrying a woman at *Rogiapur* near *Goa* to be burnt with her huſband, it happened that ſome *Portugueſes* who came to that part ſeeing the train, had the curioſity to draw near; the woman ſeeing them by themſelves, left her people, and running embraced one of them, begging they would protect her. They did it very handſomely, defended themſelves againſt the infidels, and carry'd her off. She went to *Goa*, was inſtructed, baptiz'd, and marry'd to him ſhe had fled to. She was living in the year 1670, when I was at *Goa*. A moſt fortunate woman!

14. During thoſe days we had ſome diſputes aboard, and the pilot pretended to play the divine, aſking why there were ſeveral religious orders in the church? What need the Pope had of money, ſince the kings of *Spain* and *France* would ſupport him? Why the *Jews* were not tolerated in *Spain*? Why God did not work miracles? I anſwer'd ſufficiently to every point, and left them muttering; but they had not a word to ſay, when I ask'd them, Why there were ſeveral military orders, and why ſeveral hereſies were tolerated in *France*?

Goa. 15. On the 14th of *December*, we come to an anchor two leagues from *Goa* oppoſite to the bar, becauſe we wanted water. It was very lucky for me and the *Portugueſes*. We went to the fort they call *Aguada*, which is very fine, and had the beſt braſs cannon in it I had ever ſeen. There was one piece carry'd a bullet of ninety ſix pound, the *French* were amaz'd. We ſpoke with the commander, and taking our leave went up the river, which is one of the fineſt in the world, both the banks being cover'd with towns, ſightly temples, and lofty trees. I ſtay'd in the college of S. *Thomas*, which is a quarter of a league from the city. A moſt delightful ſeat as can be imagin'd, built upon the edge of the water. After noon I went up to the monaſtery of our *F. S. Dominick*, it may vie with the beſt in *Europe*. The *French* ſaid there was not the like in all *France* (it is likely they had ſeen but little there.) They afterwards ſhew'd us veſtments, chalices, a rich bier to carry the image of our Lady, with other church ſtuff, which was very ſurprizing. But what I moſt admir'd was an ivory crucifix all of one piece except the arms, the rareſt thing that can be imagin'd, not ſo much for the curioſity of the workmanſhip, as its bigneſs; to all appearance, the tooth that piece was cut out of muſt weigh at leaſt three hundred weight. The proſpect of the city is very fine, and the buildings ſumptuous, but not ſo much as a miſſioner has writ, who affirms it outdoes *Rome*. We all went away well pleas'd and treated, the *French* own'd themſelves oblig'd to me for the kindneſs thoſe of my order ſhew'd them; it did me a kindneſs afterwards, but they did not like the vaſt revenue they were told a certain family enjoy'd. On the 16th we weigh'd for *Suratte*, I lightned my ſelf, leaving the *Chineſe* Chriſtian I had brought with me at *Goa*, that I might not ſee the miſery he endur'd at ſea, his ſufferings afflicting me more than my own. We ſail'd before *Bengala*, and the 2d day we lay by at *Roſapor* a *French* factory. A Black came to us from the factory but empty handed. The wind fail'd us ſome days. The captain my friend told me what baſe things his countrymen did at *Madagaſcar* and *Muſulapatan*, taking marry'd women from their huſbands, whom they threatned with death if they complained. They are inordinate in this particular. We lay ſome days in the ſight of *Dabul* a ſtrong and handſome fort belonging to *Subagi*: we went on to *Bombaim*, *Bazaim*, and on the 8th of *January* by break of day were before *Daman*. On the 11th we paſſengers went up to *Soali* in a *Dutch* boat that came to us. There we entred another region, under another government, ſaw other ſorts of people, and had trial of ſeveral humours. God grant we may find a place to take ſome reſt in.

CHAP. XXV.

My Stay at Soali, *and ſetting out again for* France.

1. I Came to *Soali* much tir'd, and had a mind to ſtay at *Suratte* to wait for a religious man, who deſign'd to travel by land; but the next day I had a letter from him giving me an account he had not been able to come by land, by reaſon of *Subagi*'s army which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to *Golconda*, and deſtroy'd many towns and villages about that court. This made me take another courſe, which

which was to make my intention known to the director-general, who tho' a rank heretick, had been civil to me, and always gave me place at table above others; he drank to me firſt, and gave me the beſt bit off his plate. At firſt he made ſome difficulty of giving me my paſſage in the company's ſhip, but was prevail'd upon by a *French* gentleman, who was bound the ſame way as my ſelf: From that day forward he was daily kinder and kinder to me. On the 20th of *January* he gave a farewel treat, at which were all the officers of the company. After ſeveral healths he drank to the captain of the ſhip, charging and intreating him to take care and make very much of me, as he would do by him if he were aboard. I thank'd him for ſo extraordinary a favour.

2. On the 21st in the morning the director-general ſent for me. I was ſurpriz'd, but went to him; the captain of the ſhip, and the gentleman I mention'd before, were with him; he ſhut his door, drank ſeveral healths to us three in delicate wines; order'd the captain to give me a place in the great cabbin, and charg'd him to make much of me. I went aboard with the captain well pleas'd, but with ſome concern, becauſe there was no other prieſt for ſo tedious a voyage. *Caron* miſs'd me at noon, and I not being to be found, he was told I was gone aboard, at which he ſeem'd concern'd that I had not ſtaid to dinner.

Soali. 3. *Soali* is the port to *Suratte*, a noble city in the *Mogul*'s dominions, in twenty one degrees of north-latitude; is no cloſe harbour, but an excellent road; at low water the ſands appear towards the ſea; Ships ride there very ſafe, and there were abundance there, *Dutch*, *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Mahometans*. There theſe nations have factories to prepare loading for their ſhips. At *Suratte*, which is a league higher, the factories are very great: From all parts of the world they reſort thither, and from thence trade to *Perſia*, *Meca*, *Cambaya*, and all parts of *India*. While I was there, the *Portugueſe* little fleet arriv'd, which runs along that coaſt every year, and trades along it; near *Bazaim* they met another ſmall fleet belonging to *Subagi*, conſiſting of fifteen ſmall ſhips; they drove it up to the ſhore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of powder. One day the *French* in my hearing were talking with a conſiderable *Mahometan* who ſerv'd their company, and magnifying the king of *France*, ſaid, Only God is great in heaven, and the king of *France* upon earth. The *Mahometan* very ſoberly anſwer'd, Gentlemen, God in heaven, and the *Mogul* upon earth. They had no more to ſay.

4. That afternoon *Caron* went aboard, attended by the officers of the company; the cannon were fir'd, there was a plentiful ſupper, and excellent grapes, I had eaten ſome of them aſhore. The climate varies extremely in thoſe parts. *Caron* was extremely loving to me. The feaſt ended, he went away with his company, and we were quite clear'd; about ten we ſail'd. The following night, the wind being very fair, and the weather clear, the ſhip ran aground off of *Bazaim*. Good God, what a wonderful confuſion we were in! the ſhip beat upon the ſands, and every ſtroke we expected ſhe was bulg'd; by good fortune it was flood. God was merciful to us in putting us by a ſhoal that run from the point of land, which was a league and a half from us: With that we made out to ſea by degrees, and came into water enough. The captain was ready to fire a piſtol upon the pilot; he was much to blame becauſe they had warn'd him to take heed of the point of land; he would have ſtood out, had they not ſpoke to him: They are ſtrange obſtinate people. NAVARETTE.

5. Aboard the ſhip, I was inform'd by a heretick of note, that *Caron*, when he was factor at *Japan*, had been the man that forg'd a letter againſt the catholicks, upon which enſued the laſt and greateſt perſecution there ever was in that country; after which the preachers of the goſpel could never gain footing there. I will write in another place, where it will be more proper what *Caron* told me.

6. On *Candlemas-day* we made cape *Comori*, and left it aſtern in eleven days and a half, whereas we had ſpent forty nine in ſailing from it to *Suratte*. I ſaid maſs every day, God be prais'd, and this day four receiv'd. We took a great ſea-calf in the north-ſea; and I often obſerv'd that tho' it is ſuch a devouring fiſh, yet thoſe fiſhes they call *Romeros* have a peculiar friendſhip with it, lie under its ſhelter, ſtick cloſe to its fins, and come to its mouth without hurt; the S. *Peter*'s fiſh alſo clings to it. God's providence is wonderful in all things.

7. I enquir'd of the *French* and *Dutch*, Whether it was true, the *Hollanders* made ſalt-water freſh, as I had been inform'd? they told me it was falſe; (*But we have ſeen it ſufficiently practis'd in* England, *which the author was a ſtranger to.*)

8. I alſo aſk'd, Whether there was an ingineer in *France* that did as much execution with a piſtol-bullet, as with a whole cannon, which was told me in *China?* and they anſwered that was a mere fable too.

9. I further put the queſtion, Whether there were veſſels made in *France*, that by force of wheels, without wind, went againſt the ſtream? They own'd ſuch a thing had

Navarette. had been done, but prov'd uſeleſs, (*This we have ſeen upon the* Thames.) The *Dutchman* ſaid, He had ſeen the ſhip building in *Holland*, that was to ſail from thence in eight days to *India*, but that the inventer ran away, and ſo it could never be finiſh'd. So much any man might have done, but it was a great folly to believe and ſpend money upon ſuch a mad undertaking.

10. On the 10th of *February*, being *Shrovetide*, we paſs'd the line, and were becalm'd. The ſeamen made merry and ſported.

Freneh. 11. We had ſome diſcourſe concerning the *French Eaſt-India* company, whether it would ſtand; and moſt agreed it would not, becauſe they had no good government, and particularly did not ſet out their ſhips in due ſeaſon. The *Dutch* fell a railing at the *French* diet, and prais'd ours and the *Portugueſes*; and the *French* oppos'd him, for my part I never lik'd their cookery.

12. It was argu'd, Whether the court of *China* were *Grand Cathay*? The *Turkiſh* hiſtory tranſlated into *French*, which they read there, mention'd, That before *Tamerlan* conquer'd *China*, which I am ſatiſfy'd is falſe, the king of *Cathay* met him without the wall, with one million four hundred thouſand men. They that ſpeak of *Grand Cathay*, make no mention of the wall of *China*; and conſequently the court of *China*, which is but twenty four leagues Cathay. from the wall, is not *Cathay*. I never heard any of the miſſioners of *China* ſpeak any thing material to this point, but only made conjectures.

13. We had freſh fiſh plentiful, almoſt all *Lent*. On the 15th of *March*, about eight at night, the whipſtaff broke; they were four hours a making another; the wind was indifferent, and ſo we had no great trouble. Some few years before a *Dutch* ſhip was loſt about the ſame place, thro' the ſame accident. Three more periſh'd, but no body being ſav'd, it was not known by what accident. Of the firſt three men eſcap'd, and went in the boat to the iſland *Mauricia:* No ſhip miſſes of a ſtorm there; we had a great one, and what I have ſaid happen'd the fourth day after the violence of it was over. One of thoſe days they took a ſea-hog, in nothing different from thoſe aſhore as far as ſnout and ears; the fleſh of them is good and wholeſome, the fat is black but well-taſted.

14. On the 17th about eight in the Maſcarenhas. morning, we diſcover'd the iſland *Maſcarenhas*, which the *French* call *Bourbon*; if it had a port, it would be one of the fineſt in the world; the air is temperate, the water good and plentiful, abundance of fiſh and fowl, theſe ſo numerous that they knock them down with ſticks. The rice, corn, fruit, and herbs the *French* have ſow'd and planted there, have all throve incomparably.

15. Soon after the wind ſtarted up at ſouth-eaſt ſo violent, that at one guſt it carry'd away three ſails, the main-topſail, mizzen-topſail, and ſprit-ſail: It laſted all night, the ſea ran high, and beat the ſhip furiouſly. Every day ſhe grew more leaky, the main-maſt gave way, and I was but too apprehenſive of what we were to endure.

16. On the 4th of *April* in the morning we had a horrid ſtorm of thunder, lightning, rain and wind; it came a head of us, and we bore it five hours without a rag of cloth aboard, the ſea beat againſt the poop in ſuch violent manner that all the planks ſeem'd to give way, the water flow'd in amain; we were all in a cluſter begging mercy of God, I pray'd and caſt holy things into the ſea. That fright paſt over, and we prepar'd for others, becauſe we daily drew nearer to the cape of *Good Hope*, where winter was beginning. The captain would not lie cloſe to the ſhore, as the waggoners direct, and with good reaſon; for the land always ſhelter'd us from ſouth-weſt, weſt and north-weſt winds which tore us to pieces, and beſides it was convenient for making our advantage of the land-breezes. One of thoſe winds would blow, and we would lie by without advancing a foot in eight days. The ſhip was hard work'd, and the men ply'd the pump day and night. One afternoon the ſhip gave ſuch a bulge that there was not a man but fell violently, and ſhe ſhip'd ſo much water at the ſide that we were in a conſternation. That night was very troubleſome, the pilot was afraid the ſhip would founder. We diſcover'd cape *Agujas* (I kept a journal, but it is needleſs to write things of ſmall moment) it is twenty leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*. Three days we lay upon the ſand. By reaſon of the contrary winds we ran away ſouthward to forty two degrees. (By which it appears to be a folly which ſome write, that the *Portugueſes* when they turn that cape diſcover *Terra de Fogo*, or *incognita*) I ſometimes wiſh'd we might light upon the ſouthern land, I was much afraid becauſe it was winter in thoſe parts. On the 29th of *April* it was reſolv'd to take up at *Madagaſcar*, having been at ſea ever ſince the 22d of *January*. This was a great affliction, yet we were glad of it to be rid of thoſe terrible winds and waves; but we were in the wrong, for had we ſtay'd three days longer, we had certainly weather'd, as the wind prov'd afterwards, four hours time would have done our buſineſs. We

ſpent

ſpent a whole month about the cape. The wind would come fair, and within another; tho' that never ceas'd, another would ſtart up ahead, which diſtracted us. Sometimes there would be a calm, and immediately *Whales.* the ſea appear'd full of whales on the ſurface of the water, and they would ply round the ſhip to the great terror of us that beheld them, it being a certain token of a ſtorm, as we found by experience.

17. We wanted not north and north-eaſt winds in our return towards *Madagaſcar*, which had been the beſt in the world to double the cape. There was no body aboard that had knowledge of thoſe ſeas, which was very prejudicial to us. On the 14th of *May* after night fall, the wind blowing furiouſly at north, we all of us ſaw thoſe they call the candles of S. *Telmo* on the main-top and fore-top, ſo plain, ſo bright, and natural, that there was no diſcerning them from thoſe that are placed on altars. We were all aſtoniſh'd at it, they continu'd above ſix hours in the ſame form, their brightneſs not declining in the leaſt. I having read ſomething of this nature, was very curious in making particular obſervation of it. In the firſt place the wind was violent, and lay upon our broad ſide. (2.) The ſhip beat very hard. (3.) Thoſe tokens were only to be ſeen in thoſe two places I mention'd, always perpendicularly over the round-top, without the leaſt alteration. If they had been drops of water, how came they to be only in thoſe two places? And how came it the wind did not blow them away? And how came it they did not fall with ſuch terrible beating? I own I do not underſtand it. Some ſeamen had ſeen the like before; ſome ſaid they preſag'd fair weather, others a ſtorm, others that their appearing aloft was a good ſign, but had it been on the deck it had been bad. Every man ſpoke his mind, the beſt was to have recourſe to GOD. We ſang our Lady's litany, begging her aſſiſtance. The conſequence was that the next day about night-fall, on a ſudden the north-wind ceas'd, and another ſtarted up aſtern, the violenteſt we ever had yet; we ſail'd three days under a foreſail reefed, with our yards and top-maſts ſtruck. The ſea beating on the poop frighted us, and ran ſo high, I had not courage to look at it. What I endur'd during this time is not to be writ, GOD and I know it; and what I ſuffer'd at other times, how many nights I ſpent leaning upon a braſs-gun, and how many ſitting by the bittake. Amidſt a great deal of foul weather, and diſcontents betwixt the captain, the gentleman, and the pilot, we at length arriv'd at *Madagaſcar*, or the iſland of S. *Laurence*, which the *French* at preſent call *Iſle Dauphine*. In the bay (for it is no port) we found the king's fleet, and one ſhip of the companies. The *French* had ſometime ſpoke ill of the *Spaniſh* inquiſition, having heard ſeveral falſe and ſcandalous reports concerning it from wicked men; I inform'd *Monſieur Dandron* of the whole truth, and he was well pleas'd and ſaid, It were happy they had it in *France*. I inform'd him what F. *Rogemont* a *Flemiſh* Jeſuit told me in *China*, to wit, that his countrymen had a moſt hideous notion of this tribunal, becauſe they conceited many fooliſh fancies concerning it, but that he was very ſure had they been rightly inform'd, they would not have made the leaſt oppoſition. NAVARETTE.

18. They never fail of prayers morning and evening aboard their ſhips, and do not neglect it upon any account whatſoever. Upon ſundays and holidays we ſang veſpers, and the litanies, in the morning pſalms and hymns proper to the day. All were punctual at maſs, which I never omitted when the weather would permit, ſo there were always ſome went to confeſſion and communion. Truly I was much edify'd at them, particularly at their not ſwearing, for it was rare to hear an oath aboard, which is ſeldom ſo in our ſhips. *Dandron* ſaid their way of praying in *Latin* was better than our general uſe of the beads, but I convinc'd him that the beads were of more uſe to ignorant people who underſtood not *Latin*, and therefore had the comfort of underſtanding the prayers they ſaid by their beads.

19. Several other arguments were held aboard not at all proper to be handled by thoſe who had only read their grammar. In ſhort, it pleas'd GOD we came to an anchor at *Madagaſcar* on the 29th of *May*, tho' in rainy foul weather. There came immediately aboard us a *French Capuchin*, who was a great comfort to me; I went with him to his ſhip, and then to another, where I was much made of. The reſt did the ſame afterwards, they all offer'd me their ſhips, and any thing in them; in truth I was much beholden to them. I went aſhore, and receiv'd a *French* biſhop's bleſſing, who had been a miſſioner in *Tunquin* and *China*, and was returning from *Rome*, of whom I had news from thence and *Spain*. I conſider'd the vaſt diſtance, being above three thouſand leagues, and thought it impoſſible to reach thither.

CHAP. XXVI.

My Stay at Madagaſcar, *or the Iſland of S.* Lawrence.

NAVARETTE. 1. I Lay ſome time aboard, becauſe there was no conveniency aſhore, I had foreſeen what I was to ſuffer there. Before I went aſhore again, I convers'd with the *French Capuchin* concerning the *French* biſhops, and the *Spaniſh*; and he anſwer'd me, The king of *Spain* is more religious than our king, and ſo are the people, ſo that they have a different notion of theſe things from my countrymen; and tho' there are learn'd and pious religious men enough, many biſhopricks are given to men of great families.

2. Aboard the other ſhips they had aſk'd the biſhop's leave to eat fleſh always, which I did not like becauſe fiſh might have been had. The *French* and *Portugueſes* laugh at the *Spaniards* for eating offalmeat on ſaturdays, without conſidering they do much worſe themſelves upon other accounts. The *French* rail'd much at their king for ſelling of places of honour and truſt, which they thought was not at all convenient in the government, tho' ſeveral methods were us'd to obviate inconveniences.

Madagaſcar. 3. The *Portugueſes* diſcover'd that iſland, and abandon'd it; next the *Dutch* took and left it, the *French* took poſſeſſion laſt, and ſay they will quit it, becauſe no benefit can be made of it. The bay is in about twenty ſix degrees of ſouth latitude, the air unwholeſome, and the water bad. The *French* have nothing there but the bay, ſome thatch'd houſes, and a mud-wall, till they build a fort they deſign. The iſland is the biggeſt that is known in the univerſe. The inland abounds in Blacks, has many kings and petty princes. The people are very barbarous, brothers and ſiſters marry, fathers have to do with their daughters, and ſons with their mothers. They are warlike, and manage their ſpears very well, as we ſaw while we were there. The country breeds vaſt numbers of very large cows, whoſe fleſh is very good, and on their ſhoulders they have great bunches like that on a camel; one of them, weigh'd whilſt I was there, was thirty ſix pound weight; it is all fat like butter, except ſome ſtrings of lean mix'd with it; they cut it in ſlices, and fry it, and it is an excellent diſh. There are goats in abundance, ſome peculiar ſorts of fruit, and an infinite quantity of rice. There are in the iſland two noble ports, one on the eaſt-ſide, which is call'd of *Auton Gil*, a *Portugueſe* diſcoverer's name. There the fleet for glaſs beads got a great quantity of rice. The other is call'd S. *Auguſtin*'s bay, it is reported to be an extraordinary port, but both places very unhealthy.

4. As to the religion of thoſe people, the miſſioners told me they acknowledged a good and a wicked god; that they give little worſhip to the good one, and a great deal to the bad. The good one, ſay they, being ſuch, will do them no harm, ſo that they need not trouble their heads about him; but they muſt pleaſe the bad one that he may not puniſh them, and therefore they offer ſacrifices to him. They are addicted to ſtrange ſuperſtitions to deliver themſelves from crocodiles, ſickneſs and other misfortunes. They cut off the childrens navel-ſtring, and wear it about their necks to make them fortunate. I obſerv'd it, and they themſelves told me ſo. Every one has as many wives as he pleaſes, and they have the liberty of being unmarry'd whenſoever they will.

5. I contriv'd to lie aſhore becauſe the ſhip was not convenient for prayer, reading and ſtudy. There was feaſting, viſiting, and ſuch noiſe in the great cabbin, that no quiet was to be expected. Beſides that, the north-eaſt winds are continually boiſterous, and no ſhip is ſafe there; this too oblig'd me to quit, tho' I was ty'd to come and ſay maſs aboard. It was no eaſy matter to contrive to live aſhore, becauſe the miſſioners had the biſhop and his companions in their houſe, ſo that no place was empty. I took up in a little thatcht-cottage, went to dine with the *French* gentleman, and he always did me extraordinary kindneſſes. The church was far off, ſo that I ſpent much time in going to it and returning. I continued in this manner above a month, and it was no ſmall penance had I made a right uſe of it. The gentleman and captains took compaſſion on me, and blam'd the biſhop without cauſe. One day without my knowledge *Dandron* went to the biſhop, and ſaid to him, My lord, we are all ſcandaliz'd to ſee you are all miſſioners, and preach up charity, and yet uſe none toward this poor old-man, who is a miſſioner as well as you, and baniſh'd for the law of GOD. I was concern'd at it, for fear they ſhould imagin it was a contrivance of mine; but that way of living was ſo tedious to me, conſidering it was to laſt five months, that I was out of patience, and I reſolv'd to return to *India* in that fleet, which I told the *Capuchin* my friend; he acquainted the biſhop with it, and mov'd that I might go

to

to the church, alledging reaſons for it, and among others the good offices I had done the miſſioners of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*. He was mov'd to it the more, becauſe among ſome papers I had given him, he happen'd to find that I was ſuperior of my order; this wrought much upon him, and had I known it would ſtand me in ſuch ſtead, I would eaſily have made him acquainted with it; but it never came into my thoughts, nor is it to the purpoſe when you are to do a poor religious man a kindneſs, whether he is a ſuperior, or otherwiſe.

6. On the 11th of *July* I went to the church, had a cell, and a fine ſtudy of books, which was a mighty ſatisfaction to me. A month after the fleet with the lord biſhop and his companions ſail'd for *Suratte*. I was left with the miſſioners belonging to the iſland, being three in number, and two lay-brothers of a new religious order in *France*, men of great piety. They ſerv'd every body readily, and every morning at four of the clock preciſely met at prayers at home. Their diet was ſlender and indifferent. Upon fridays and faſting-days, they eat herbs out of a little garden they had, and if there was an egg over and above it was much. One friday whilſt the good biſhop was there, we were ſeven at table; there was pottage, and only two eggs for his lordſhip, I ſat next him, he gave me one, and we had no more. By this I gueſs'd that what had been ſaid of eating fleſh on faſting-days was falſe, becauſe all the time I was with them, tho' the fare was ſo ſlender they never eat fleſh on any day when it is forbidden.

7. As to the ſtate of Chriſtianity in the iſland, they told me there were above a thouſand baptiz'd, and not above fifty that liv'd like Chriſtians. The *French* gentleman had a little Black he had carry'd from thence to *Suratte* and *Muſulapatan*, where he had been three years, was well clad, ſpoke *French* and *Portugueſe*, was grown familiar and well fed; nevertheleſs the love of his country prevail'd, and he fled. Till the natives are ſubdu'd, which is not eaſy, they will never improve in ſpirituals or temporals. The admiral went up the country with five hundred *French* to ſtrike a terror into their enemies. He would not be advis'd by the governor, and ſo came off with the loſs of four hundred of his men; and it was reported that fifteen Blacks had made all that ſlaughter, and a jeſt of him.

8. The governor was a little man, lame of a hand and a foot, and ſickly, but a very ſaint; the enemy dreads him more than if he were a giant, he has done great feats, and obtain'd ſignal victories over thoſe Blacks with a handful of men. After the loſs we have ſpoke of, the admiral went away to the iſland *Maſcarenhas* or *Bourbon*, and left the governor orders not to wage war with the enemy, tho' they ſhould provoke him; and they ſaid, it was for fear he ſhould get the better with that handful of men he had, which would make his attempt the more ſhameful. All his men went to *India* with an ill will under his command. I heard ſome account of him, and declar'd I was of opinion he would do no good there. I prov'd a true prophet, as it happen'd. NAVARETTE.

9. When he return'd from the iſland *Maſcarenhas*, I talk'd with him, he treated me courteouſly. The major of the iſland was dead, he had been marry'd to a luſty black woman. He left three daughters: *John Lambertegi* captain of a company, who told me he had ſerv'd in the ſame quality in *Spain*, preſently propos'd to marry the eldeſt, which was accordingly done with the greateſt pomp I ever ſaw, the wedding was kept aboard the admiral. All the ſhips being thirteen in number diſcharged ſeveral broad ſides. The captain of another company, and very handſome man, marry'd the widow, but it was before break of day, and very privately. I was concern'd at it, they are not ſo nice as our *Spaniards*. There were ſeveral *Frenchmen* there marry'd with black women, and others were gone up the country where they liv'd naked like the Blacks. I ſaw ſome in that condition, and was much aſham'd of it.

10. In this iſland I ſaw beautiful peacocks. In that of *Maſcarenhas* they ſay there are fine birds and beaſts, and that to this day they have never ſeen a toad, ſnake, mouſe, or any other ſort of vermine, which is very ſtrange. And how ſhould we gueſs which way all thoſe living creatures got thither? the matter is eaſier for birds, but not of all ſorts. Pigeons fly far, but turtles, nightingals, and other ſorts found there cannot eaſily hold a flight over ſo vaſt a ſea. The bird *Ruc* I mention'd in the firſt book, is a mere chimera. *Mozambique* lies weſt of *Madagaſcar*. The *Arabs* arriv'd there in the year 1670, and did great miſchief. The country abounds in gold and elephants, and is ſaid to have unicorns. Up the inland is the empire of *Monomotapa*. The late emperor's ſon, elder brother to him now reigning, was of late years baptiz'd by the religious of our order, and took their habit, has prov'd a good religious man, was at *Goa* when I was there; he was call'd home by his people, but knowing, or ſuſpecting they intended to put the goverment into his hands, he apprehended

Nava-rette. prehended running himſelf into ſome danger, and refus'd to go.

11. On the weſt and near the iſland of *Madagaſcar* there is a ſmall one inhabited by *Arabs*. They have a fort, and go over to *Madagaſcar* to rob. A great number of Blacks came together, and courted the *French* to join with them in making war upon thoſe *Arabs*, before we left the place. *John Lambertegi* went up the country with fifteen *Frenchmen*, and ſome natives to treat about this affair. By degrees time ſlipp'd, and winter paſs'd away, and about mid *October* the rain had ceas'd, and the cold abated. I was ſo eager to be at ſea, that every day ſeem'd a year. *All-Saints* day was appointed for our departure, but the weather was ſuch as gave little hope of weighing anchor. On *All-Saints* day I ſaid maſs, but we could not ſtir. Upon *All-Souls* day, we being out in readineſs, the wind began to blow at north-eaſt, and we by God's goodneſs to ſail.

CHAP. XXVII.

My Departure from the Iſland Madagaſcar.

1. THE ſhip-proviſion was not good, I begg'd ſome onions of the miſſioner my friend, which he gave me, and I valued very much. I was told the *French* admiral bound for *Suratte*, intended to make the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſtrike to him; 'tis not likely he compaſſed it; they added, the honour of *France* lay at ſtake upon that fleet; if ſo, it was at a low ebb, yet they pretend theirs is the moſt mighty king in Chriſtendom. God who gave it him *gratis*, continue his grandeur. The apoſtle St. *James* ſays, *Every good and perfect gift is from above, deſcending from the Father of lights.* St. *Thomas* obſerves the word *deſcending*, the apoſtle does not ſay *falling*, to give us to underſtand that God beſtows riches, dominions, and every thing elſe on whom, and as he pleaſes, *not according to deſert, but gratis*; and as he gives he can take away, eſpecially if he be provok'd by ſins.

2. We had a good voyage all the month of *November*, ſave one furious ſtorm on the 28th; but ſummer being now advanc'd we fear'd it not, but turn'd our head to it, and back'd the ſails. On the laſt day of the month we turn'd the cape. A *Hugonot* captain, but an honeſt fair gentleman, came aboard us at *Madagaſcar*; I cannot expreſs how much I was oblig'd to this heretick, for he was well provided. He order'd his ſervants to give me every thing I ask'd for. I aſk'd and aſk'd again, and they ſupply'd me without failing. Next to God this man ſav'd my life, I wiſh'd I could have given him eternal life. This man told me that his king aſpir'd to poſſeſs himſelf of *new Spain*, and in order to it had ſent one over to view and take an exact account of the country and parts, who had ſpent three years there, and return'd with full information, which he deliver'd in writing to *Monſ. Colbert*.

3. I was eager to come to the Cape of *Good Hope*, that I might ſee what the *Dutch* have done there. Some *French* who had ſeen it, told wonders of it, that there was an admirable fort, with abundance of good cannon, fine houſes, gardens, and orchards, producing all ſorts of *European* fruits, and thoſe of the country, which are good and various, and abundance of cows, ſheep, hens, turkeys, beſides good horſes. Major *John Munoz Gadea*, who came that way in the year 1672, told me the ſame in *Spain*. The *Dutchman* aboard our ſhip had told us there were ſea elephants ſeen in that place; ſome believ'd it, others, and I among them, ſuſpended their judgment, but the ſame gentleman told me he had ſeen two there, each about as big as a cow, but the feet and tail very like an elephant. Before we put into *Madagaſcar*, we ſaw the ſea in places cover'd with geeſe, it was wonderful to ſee ſuch multitudes of them. D. *John Munoz* aſſur'd me they were ſea-geeſe, which had no feet, ſo that they had wings and feathers to fly, and no feet to walk, and therefore were feather'd fiſh. God knows how they laid or hatch'd.

4. Fifteen or twenty leagues northweſt of the cape is the bay of *Saldania*, diſcover'd by the *Portugueſes*; all about it there is not a drop of ſweet-water to be found. The *French* admiral ſet up a mark there in token that he took poſſeſſion of that place for his king, but the *Dutch* preſently pull'd it down; whilſt they have the cape, who can ſubſiſt near it? And had the *Portugueſes* ſecur'd the cape, which coſt them ſo dear to find, who would have ſail'd to *India?* Now there is no remedy, they repent it. The *Dutch* take whales and abundance of ſea-wolves in the bay of *Saldania*, the ſkins of the latter ſerve to cover trunks, and yield good profit. *Saldania.*

5. We ſail'd for the iſland S. *Helena* with fair wind and weather. On the fourth of *December* we were in twenty eight degrees, forty five minutes of ſouth latitude, our courſe northweſt. Summer came on, the heat with it, and the wind ſlacken'd. Not a fiſh to be ſeen or taken, I wonder what became of them.

6. On the 10th the ſky was ſo thick clouded, that for ſix days following we neither ſaw the ſun by day, nor the moon by night; we were then within the tropick and the ſun vertical, the weather as cool as it is in *Spain* in *March*. There is great variety of ſeaſons in the ſame latitude, who can aſſign the reaſon? The year before we ſaid, the ſtrength of the ſun conſum'd the vapours in that latitude, and therefore no clouds appear'd; now we ſaid the force of the ſun drew up thick vapours, which caus'd ſuch black clouds; certain it is there is no deciding this matter.

7. We obſerv'd ſome never failing tokens, by which to know whether there will be *Wind.* wind, or not. One was the running and fluttering about of little inſects aboard the ſhip; and the more reſtleſs they are, the higher the wind; and by obſerving what place they come from, they know whether it will be fair.

8. Another is when the ſwine run and tumble about the ſhip, in a calm; when we ſaw them play we were ſure of a wind.

9. There was aboard a young man of quality, who had been major aboard the fleet that ſail'd for *Suratte*; he was ſomewhat impertinent, had loſt all he had, and ſo was forc'd to give over play. He us'd to eat with the *Hugonot*, who obſerving he did not ſay grace told him of it, and he alledg'd it was not the cuſtom in *France*, which was falſe, and all others in the ſhip did it but he.

10. This young man and another us'd to ſwear at play; the *Hugonot* told them he would play no more with them, if they did not give over that vice, and he was as good as his word. Talking with him one afternoon I aſk'd him, how it came he did not play? He anſwer'd, I play to divert my ſelf, and paſs the time, not to ſwear my ſelf, or hear others ſwear; thoſe gentlemen ſwear, I have told them my mind, they don't mend, and I don't like to play with them. I was amaz'd and out of countenance. I was told he had done the ſame at *Madagaſcar*, and that at *Geneva* they had ſpies about to diſcover ſwearers in order to puniſh them. O ſhame of catholicks, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſes*, who are unruly, impudent and ſcandalous in this particular! He that does not rap out an hundred oaths, thinks he does not look like a man. How horrid is it to hear a *Portugueſe* ſwear by a ſhip-load of conſecrated hoſts, and a *Spaniard* by the wounds of CHRIST, and by the bleſſed Virgin! They thrive accordingly, and ſo GOD proſpers them. *So thou viſiteſt us, as we worſhip thee.*

11. On the 20th of *December* at two in *S. Helena.* the afternoon we anchor'd at the iſle S. *Helena*; being ſo ſmall, it was much we hit it ſo exactly without miſſing an inch of what they had ſaid aboard. The *Portugueſes* diſcover'd that iſland; had they kept poſſeſſion of it and the cape, they might have eaſily lorded it in *India*, for where ſhould ſhips take in freſh water and proviſions? The *Dutch* took it, but then fixing at the cape the *Engliſh* made themſelves maſters of it; the *Dutch* retook, and the *Engliſh* again beat them out of it. The iſland is ſmall, all encompaſs'd with rocks riſing up to the clouds, it looks like a great fort or caſtle; it has no harbour, but there is good anchoring and ſafe from the winds, becauſe at that ſeaſon they come over the iſland. The place where the *Engliſh* were, is a ſmall valley, not a muſket ſhot in breadth, without a tree or buſh, or a foot of ſtrand; but there is an excellent ſpring which GOD has provided for the benefit of ſailors; there is no wood, which would have been a great help. Beyond the rocks they ſay there is plain and pleaſant ground well watered. In that place there is a little town of *Engliſh* who till the ground, ſow rice, make butter and cheeſe; there are ſome ſorts of fruit, ſwine, and goats that were put in by the *Dutch* and *Portugueſes*, ſo that there is refreſhment enough there at preſent. There was ſome diſpute about landing, the little governour was afraid they were going to aſſault him, he order'd the *French* ſhould not come within his fort arm'd, and that they ſhould come but two at a time; ſo that none went aſhore but the ſeamen and two poor fellows. After maſs I went to get a little biſcuit, and ſaw the governor who receiv'd me courteouſly; he had been at *Madrid*, and valued himſelf on his *metaphyſicks*; to ſay the truth, he was an ingenious man, made much of me that day, forced me to ſtay all night, gave me a good bed; we diſcours'd upon ſeveral ſubjects, and he put to me three caſes concerning baptiſm, he was at variance with his parſon. There I found ſome Blacks at *Madraſtapatan*, for whom I was concern'd, becauſe they had been catholicks at home, and were hereticks there: there were alſo two *Frenchmen* in the ſame way. The fort is conſiderable enough for that place, the garriſon ſmall, but there is no need of a great one to oppoſe any enemy. I admire the *Dutch* ſhould take that iſland from the *Engliſh*, and much more that they ſhould recover it from them.

NAVARETTE.

12. After this we had a treat, and what follows according to the cuſtom of thoſe nations. The governor's name was *Richard Cung*, he ſaid to the *Hugonot*, whoſe name was *Foran*, The father is your great friend. I had indeed ſpoke well of him. *Foran* anſwer'd, There is no truſting of him,

NAVARETTE. for the fathers don't love hereticks. I have obſerv'd that theſe men plainly own themſelves hereticks, as I have often heard from their own mouths. Others will not confeſs it.

13. About twenty ſix or twenty ſeven years ago a *Portugueſe* carack was caſt away there; the men got to the iſland, and ſtay'd there two years. They took the ſwine, goats, and other cattle out of the carack, turn'd them looſe, and they began to encreaſe ſo very much, that ſome time after twelve *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips putting in there, found plenty of proviſion to ſerve them all. 'Tis ſtrange, but they all affirm it to be true. The dogs multiply'd too, and at preſent do harm among the calves and kids; they hunt them, as we do wolves in other parts. There are abundance of pigeons, and all white; in thoſe parts they call that ſort pigeons of S. *Helena*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that have been carry'd from ſeveral parts of *India*.

14. Diſcourſing concerning tranſmigration of ſouls, the governor ſaid, that when he was in *Guinea*, the interpreter told him, that in ſuch a houſe there was a lion, in whom was the ſoul of the firſt anceſtor of that family, as thoſe heathens believ'd. He deſir'd to be carry'd to ſee him, they went, and he ſaid he ſaw a moſt terrible lion, which very tamely paſs'd by him into the houſe, where he took two or three turns, and then in his ſight went into a room. He own'd he quak'd with fear at the ſight. Sure ſome devil was in the body of it, to deceive thoſe people, which is the more likely, becauſe they told him it neither eat nor drank.

15. I ſaid three maſſes on *Chriſtmas Day*, the ſailors were very devout, and eight perſons communicated. That afternoon we Aſcenſion. ſail'd towards the iſland of the *Aſcenſion*. We had but little wind till the 3d of *January*, and the weather being fair I ſaid maſs every day. On the 4th we had a ſight of the iſland, and the 5th anchor'd oppoſite to a little bay, from which riſes a high pyramidal mountain, on the top whereof are two great croſſes ſet up by the *Portugueſes*, three *Frenchmen* went up thither. The iſland is but ſmall, lies in eight degrees of ſouth latitude, no water has as yet been found there. It lies almoſt half way betwixt *Guinea* and *Brazil*, which are four hundred leagues aſunder eaſt and weſt. They found letters aſhore of *French* and *Engliſh*, who had paſſed by there the year before; thoſe that ſail this way, are ſo curious as to write letters, put them into bottles, and leave them in a ſafe place but viſible, by which the next comers have intelligence who is gone by, and what voyage they had. It was the *Twelfth-day*, or *Epiphany*. *Foran* made a feaſt at night, and according to the cuſtom of *France* we drew for King, it fell to my lot, and I could not excuſe my ſelf, ſo I choſe my officers, and forbore the reſt of the ſport.

16. Some ſeamen having ſpent a whole night in fiſhing for tortoiſes, got but one, though it was a great one. The captain was out of patience at it, ordered to weigh, and we continued our voyage without hopes of ſeeing land till we came to *France*. We fell to eating the tortoiſe, whoſe fleſh was very good; they found above three hundred eggs in her, all of them as round as a ball; the ſhell was tough, and when thrown againſt the deck, would rebound like a ball.

17. The tenth of *January* was the feaſt of St. *William* duke of *Aquitain*, the captain's name was ſo; we celebrated it the beſt we could, he was thankful, and made a generous return. On the fifteenth we found our ſelves twenty minutes north of the line, ſo that we had cut it about nine or ten of the clock. All the way from the cape of *Good Hope* to this place we had always the wind at ſouth-eaſt, eaſt-ſouth- *Wind.* eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt by ſouth. There were aboard the ſhip only a Black boy of *Madagaſcar*, and a Black girl two years and a half old, that had never cut the line; and not to looſe the ſailors cuſtom, they duck'd them both; this and ſome other ſports the ſeamen always found out was ſome diverſion to us.

18. When we were got beyond two degrees of north latitude we had ſome calms, then followed terrible thunder, and a furious north-eaſt wind; S. *Telmo*'s candles appear'd again upon the round-tops, but not ſo bright, nor did they laſt ſo long as the other time. Now was the firſt holy-day we miſs'd of maſs ſince our departure from *Madagaſcar*, the ſea look'd as if we were got back to the cape of *Good Hope*.

19. In nineteen degrees fifteen minutes of north latitude there is a rock, on which a ſhip periſh'd ſome years ſince, we alter'd our courſe to avoid it. I have often conſider'd, did we ſhun the occaſions of ſinning, as a pilot does the ſhoals, our lives would be moſt holy. Good GOD, how careful is a pilot to ſhun the danger! he thinks not enough to get three or four leagues off, but runs twenty, thirty, nay forty, as I have ſeen, and ſtill is afraid. Our pilot *Lazaro Beato* us'd to ſay in the north ſea, Fathers, the king's ſhip is not ſafe in a hundred fathom water. How careleſs is every man of the ſhip GOD has committed to his charge, and yet we would have it come off ſafe from ſo many flats, rocks, ſands, and dangers, as occur at every ſtep in this world.

20. We

20. We were all ſad and melancholy, tho' the winds had been favourable, and had not been much troubled with calms. A ſhip has been in a dead calm fifty days together near the line; had the like happen'd to us, our proviſion was ſo ſhort and bad that we muſt have all periſh'd. I have cut the line five times, that's enough in my opinion; he is mad enough who croſſes it, unleſs he goes purely to ſerve GOD. Yet I never found any manner of alteration in my ſelf, or any thing elſe; others tell ſtrange ſtories of it, which are not to be credited.

21. Upon *Candlemas-day* I ſaid maſs, we had been now four months at ſea, were in eighteen degrees of north latitude, and had left *Cabo Verde* aſtern; we had not ſight of it, nor of cape S. *Antony*. Our courſe was n. n. w. for we could not lie cloſer to the north. We had a new repetition of the king of *France* his deſigns againſt new *Spain*, and they ſaid the *River of Plate* was but weakly defended by us, and muſt be firſt ſecur'd. The *Hugonot* took a ſhip there ſome years before, and after that another at the iſland *Santo Domingo*, with only twenty five men and a boat; he himſelf ſaid it was a ſhame they ſuffer'd themſelves to be taken.

22. On the 7th of *February* we found our ſelves without the tropick of *Cancer*; the wind came about to eaſt, and we ſtood three days due north: Our true courſe was n. n. e. and ſo we wanted another wind. We ſail'd on in a melancholy manner; *Job* calls our life, *A warfare upon earth*; and we may properly call it, *A voyage upon ſea*. The world is call'd a *ſea* in holy writ, and with good cauſe; in it we ſee the furious winds of ſeveral vices which aſſault man, dangers, rocks, on which great veſſels ſhipwrack daily, *&c.* This makes man a *ſhip*, and his life a voyage. This is ſo eaſily made out, it is needleſs to ſpend time about it.

23. During the remaining part of our voyage we had ſundry winds, rain, troubleſome ſeas, and cold enough; the ſeamen fell ſick every day, proviſions fell ſhort, we did not take a fiſh in a month. The *Hugonot* ſupply'd me, and all the ſick, with every thing he had: This I was much edify'd at, and obſerv'd that others who were able did it not, tho' they had ſo good an example ſhewn them. I divided among the ſeamen the allowance of brandy they gave me, and took care of their ſouls, which was the main point. It happen'd more than once that two men held me faſt whilſt I adminiſtred the ſacrament of extreme unction, and yet I could ſcarce ſtand to do my duty, the motion of the ſhip was ſo violent. In fifteen days time we came out of ſummer into ſharp winter; we ran into forty ſix degrees of latitude, and then fell again into forty three; we ſteer'd directly eaſt, the north-wind came up very furious, and held us eight days in the ſame place: We reckon'd our ſelves within cape *Finiſterre*, and expected in a day more to reach *Bordeaux*; but the weather continuing, and men dying, it was reſolved to put into *Corunna*. Having ſtood about, and ſail'd half a day, about night-fall we diſcover'd cape *Finiſterre* a league from us. It was reſolv'd to paſs on to *Lisbon*, the wind was large, and we ran along the coaſt very pleaſantly. Next day an odd accident well worth writing happen'd: One that had been purſer was ſick aboard, he had been put off that employment for his diſhoneſty, and conceiv'd ſuch hatred againſt the captain and ſteward, that he ſaid he would not forgive them. He was often advis'd at *Madagaſcar*, and by the way thence to lay aſide that rancour; he would not. The captain and ſteward ſent to let him know they bore him no ill-will, that he might relent; this avail'd nothing. I deſir'd two ingenious *Frenchmen* to diſcourſe him upon that buſineſs, and adviſe him to confeſs himſelf, becauſe his ſickneſs was dangerous, all to no purpoſe. I, with the little *French* I had, ſaid all I thought convenient. He anſwer'd, when he came to *France* he would do it. I told him, it was doubtful whether he would ever reach thither; he took no notice of it. One day they call'd me on a ſudden, telling me that young man was dying. I came as he was giving up the ghoſt, he dy'd; and on a ſudden the wind chang'd and roſe ſo high, that we had not ſeen the like all the voyage; the ſea flew up to the clouds, ſuch a wave broke upon the ſhip as frighted us all. They threw the body into the ſea as faſt as they could, and it was ſtrange that the wind began to fall immediately, and came about to the ſame point where it was before. There was a very remarkable alteration when the heretick director dy'd betimes in the morning on this ſide the cape of *Good Hope*, I took particular notice of it. I had before told him my mind, offer'd him my ſervice, he would not give ear, and went away to hell. The devils it is likely rejoiced, which made that alteration we were ſenſible of. I rather took this man for an atheiſt, than a heretick; he liv'd like a beaſt, and drank like a madman; one night he got up to drink, and inſtead of the wine laid hold of the ink-bottle, and drank a good deal; it is likely it hurt his ſtomach, and he was ill of it before.

NAVARETTE.

24. Eleven, or thirteen ſeamen dy'd as I remember; they had receiv'd all the ſacraments, GOD be prais'd, which was my greateſt comfort, and they dy'd well. On

the 18th of *March* we anchor'd at *Caſcaes*, ſome went aſhore preſently, and return'd at midnight with freſh bread, wine and fruit. I came to *Lisbon* on S. *Joſeph*'s day, having ſaid a month before I would be ſatisfy'd to land that day.

CHAP. XXVIII.

My Stay in Liſbon, *and Journey to* Rome.

1 I Am ſatisfied I have forgot ſeveral particulars, which muſt be among ſuch variety of accidents, and in the courſe of ſo many years. I omitted one remarkable thing concerning the iſland *Ceylon*, which is a vaſt high mountain, the *Portugueſes* and others call *Pico de Adan*, or *Adam*'s *clift*; it ends above in a point ſharp to appearance, whither they ſay our firſt parent aſcended; this is grounded on that opinion which maintains that paradiſe is there. The beauty, fruitfulneſs, and pleaſantneſs of the place makes for it. They have leſs to ſhew for it who placed it in the iſland *Zibu*, or that of the name of Jesus, which is one of the *Philippine iſlands*; and I wonder ſome authors have not placed it in *China*, where what is written concerning that moſt delightful place is more eaſily verify'd.

2. I writ nothing concerning *Cambaya*, a kingdom ſubject to the *Mogul*, becauſe I came not into it. The agate-ſtone is found there, and there is ſo much of it, ſo cheap, and ſo curiouſly wrought, ſold at *Suratte*, that it is wonderful.

3. At length I reach'd *Europe*, after almoſt fifteen months ſailing from *China*. I gave a larger turn about the world than *Magellan*, for he was neither at *Coromandel*, *Suratte*, nor *Madagaſcar*; he return'd not to *Europe* as I have done, God be prais'd. I have been in all four parts of the world, for *Madagaſcar*, S. *Helena*, and *Aſcenſion*, are parts of *Africk*. I have gone through ſuch diverſity of climates, and taſted ſuch variety of fruit, and other food, that I believe few men can match me. It appears what ſeas I have ſeen; and now, laſtly, going to *Rome*, and returning, I have travers'd the *Mediterranean*. One ſaid, that the greateſt miracle God had wrought in a ſmall thing, was the variety of faces: I have ſeen ſuch total diverſity of this ſort, as I believe no man beſides me has. In *America*, beſides the *Capuchines*, which are thoſe that go over from *Spain*, I have ſeen theſe ſeveral ſorts of people, call'd *Criollos*, *Meſticos*, *Caſticos*, *Indians*, *Mulatoes*, *Cambahijos*, *Tornautros*, and *Tenteenelagre*. In the *Philippine iſlands* there are ſtill more mixtures, beſides foreign nations. Afterwards I ſaw *Chineſes*, *Tartars*, *Japoneſes*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchineſes*, *Camboxans*, *Siamites*, *Corians*, *Laos*, *Malayes*, *Mindanaos*, *Joloes*, *Zamboangas*, *Camucones*, *Javans*, *Sumatrans*, *Macaſars*, *Solors*, *Borneans*, *Nicobars*, *Ceylonites*, *Narſingans*, *Malabares*, *Bengalans*, *Golcondars*, *Mogols*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, and *Turks*. In *Europe*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Italians*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Flemings*, *Germans*, *Swiſſers*, and natives of *Malta* and *Oran*, and many others; and yet among them all never found two exactly alike. Navarette.

4. At *Suratte* there was an embaſſador from the great *Turk* to the *Mogul*, a handſome and brave youth; he and his men did wonders when *Subagi* attack'd that city, but neither he nor the reſt could prevent the plundering of that city by the enemy.

5. Since it pleas'd God to bring me ſafe off the ſea, and ſet me aſhore in *Europe*, let us conclude the voyage. The river up to the city of *Lisbon*, and higher, is one of the fineſt in the world; and were it as pleaſant as that of *Goa*, all others muſt yield to it. The palace is good, I was told it was built by *Philip* the ſecond, and ſo the citadel. There I heard many things, which I think ſhould lie bury'd in oblivion, that future ages may not have cauſe to condemn or rail at this. The city is very handſome, the buildings low, proviſions plenty, the people courteous; but all that have not been abroad imagine there is nothing in the world ſo good as in their country; a great abſurdity, which ſome are ſo far led away with, as to conceit there is no good wine in *Spain*. Our monaſtery of S. *Dominick* is very fine, and in it a ſtately tomb of the incomparable in learning and piety, F. *Luis de Granada*; it would take up a particular volume to particularize with what love, kindneſs and zeal thoſe good fathers entertain'd me: The moſt R. F. *Peter de Magallanes*, preſident of the inquiſition, was wonderful kind to me. I viſited the count *de Umanes* then embaſſador there, ſaw his ſplendid entry, and he bountifully aſſiſted me toward my journey to *Madrid*. At that time there were ſome rumours about a war with *Spain*; the nobility were for it, ſaying, they ſhould get their bread that way. The people oppoſe it, and the religious orders more than the reſt; ſermons were preach'd in ſeveral parts againſt thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits. I heard the ſame in the monaſtery of S. *Dominick*; and the profeſſor *Surero* the king's preacher ſaid, The angels will fight againſt us, becauſe there is no pretence to juſtify this war. Lisbon.

They

They told me the reaſon that convinc'd them; Father, the controverſy was, Whether *Portugal* belong'd to *Caſtile*, or not? No man in this kingdom ever ſaid or imagin'd that *Caſtile* belong'd to *Portugal*; then what pretence or reaſon is there to commence this war?

6. I was told ſeveral expreſſions preachers had us'd in the pulpits whilſt the wars laſted, and had before read ſome in a certain author's printed ſermons. One of ours took too much liberty once in this particular; our provincial held a chapter that night, and ſaid, It is allowable we ſhould wiſh to have a king of our own for ſeveral reaſons; but it is unreaſonable that any of us who have receiv'd ſuch ſignal favours from the kings of *Caſtile*, ſhould ſpeak ill of them; and therefore I am ſo far from allowing of, that I will puniſh it ſeverely. For this reaſon the *Dominicans* were ſuſpected, becauſe they did not rail; but they eaſily clear'd themſelves.

7. I ſpent the holy week at *Liſbon*, and lik'd it well; viſited the ſepulchers, which are very fine, that of the *Dominicans* is noble; I was at the celebrating the feaſt of S. *Peter Martyr*, which was perform'd with magnificence, and the inquiſitor general duke of *Aveiro* was preſent. About the middle of *May* I ſet out for *Madrid*, was in all the monaſteries of the order by the way, and charitably entertain'd. I admir'd the fort of *Elvas*, and how the work daily advanced; and was no leſs aſtoniſh'd that nothing was done at *Badajoz*. By the way I heard many ſtories which made againſt us *Spaniards*.

8. I reach'd *Madrid*, the court of our kings, in eleven days, twenty ſix years, and three months, after I left *Valladolid*. I diſlik'd many things, but the world being changeable, worldlings are ſo too. *The world lieth in wickedneſs*, ſaith the beloved diſciple. S. *Auguſtin* ſays, *He that knows thee not, loves thee; but he that knows thee, hates thee.* S. *Thomas* upon *Rom.* viii. mentions the ſame others have writ concerning this monſter, *The world is not clean becauſe it defiles; how then can he be clean who is in the world?* It is a great perfection, and ought to be our endeavour to live clean and unſully'd in the foul world. The ſame doctor expounding the words of St. *Jude*, *Hating it*, &c. expreſſes it thus, *It is perfect religion to preſerve ones ſelf untainted in the midſt of thoſe that are defiled.*

9. My buſineſs belonging to the court of *Rome*, I preſently began to diſpoſe my affairs to that end. I ſaw letters at *Liſbon* and *Madrid* from cardinal *Barbarin*, in which he deſired ſome information for the holy congregation concerning the miſſion of *China*. I gave a ſhort account of the moſt material points, reſerving the reſt till my arrival at the court of *Rome*. I ſet out in *September* following, with letters from ſome great men. At *Carthagena* I had the good fortune to wait upon the dutcheſs of *Oſſuna*. Our voyage was tedious and troubleſome, we ſtay'd twenty nine or thirty days at *Caldaques*. D. *Pagano*, D. *Oria*, who commanded the gallies for his nephew, dy'd there; he was a worthy gentleman, I aſſiſted him at his death. The dutcheſs gave a very good example that voyage in praying and beſtowing alms. The lady *Elizabeth Formento* was with her; the great cabbin was like a chapel, prayers almoſt continual, and much frequenting of the ſacraments. NAVARETTE

10. We ſtruck acroſs the bay with fair weather, and were nobly receiv'd at *Final* by the duke, who there expected his wife and niece. I went on to *Genoa* in one of the galleys, without ſetting foot aſhore. A few days after I went to *Leghorn* with good company, cold and foul weather; I came thither ſick, was taken care of in the hoſpital of S. *John of* GOD, where I was look'd to with great aſſiduouſneſs and charity. I came to *Rome* with much difficulty on the day of the *Epiphany* 1673. Soon after there came to my hands a conſiderable alms ſent me by bill from *Milan* by the duke of *Oſſuna*. I began to treat about my affairs, kiſs'd his holineſs's foot twice; he entertain'd me with wonderful goodneſs: I was much edifyed at his great humility, and the poverty I ſaw in this little room. I convers'd with ſome cardinals, particularly *Ottoboni*, *Bona*, *Maximis*, *Portocarero*; and laſtly cardinal *Caſanate*. Cardinal *Borromeus* dy'd preſently after my arrival, which troubled me much for the miſs I had of him. I ſpent ſixteen months in approving the propoſitions I delivered to the congregation *de propaganda fide*; gave in ſeveral informations, preſented manuſcripts, tranſlated *Chineſe* books by order of the congregation: They refer'd the matter to the inquiſitors, they to the conſultors and qualificators. In fine, in *March* 1674, by direction from the holy congregation, the cardinals *Bona* and *Caſanate*, met with the moſt R. F. *F. Laurea*, and F. *Cajetan Mirabold*, they debated the points, and what the two moſt reverend fathers had decreed, which they approv'd and confirm'd, which ſet at eaſe and ſatisfied me, after I had gone thro' ſome particulars, which I reſerve for a proper time. 1673.

11. I had before urg'd ſtrong arguments and reaſons for making one of my order, who is a native of *China*, biſhop, ſince the biſhops miſſioners who were at *Siam* could not get into *China*. All the holy congregation agreed to it. I alſo preſs'd the confirming the bull of *Urban* the eighth,

Navarette. which empowers miſſioners to go to *Japan* and *China* from all parts, and all ways: the reſident of *Portugal* oppoſed it, alledging that all thoſe kingdoms belong to the *Portugueſe* conqueſts. Much may be ſaid to this point, and they will not be convinced that *Japan* falls within the limits aſſigned to the *Weſt-Indies*, which is beyond all diſpute. In the next place, that ſince till this time they never made any conqueſt there, they can never do it for the time to come. 3. That if once they are informed in thoſe parts that ſuch a thing is mentioned, they will not leave one *European* alive there. 4. That from *Sincapura* eaſtward, no part is or can be called *India*, as I have heard the *Portugueſes* themſelves own; otherwiſe the *Chineſes*, *Japoneſes*, and other nations, would all be *Indians*, which is not ſo. But the deſigns and motives they have being of another nature, there is no talking of it, as they themſelves own. In ſhort, *Urban* the eighth, *Alexander* the ſeventh, and *Clement* the tenth, who now governs the church, order'd it ſhould be ſo, and lay heavy cenſures upon thoſe that ſhall obſtruct it. But the beſt of it is, that I reſided ſome time at *Liſbon* in view of all that court, was known to be a miſſioner of *China*, had ſeveral queſtions put to me concerning that country, particularly by the inquiſitor general duke of *Aveiro*, and yet nobody ever thought of mentioning this point to me; and yet when I came to *Rome*, the reſident quarrel'd with me on account that we *Spaniards* go by the way of *Manila* into *China*, a thing ridiculous in it ſelf; I have ſaid before this proceeded from other grounds. Cardinal *Ottoboni* ſeveral times told me, it was convenient I ſhould return to *China* as biſhop of that miſſion. I declar'd my opinion concerning it, he threatned to have it forc'd upon me; which I dreaded but prevail'd with him to deſiſt.

12. At my departure from *Rome*, they ſearched my portmantle, found three thouſand medals given me by the holy congregation, and cardinal *Portocarero*; they told me, I muſt pay ſo much duty for them. This provok'd and anger'd me, I anſwer'd, they were given me for charity, as in truth they were, that I would pay nothing, they might take them if they pleas'd, and I would go complain to cardinal *Nepos:* With that they let me paſs. I was told there, that ſearching the wallets of a religious man of the order of S. *John of* God, they found in them a new pair of ſhoes; and becauſe all new things pay, they made him pay duty for them; he went out again within a few days, without having worn the ſhoes; they found them, and made him pay the duty over again. Were this known in *China*, the *Mogul*'s country, or other of thoſe parts, they would ſay we were the worſt people in the world. I had company with me, the boat-men did not fail of playing us pranks, and we had bad weather. We came firſt to *Civita Vecchia*, thence to *Leghorn*, and very leiſurely to *Genoa*, where we waited eight days for ſhipping. We were there on the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*; I admir'd that the croſs of every brotherhood had its mark of diſtinction; that of the bakers had loaves; that of the fiſhermen, fiſhes; that of the paſtry-cooks, ſauſages, *&c.* I ſaw the church of *Annunciata*, a beautiful piece; but he who has ſeen S. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, and the reſt of the churches of that city, admires at none: Every time I went into S. *Peter*'s church, which was often, I was amaz'd at its beauty and greatneſs, and my heart rejoic'd in me. I viſited the ſeven churches, ſaw the holy places, variety of relicks, the *Vatican*, ſome palaces, *Cavalcatas*, and other things needleſs to repeat.

13. After eight days ſtay at *Genoa*, I went on board an *Engliſh* pink with ſome other *Spaniards*. I agreed for my diet, and a place in the great cabbin at an eaſy rate. I liv'd well enough, the maſter and the mate were very civil, they had no more officers. We ſail'd upon our broad-ſide five days, the wind being at north-eaſt; my companions were wonderful ſea-ſick, I have been free from it for ſome years. In the afternoon the ſeamen had ſuch ridiculous ſports as made us almoſt burſt with laughing. The eighth day we landed at *Alicant*; ſome of us took up in certain waggons, in which we came leiſurely, and indifferent eaſy. I was amaz'd to ſee ſo much deſert-country, and ſo bare of food, we could ſcarce get bread. At *Albacete* I paid a duty for my portmantle, which was the firſt time I had done it in all my travels. I came to *Madrid* upon *Midſummer-day*, in the year 1674, and there I paid a quarter of a piece of eight, and they would have had more, though I had nothing but papers, medals, and two old dirty ſhirts. Good God! what people they are, and yet they ſay the *Chineſes* are covetous; they who are ſtrangers to our proceedings may ſay ſo, not they that are acquainted with them. Spain. 1674.

14. Soon after at *Madrid* I heard news from *China*, by letters from thence, and from the *Philippine* iſlands. I underſtood that the miſſioners were reſtor'd to their churches, but upon condition they ſhould not preach the word of God; and the natives were forbid to embrace it, which is a great trouble, but it may mend by degrees, on account of the mathematicks, but I could wiſh it were upon ſome better motive.

motive. I was alſo inform'd that the *Engliſh* have ſettled a factory in the iſland *Hermoſa*, and that the *Chineſe* that is lord of it deſign'd to have made war upon *Manila*, but deſiſted at the perſuaſion of his mother. The cauſe that mov'd him to have thoughts of war, was, that at *Manila* they apprehended a captain of his, whom they took in the act of *ſodomy*. The *Chineſe* being inform'd of it, writ to the governor, and ſent a preſent, deſiring he would ſend him the criminal, and he would puniſh him. The governor anſwer'd, That it was an affair which the court of juſtice took cognizance of, and he had nothing to do with, and return'd no preſent, which the other highly reſented. The *Dutch* offer'd the governor thirty ſhips to aſſiſt him againſt the *Chineſe*, and what elſe he wanted, but he accepted of nothing. He afterwards ſent D. *Francis Enriquez de Loſada* his embaſſador to the iſland *Hermoſa*, and they were made friends. From thence D. *Francis* who was my particular friend, went over to *Macao:* Among other news he carry'd from thence to *Manila*, one piece was, that ſome religious men of the order of S. *Francis* coming to that city in order to paſs over into *China*, certain churchmen hinder'd them; to that purpoſe ſhew'd their captain-general a letter of king *Philip* the ſecond, ordering it ſo to be done. However the captain-general would neither ſee nor hear, and they went over; ſo that the laity does not obſtruct the miſſioners, and clergymen do. The letters I receiv'd this year ſay, thoſe religious men did not get into *China*.

15. Granting it be true that *Philip* the ſecond gave ſuch orders, ſince three popes have afterwards commanded the contrary, what ſignifies that letter to *Macao*, which is not now under our government?

16. D. *Francis* in another letter of his from *Siam*, among other things has theſe words: The king did me the favour to ſhew me the white elephant, and I did not imagine he would have appear'd in ſuch rich trappings; before him went above ſix hundred men as his guard, all with ſeveral weapons; after them the white elephant under a canopy of crimſon-velvet, the rods that held it up all cover'd with plates of gold, the elephant had all about his body diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds, they ſeem'd to be well worth two millions. He is one of the haughtieſt and mightieſt kings, not only in this *Archipelago*, but in the whole world. He calls himſelf god, none of his ſubjects muſt ſee or look at him, upon pain of death. None that does not ſee, can believe with how great pomp he goes abroad. Your reverence is acquainted with theſe affairs, but thoſe who are ſtrangers to them will believe it falſe. NAVARETTE.

17. For my part I believe it all. As for the embaſſy, D. *Francis* affirms he ſtood it out and would not deliver his meſſage barefoot, as all nations in *Europe* have done; he went in ſhod, ſo that it remains as a precedent for the *Spaniards*. Formerly it was a token of reverence and ſervitude to go barefoot, ſays *A Lapide* in *Exod.* iii. ℣. 5. For all this king's pride, we ſee that for his private intereſt and advantage he ſubmits to pay an acknowledgment to the emperor of *China*, which is very baſe and mean.

18. He calls himſelf a *god*, which is not rare among the kings in thoſe parts; there are many *Nebuchadnezzars*. The king of *Candia*, who is lord of *Ceylon*, and who has not the twentieth part of the greatneſs of him of *Siam*, has moſt lofty titles and epithets. But he that out-does all the reſt in this particular is the great *Mogul*, *king of kings*, *lord of heaven and earth*, *almighty*, and many other titles he aſſumes; and all their pains, diſeaſes, and ſufferings, cannot undeceive them, as they did vain-glorious *Antiochus*, nor even death which they ſee has taken off their predeceſſors. But how can the underſtanding be free from diſmal darkneſs, when it wants the ſupernatural light? The *Chineſe* ever was, and is more modeſt and humble, tho' his ſubjects extol him above the moon.

CHAP. XXIX.

A more particular Account of the Tartars *Irruption into* China.

1. I Have been perſuaded by ſome perſons to enlarge upon the manner of the *Tartar*'s breaking into and poſſeſſing himſelf of *China*, they not thinking what I writ concering it in the firſt book ſufficient, conſidering how much others have made of it. Their advice being friendly, I reſolv'd to take this trouble upon me, and will add ſomething concerning the *Chineſe* of *Cabello*, who took the iſland *Hermoſa* from the *Dutch*, and threatned *Manila*, which will compleat the whole work. Under the reign of the emperor of *China*, *Vuan Lie* the thirteenth emperor of the family *Chu*, of that ſtock call'd *Ta Ming*, that is, great light and brightneſs, which laſted two hundred and ſeventy years; the *Tartars* began to try their valour againſt the delights of *China*, with various ſucceſs. But being always in arms, they gave ſome apprehenſions

Navarette. Pung Ching.

apprehenſions to the *Chineſes*. Hoſtilities ceaſed in the reign of the emperor *Pung Ching*, but their minds were nevertheleſs eſtranged.

2. During that time of peace abroad, war broke out at home. Eight armies of robbers were raiſed, every one of them promiſed himſelf the crown and ſcepter, confiding in the diſcord there was among the great ones and *mandarines*. The words of Christ are infallible, *Every kingdom that is divided in it ſelf, ſhall be deſtroy'd.* The emperor's extraordinary covetouſneſs, and continual keeping within his palace, which the *Chineſes* have always been blam'd for, forwarded his ruin. That happen'd which I gave an account of concerning *Leao Tung*, after which the eight armies fought among themſelves, ſix of them were deſtroy'd, and only two remain'd victorious. Theſe betook themſelves to ſeveral provinces: That commander who went to *Zu Chuen*, whoſe name was *Chang Hien Chung*, was doubtleſs more cruel than *Nero*, or all the tyrants that ever were; the number of thoſe he caus'd to be butcher'd could never be aſcertain'd. He ſubverted ſome whole cities without any provocation given; ſlew children and women, without ſparing his own; deſtroy'd *bonzes*, the learned ſect, phyſicians, eunuchs, without exempting ſex or age. He was an emblem of hell, bearing down all that ſtood before him with devouring flames.

Chang Hien Chung.

Li Kung. Zu.

3. The other, whoſe name was *Li Kung Zu*, came to the imperial city, where he had many private friends and ſoldiers. This made his entrance into the city eaſy, which happen'd one morning in *April* 1644, at the dawn of the day. Who can expreſs the confuſion, noiſe, tumult and ſlaughter there enſu'd? In the midſt of that hurliburly, the rebel trampling upon dead bodies, through ſtreets running with blood, came to the palace, where the emperor lay aſleep wholly ignorant of that diſaſter. Unhappy and wretched emperor, Do you ſleep and reſt when the enemy is at your gate? Where are your centinels? where your guards? where your miniſters and counſellors? Some ſay he in a fury got a horſeback and rode about the gardens, ſeeking which way to make his eſcape: Others, that he writ a paper with his own blood, in which he call'd the great men traitors, declar'd the commonalty innocent, and begg'd of the rebel to puniſh the heads. Some affirm, that he himſelf with his ſcymitar ſlew a maiden daughter he had, that ſhe might not fall into the enemies hand; and afterwards with his garters hang'd himſelf on a ſtately palm-tree. What I writ in the firſt book was told me in the imperial city; it is no eaſy matter to have all particulars true. This was the end of that emperor's greatneſs, majeſty, pleaſures, delicacy, and riches; when ſubjects are diſloyal, all the reſt avails but little or nothing. A faithful counſellor, ſome concubines, ladies and eunuchs follow'd their emperor's example; ſo that thoſe delightful gardens were converted into diſmal mournful groves. What a ſpectacle was it to ſee thoſe trees loaded with the carcaſes of deſpairing wretches? A ſad ſight, and miſerable cataſtrophe of the ſtate, glory and honour of ſo many great perſons. This diſmal accident being nois'd about the city, a great number of men and women hang'd themſelves, others caſt themſelves into lakes, and others poiſon'd themſelves, that they might not fall into the hands of the mighty and treacherous enemy *Li Kung Zu*.

1644.

4. The traytor enter'd the palace in triumph, took upon him the name of emperor, ſat on the imperial throne, ſeiz'd the government, ordering the dead body to be cut into ſmall bits. Horrid barbarity! and two little ſons he had to be put to death. The firſt vaniſhed, and has never yet been heard of, perhaps he caſt himſelf into the river, or into ſome lake or well. He beheaded many *mandarines*, and order'd his ſoldiers to plunder that populous city. The cruelties, barbarities and obſcenities there committed, no pen can write.

5. Among the reſt of the priſoners he made, one was a venerable old man of the name of *Vu*. His ſon *Vu San Kuei*, was general of the mighty army the emperor kept againſt the *Tartars*. He forced the old man to write to his ſon to ſubmit and join his army to his forces. He threatned to kill him, if he did not write immediately; he did it, being forced to it by his threats; but the ſon who valued his loyalty and fidelity to his emperor and country, above the life of any ſingle man, tho' it were his own father, would not conſent, but contriv'd how he might deſtroy the common enemy of all the empire. His deſign was good, but the method he choſe prov'd the utter ruin of all he endeavour'd to retrieve. The intention was good, but the means bad. How much men are deceiv'd for want of due conſideration, or of good counſellors? True it is, God to puniſh their ſins, ſometimes blinds them, and confounds their devices. *Job* xii. *He leadeth the counſellors away ſpoil'd, and maketh the judges fools. He looſeth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle*, &c.

6. *Vu San Kuei* ill advis'd, ſent away an embaſſy to the *Tartar*, offering him conſiderable advantages, if he would bring an army to join his, by which means he thought

thought he might eaſily deſtroy the rebel. The *Tartar* who deſir'd no better an opportunity to put his deſigns in execution, came immediately with eighty thouſand men, moſt of them horſe. The *Tartar* perſuaded the *Chineſe* general, to put his army into the *Tartar* garb, the more to terrify the enemy, that his army might appear the greater, marching all in a body to the imperial city. The uſurper had timely notice, and immediately order'd the treaſure which ſixteen emperors had laid up, to be brought out. Some ſay they were three, but others with more probability ſay, eight days and nights carrying out riches upon camels, horſes, mules, and on the backs of an infinite number of people, and yet a great deal remain'd. The rebel made away with part of his army, and fled to the province of *Xen Si*, but the *Tartar* and *Chineſe* overtook, fought, and overthrew him. The *Tartars* ſlew vaſt numbers, and recover'd the treaſure. The uſurper eſcap'd, becauſe he had paſs'd the yellow river.

7. *Vu San Kuei* thank'd the *Tartar* for the favour he had done him, perform'd all he had promiſed, and deſir'd him to return to his own country; but he delay'd uſing deceitful reaſons, and pretended neceſſity, as that the enemy was ſtill alive, and favour'd by ſome provinces, and therefore it was not fit he ſhould withdraw and leave the empire in ſuch danger. In the mean while innumerable *Tartars*, not only of one, but of ſeveral nations, flock'd in daily, even from as far as that they call *Ju Pi*, which lies north of *Japan*. They are call'd by that name, which ſignifies fiſh-ſkin, becauſe their armour is made of them.

8. The *Tartars* carry'd along with them *Xun Chi*, a child of ſix years of age, ſon to
Zung Te. *Zung Te*, king of the ſaid *Tartars*, who died a natural death at his firſt coming into *China*. I was told in the imperial city *Pe King*, that the *Tartar* was deſirous to ſee it, and as he was travelling in order to it, the *mandarines* came out to meet him. As he was carry'd in his chair talking with them, he ſaid may not I be emperor? they all anſwer'd, Yes, Sir. For they were all full of fear and dread. He enter'd the city without the leaſt oppoſition, went directly to the palace, where having ſecur'd all
Xun Chi. things they declar'd *Xun Chi* emperor. An uncle of his govern'd for him ſome time, and the nephew ſome years after apprehended and put him to death, upon ſome jealouſy that he deſign'd to ſet up for himſelf.

9. They gave *Vu San Kuei* the title of king, but tributary to them, and beſtow'd great rewards on him; he finding himſelf weak, accepted of all and held his peace. The *Tartar* has ever been jealous of him, and he has ever ſhunn'd coming to court leſt he ſhould be wholly in the enemies power. In my time they made his ſon king, his father reſigning that dignity, but he excus'd himſelf from going to court, whither he was call'd. NAVARETTE.

10. The news of the new emperor was ſoon brought to *Nan King* the ſouthern court; as ſoon as it was confirm'd, they preſently crown'd a couſin-german to the deceas'd *Chineſe* emperor. He took upon him the government, and conſidering himſelf unable to withſtand the power of the *Tartar*, he ſent an embaſſy to deſire him to reſt ſatisfy'd with the northern provinces, and they would be friends and allies. The *Tartar* lik'd not the propoſal, but haughtily anſwer'd, He would have all or none. Being thus reſolv'd, he advanced to that noble city, where he found means to maintain intelligence with a *Chineſe* traytor, who murder'd the general, and put the new emperor into the power of the *Tartar*. The city and ſouthern court being taken, they carry'd the new emperor to *Pe King*, where they hang'd him over the battlements, an honourable death in that country. He had not reign'd a year. Then follow'd the reducing of other cities and provinces; thoſe that ſubmitted were moſt courteouſly treated, but all that held out were inevitably devour'd by fire and ſword. The *Jews* did ſo, read *Deut.* xx. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Chineſes*, that their hearts fail'd them, if they heard but the name of the *Tartar*; and ſtrong cities ſurrendred at the ſight of ten or a dozen ſoldiers.

11. What had happen'd at *Nan King* being nois'd abroad, the great men who had retir'd to *Hang Cheu*, the metropolis of *Che Kiang*, crown'd *Lo Vuang*, who was of the blood royal. He was ſatisfied with the title of king, and kept it but three days. The *Tartar* beſieg'd him, and he taking compaſſion of ſo many thouſands of ſouls as were in that city, did an action that was never parallel'd in the world: He went upon the wall, and kneeling down in the ſight of the *Tartar* commander, ſaid to him, Brave and fortunate general, hear the prayer and requeſt of a compaſſionate and humble king; I beſeech you not to exerciſe your fury and anger on this beautiful metropolis, nor to let your ſword prey on theſe innocent ſubjects; if you are provok'd, it is I alone that am in fault, let me ſuffer for it, and not the ſubjects who have not offended. As ſoon as he had ſpoke theſe words, he deliver'd himſelf up to the *Tartar*. This king in a great meaſure imitated *Codrus*, but with different ſucceſs. What an opportunity this was for the *Tar-*

Navarette. *tar* to have ſhewn a noble ſoul! How well would the king and his ſubjects have come off, had he met with an *Alexander* or a *Cæſar*. He lighted among barbarous and cruel people, who were not ſatisfy'd with deſtroying the king, but butcher'd all his army. Thoſe who fled, which were very numerous, were drown'd in the river that waſhes the walls, only the unarm'd multitude was ſpar'd.

12. The *Chineſes* had a year's breathing, becauſe the *Tartars* found themſelves too weak to croſs the river of *Hang Cheu*, we mention'd. During this time the *Chineſes* ſet up two perſons, one took the title of king; another at *Fo Kien* call'd himſelf emperor, but both of them dy'd without doing any thing worth notice. 'Tis impoſſible to write the revolts and calamities of that vaſt kingdom. At *Kuang Tung* they ſet up another emperor of the blood royal. His wife was a Chriſtian, her name *Helen*, and her ſon's name *Conſtantine*. Many ſtories were rais'd and ſpread abroad about theſe perſons, and look'd upon as half-revelations, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of the church in thoſe parts. Whilſt *Jung Lie*'s fortune was favourable, his wife and ſon *Conſtantine* had ſome to aſſiſt them; his lot alter'd, and they were forſaken. After various accidents *Jung Lie* came to the province of *Jun Nan*, were he gather'd an army of two hundred thouſand men (what ſignify'd the number if they were not ſoldiers?) and ſix hundred elephants. Here was an army to conquer the world. The *Tartars* fought, and utterly deſtroy'd it, the elephants doing more miſchief on their own than the enemy's ſide. This was in the year 1659, when I was in *China*. *Jung Lie* eſcap'd. This unhappy prince travell'd thro' ſeveral kingdoms, without finding any to aſſiſt him; it is ſaid, he went into the kingdom of *Pegu*, well known in *India*, and lying betwixt *Bengala* and *Siam*, there the *Tartar* reach'd him, bribing that king. He was carry'd to *China*, and there ſtrangled in the year 1662. Notice of it was given to all the empire, tho' I heard *Chineſes* ſay, it was a fiction of the *Tartar*, to take away from people all hopes of being ever reſtor'd to their princes, and ſo to ſettle their minds. This man's ſon *Conſtantine* is ſaid to be about *Siam*, to have ſent an embaſſy to beg aid of that king, and to live like a Chriſtian. The embaſſadors ſpoke with ſome miſſioners, I wonder theſe did not adviſe them to have recourſe to the *Europeans*, no more than they did him that was ſet up at *Fo Kien*. I fancy it was out of an ill policy, they would not adviſe him to make uſe of *Manila*, where theſe princes might be ſupported and live in quiet and hope. *Europeans* cannot ſee into theſe things, becauſe they are unacquainted with them. Perhaps God may preſerve *Conſtantine* for his greater glory; for, nothing that is violent is laſting; no body ever long held a violent command, that which is moderate is laſting.

1659. 1662.

CHAP. XXX.

An Account of Nicholas Kuon, *and his Son* Kue Sing.

1. THESE two *Chineſes* having been ſo famous in that part of the world, it will be very convenient to give ſome account of them. They were both prodigies of human fortune, and great examples of its mutability. She rais'd them from the dirt to a vaſt height, and caſt them down into a moſt miſerable and unhappy condition. *Cicero* ſaid, Fortune was blind, and they are ſo who will be rul'd by her.

Nicholas Kuon. 2. *Nicholas* was born in a little fiſhing town, near the port call'd *Ngan Hai*. Being very poor, he reſolv'd to try his fortune, went over to *Macao*, and was there baptiz'd by the name of *Nicholas*. Thence he ſail'd to *Manila*, and in both places follow'd very mean employments. A deſire of riſing carry'd him away to *Japan*, where he had an uncle who was indifferent wealthy. The uncle perceiving his nephew was ſharp and ingenious, intruſted him with the management of his trade, and marry'd him to an infidel *Japoneſe* woman, by whom he had ſome children; the eldeſt of them is he that is before mention'd, of whom we ſhall treat hereafter. *Nicholas* gave a good account of all he was intruſted with, which made his uncle truſt him with a boat loaded with much plate, and rich commodities, to go trade in *China*. He finding himſelf poſſeſs'd of ſo much wealth, without the leaſt remorſe or ſcruple of conſcience, kept all to himſelf, and turn'd pirate. He throve ſo vaſtly in this wicked employment, that he was the terror of all *China*, and the *Chineſe* emperor *Zung Ching* was forc'd to take him into his ſervice, making him his admiral, and pardoning many heinous crimes he was guilty of. He accepted of the employ, and fixing himſelf in the port call'd *Ngan Hai*, he ſettled a trade with all the kingdoms in that archipelago, as *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, *Champa*, *Camboxa*, *Siam*, *Macaſar*, with us at *Manila*, with the *Portugueſes* at *Macao*, and with the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*, and the iſland *Hermoſa*, to which effect he was maſter of above three thouſand *Champanes*, Champanes.

Soma. *panes*, (ſo the *Spaniards* call the *Chineſe* veſſels, and thoſe of *Japan*, *Somas*; they carry the burden of a good pink) thus he grew ſo vaſtly rich that he is ſaid have outdone the emperor in wealth.

3. He attain'd to have five hundred catholick Blacks for his guard, for he would not truſt others; whenever he engag'd, he encourag'd his Blacks, calling upon S. *James* the apoſtle, which it is likely he learned at *Manila*. When the *Tartar* came down to *Fo Kien*, he would fain have got him into his power, and often invited him, but he had always his Blacks who never loſt ſight of him; thoſe Blacks were very terrible to the *Tartars*, who at laſt deceiv'd and got him to court; and had he been more cautious and betaken himſelf to his iſland, the *Tartar* had never been ſettled in the government, or entred *Fo Kien*, if *Nicholas* had oppos'd it. I was told by one of my order, who then liv'd near the metropolis, that all men blam'd *Nicholas*, but he having roſe ſo high, and by ſuch unjuſt means, muſt of neceſſity have a fall, and be made ſenſible of the inconſtancy of fortune.

4. He was miſtaken in going to court, and tho' it was not long before he found his error and repented, it could not be retrieved. Repentance, ſays S. *Chryſoſtom*, does not avail in any worldly misfortune, but only againſt ſin. He had his liberty for ſome time but liv'd very uneaſy, becauſe his ſon *Kue Sing* (a noble ſirname given him by that emperor, who was proclaim'd at *Fo Kien*) immediately taking up arms againſt the *Tartar*, the emperor was afraid *Nicholas* ſhould make his eſcape, and join his ſon, ſo that he would ſend for *Nicholas* by day and by night to be aſſured he was ſtill about the court. The emperor was of a mild temper, and would not offer any violence to him, unleſs he were found guilty of ſome crime. Therefore the fathers reſiding at the court us'd to ſay, that had not the emperor dy'd, *Nicholas* had certainly liv'd; He that preſerv'd him dy'd, and they that govern'd for the infant-heir, put him to death. The fathers were with him before, and gave him good advice, but to no purpoſe, and ſo at one ſtroke he loſt the life of body and ſoul. This was the miſerable end of *Nicholas*.

Kue Sing. 3. *Kue Sing* was inform'd how the *Tartars* had treated his father and betook himſelf to ſea with one ſingle *Champan*, and only a thouſand ducats. Fortune favour'd him as much, or more than ſhe had done his father, for he became the terror of the *Tartars*, and of all thoſe ſeas. He came to have an army of above a hundred thouſand men, and upwards of twenty thouſand great and leſſer veſſels, recovering all his father's trade. In the year 1659, the emperor *Jung Lie* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him to his iſland *Hia Muen*, which is not above two muſquet-ſhots from the continent of *China*. GOD has there made a ſafe harbour, capable of containing all the ſhipping in the world. This man was reſolute, ſtrong, revengeful and cruel, as being half a *Japoneſe*. He was expert to a miracle at all ſorts of weapons; ſo brave and bold, that he was always the firſt who charg'd the enemy. No part of his body was free from ſcars of cuts and ſhot, his friends and officers afterwards curb'd his forwardneſs. He gain'd great victories over the *Tartars*, had ever the better of them, except at the aſſault he made upon the ſouthern court in the year 1659. Almoſt a hundred thouſand of his men were kill'd, for he had then a prodigious army. He was routed and fled, which was no ſmall misfortune. This was the reaſon that moved the *Tartar* to draw the people from the coaſt to the inland, as I mention'd in the firſt book; a coſtly but efficacious remedy. *Kue Sing* finding himſelf baniſh'd *China*, reſolv'd to make war upon the *Dutch* in the iſland *Hermoſa*, which he did, and prov'd ſucceſsful, a notable action. Some he put to death, cut off the noſes of others, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of that noble fortreſs, and the rich warehouſes in it; valued at three millions. The *Dutch* are blam'd for two things, the one that they went out of the fort to fight, the other that they abandon'd a hill which commanded the fort and all about it.

NAVARRETTE. 1659.

4. During fifteen years that he held the government, he put to death above five hundred thouſand perſons, and ſome for very ſmall faults. He was ſo cruel that he ſent from the iſland *Hermoſa* to have his own ſon put to death, becauſe he had to do with the nurſe of the fourth ſon. He alſo condemn'd his firſt wife to death, but ſhe made her eſcape by the help of ſome Chriſtian Blacks, the ſon too eſcap'd his father's fury.

5. Turning a promontory in the province of *Che Kiang*, a terrible ſtorm roſe, in which he loſt ſix hundred *Champanes*, and in them five ſons, and ſeveral wives. A horrible loſs! When the news was brought to *Pe King*, that *Kue Sing* was at *Nan King*, the *Tartars* were in ſuch a conſternation, that the emperor was about flying into his own country. There is no doubt but if *Kue Sing* would have been adviſ'd, and had proceeded with deliberation, he had made himſelf maſter of all *China*; he was proud, and that was enough to make him raſh in his undertakings. Upon the rout of the enemy the *Tartar* recover'd, and took all meaſures to get rid of him, made

NAVARETTE. up a fleet of eight hundred *Champanes*, and attack'd the enemy who had twelve hundred. At firſt the *Tartar* had the beſt, but the wind favouring the enemy, they came on with ſuch fury, that the whole *Tartar* fleet periſh'd. Of the *Tartars* that engag'd aſhore not one eſcap'd; yet afterwards the *Tartar* being aſſiſted by the *Dutch*, whom he rewarded very ill, fought again, routed *Kue Sing*, drove him to the iſland *Hermoſa*, and brought all *China* under his dominion. Afterwards when *Kue Sing* aſpir'd to the ſovereignty of *Manila*, he ſent a religious man of our order with a letter to the governor, to this effect:

6. "It has been the practice of all antiquity, and is ſo ſtill, that any off-ſpring "of a foreign nation pay tribute and acknowledgment to renowned princes choſen by heaven. The fooliſh *Hollanders* "not underſtanding the decrees and ordinances of heaven, behaved themſelves "without fear or ſhame, wronging and "tyrannizing over my ſubjects, and robbing my trading *Champanes*; for which "reaſon I had long ſince deſign'd to put "out a fleet to puniſh their crimes; but "heaven and earth having endu'd me with "a wonderful forbearance and generoſity, "I continually ſent them friendly advice "and admonitions, hoping they would "repent for their ſins, and mend their "faults; but they growing more harden'd, "more unruly and perverſe, took no no-"tice. I being therefore highly provok'd
1662. "in the year 1662, [*according to our computation*] in the forth moon, the fury "of my anger ſwelling, ſet out a fleet to "chaſtize their crimes, and coming to their "forts ſlew innumerable multitudes of them "[*this is falſe, for only ſix hundred* Dutch "*were kill'd, and they deſtroy'd eight thouſand* Chineſes] the *Hollanders* having no "way left to fly or get off, and naked, humbly begg'd they might be our ſubjects. "Their cities, forts, lakes, ware-houſes, and "what they had been many years gathering, in a ſhort time became mine [*how "proudly he talks of cities, and there was "never a one there.*] and had they, being "ſenſible of their faults, come ſooner, "humbly bowing their foreheads to pay "tribute to me, perhaps I had been appeas'd, and they would not be now ſo "miſerable.

"7. Now your little, or mean kingdom, has wrong'd and oppreſs'd my "ſubjects, and my trading *Champanes*, "not much unlike to the *Hollanders*, provoking diſcord, and encouraging revenge, by your preſent tyranny. The "affairs of the iſland *Hermoſa* are all ſettled to my mind; I have hundreds of "thouſands of able ſoldiers, abundance of "ſhips of war, and abundance of *Champanes* in this iſland. The way to your "kingdom by water is very ſhort, ſo "that ſetting out in the morning we may "come to it at night. I thought to have "gone thither in perſon with my fleet to "puniſh your crimes and preſumption "[GOD *put a ſtop to him, or he had done "much miſchief*] but I remember that tho' "your little kingdom gave the firſt provocation, it having afterwards expreſs'd "ſome repentance, giving me advice concerning the firſt article of this affair, I "reſolv'd to pardon it. My fleet being "now in the iſland *Hermoſa*, I ſend before "only the father [*it was* F. Victorio Ric-"cio *a* Florentin, *that went over in the "ſame veſſel with me, a man of extraordinary parts and worth*] and by his friendly advice, that your ſmall kingdom "may ſubmit to the will of heaven and "acknowledge its faults, and come yearly "in humble manner to my court to pay "homage to me. In caſe you do ſo, I "order the father to return to me with "the anſwer, and I ſhall give intire credit "to him. I will deal fairly, pardon your "paſt faults, aſſiſting and giving you "employments in your royal town, and "will order the merchants to go trade "there. And in caſe you ſuffer your ſelves "to be deceiv'd, and are not ſenſible of "your own good, my fleet ſhall be upon "you immediately, and ſhall burn and "deſtroy your forts, lakes, cities, ware-houſes, and all other things; and then "tho' you beg to be admitted to pay tribute, it ſhall not be granted you. If "ſo, the father need not return. Good "and evil, loſs and gain, are now in the "ballance; your little kingdom muſt reſolve ſpeedily, and not delay repentance "till it is too late; I only adviſe, and admoniſh you friendly. In the 13th year of *Jun Lie* [*that is* 1662] the 7th of the 3d moon, [*which was in* April.]

8. This meſſage caus'd much diſorder among the *Chineſes* that were then at *Manila*, they mutiny'd and baſely murder'd a religious man of our order. All things being pacify'd (an account of the reſt ſhall be given in another place) it was reſolv'd F. *Victorio* ſhould return with the anſwer. His life was expos'd to that mercileſs tyrant, and it is certain, had not GOD taken him off, he had cruelly tortur'd the poor religious man. D. *Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* govern'd the iſland at that time very worthily, and anſwer'd the letter that has been inſerted above, in this manner.

9. *D. Sabiniana Manrique de Lara*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, one of the council of his catholick majeſty our ſovereign lord king *Philip* the fourth the

great

great monarch of *Spain*, and of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, iſlands and continent of the ocean ſea, his governor and captain general in the *Philippine* iſlands, and preſident of the royal court, and chancery, where he preſides *&c.*

" 10. To *Kue Sing*, who rules and go-
" verns the ſea coaſts of the kingdom of
" *China*. [*He honour'd him too much*] No
" nation in the world is ignorant, that the
" *Spaniards* obey none but their king,
" confeſſing and adoring almighty GOD,
" the Creator of heaven and earth, cauſe
" of all cauſes, without beginning, mid-
" dle, or end; and that they live in his
" holy law, and die for the defence of it,
" and that their dealings are fair, juſt,
" and always the ſame, as has appear'd
" by thoſe they have had for ſeveral years
" with the *Chineſes*, who have brought
" commodities worth many thouſands,
" and have been enrich'd and got vaſt
" treaſures by their returns. They have
" found faith in our promiſes, and had our
" love and aſſiſtance, whilſt they have pro-
" feſſed themſelves friends; and you hav-
" ing continued the ſame correſpondence,
" ſince *China* was divided by the wars,
" we have continued in amity, protecting
" your veſſels, ſupplying you bountifully
" with commodities and proviſions you
" wanted, without any let, wiſhing you
" well, and to know whether you wanted
" any help or comfort in the variety of
" fortune that has attended you; refuſing
" on the *Tartars* account to expel the *Chi-*
" *neſes* that were among us of your pro-
" vince, or party. You were thankful
" for this, gratefully declaring you would
" continue your friendſhip, and be unal-
" terable as the incorruptible ſtone. You
" ſent your embaſſador, who was receiv'd,
" entertain'd, and diſmiſs'd with all kind-
" neſs imaginable. And yet now contrary
" to your promiſe, and to that publick
" faith you ought to obſerve, pretending
" wrongs, you demand homage and tri-
" bute, without conſidering the miſchiefs
" may accrue, nor the ineſtimable bene-
" fit you at preſent receive: for tho' you
" ſhould obtain the dominion of theſe iſ-
" lands, which is not eaſy but rather im-
" poſſible, you would only lord it over
" your ſelf, deſtroying the trade, without
" leaving your ſelf a poſſibility of gather-
" ing ſuch treaſure any other way as you
" yearly tranſport from hence, enriching
" you, your allies, and all your nation
" and kingdom of *China*, no other nation
" about us having ſuch conveniences as
" you have hence. Look upon the gods
" you adore, made of the metal you carry
" from hence; reflect before you make
" your adoration and ſubmiſſion, and you
" will find that this country is under the NAVA-
" dominion, juriſdiction and power of our RETTE.
" lord the king; you will be ſenſible he is
" a ſovereign upon all accounts; and yet
" when you ſhould ſeek your own preſer-
" vation, you threaten war, boaſting of
" your power. Be it as it will, I have
" caus'd all the *Sangleyes* (that is *Chineſes*)
" that were in theſe iſlands at their eaſe,
" and driving their trades, to depart free-
" ly with their goods and veſſels, that you
" may have the more to bring you over;
" without taking notice of the mutiny rais'd
" by ſome who were jealous they might
" loſe their lives for the extravagancy of
" your letter, which they imputed to
" want of ſenſe and underſtanding; but I
" us'd mercy towards them, becauſe we
" would not draw our ſwords upon an in-
" conſiderable number, nor diſcredit the
" valour GOD has endued us with, which
" is ſuch, that tho' your power were dou-
" ble and treble what you boaſt of, yet
" we think it but little enough to exer-
" ciſe our courage upon. Therefore we
" anſwer, that it is not in your power to
" make kingdoms larger or ſmaller, be-
" cauſe your life and duration is but ſhort
" and inſignificant; for you were born as
" it were yeſterday, and muſt die as to
" morrow, without leaving the leaſt me-
" mory of your name in the world; for
" you know no other world but *China*:
" in theſe parts the air is different, the in-
" fluences of heaven not the ſame, and
" colours near at hand vary from what
" they appear at a diſtance. All the ports
" and paſſages are ſtopt to admit of no
" body from you, unleſs you repent and
" ſue for peace, with all neceſſary precau-
" tion for preſerving the honour of the
" arms of *Spain*, and for the greater glo-
" ry of our LORD GOD. And if you per-
" ſevere, you ſhall be receiv'd as an ene-
" my, you ſhall be anſwerable for the lives
" that are loſt, and the dangers that threa-
" ten you; and we will ſtand reſolutely up-
" on our defence, and defend the univer-
" ſal rights of nations: and if you are un-
" willing to take ſo much pains, let us
" know it, and the *Spaniards* ſhall come
" to you, tho' you will find enough to do
" with the *Tartars*, and even with thoſe
" that follow and hate you, and with the
" *Hollanders*, who find you employment,
" retrieving their reputation as they well
" know how to do it. So that you will
" have no place of ſafety; we ſtill expect-
" ing the good ſucceſs we ſhall meet with
" from the hand of our GOD, for the ſea,
" the winds, the fire, the earth, and all
" the whole creation will conſpire againſt
" you; the croſs we bear in our colours,
" as the mark of our redemption, obtain-
" ing

Nava-rette. "ing the triumph that is due to it. And "that you may not doubt of the anſwer, "*F. Victorio Riccio* your embaſſador and "mine carries it, that you may receive "him as ſuch, and cauſe the liberties "and immunities of embaſſadors, uſed a-"mong princes and ſovereigns, to be in-"violably kept in his perſon. God give "you that true knowledge we wiſh you, "and that good neighbourhood we ob-"ſerve. *Manila July* 10th. 1662.

11. They were ſatisfy'd at *Manila* that *Kue Sing* would ſail thither the next year with all his power; therefore the governor D. *Sabiniano Manrique* took care to repair and add new fortifications. He was ſo intent upon giving a good example, that he put his hands to the work; ſo much was done in a year, that F. *Victorio* writ to us in *China*, that when he return'd thither in the year 1663, he did not know *Manila*.

12. The governor having commanded the *Chineſes* to depart *Manila*; the firſt *Champanes* that went out carry'd the news to *Kue Sing* of the reſolution he had taken, adding lies, as that he had caus'd a great number of *Chineſes* to be put to death. That barbarous proud mungrel in a rage blaſphem'd heaven, and was ready to tear himſelf in pieces thro' mere paſſion; thus in a few days he ended his wretched life. F. *Victorio* writ us word, that his body remain'd ſo deform'd that no body could endure to look at it, and therefore they preſently put it into a coffin. Other *Chineſes* who came afterwards, gave an account how F. *Victorio* had aſſiſted and favour'd them in the tumult at *Manila*, which made the ſaid father be well receiv'd, not by *Kue Sing*, whom he did not ſee even dead, but with his kindred, with whom he treated about a peace; which he concluded to the ſatisfaction of all the iſlands. *Kue Sing*'s eldeſt ſon, whom, as has been ſaid, he had order'd to be put to death, ſucceeded him; he is ill-natur'd, and not ſo reſolute or wiſe as his father; therefore I queſtion his making himſelf maſter of any provinces in *China*, as was reported this year 1675.

1674. The letters from *Manila* of 1674 inform me, that a governor of four provinces in *China* has revolted, and has many followers; the letters of 1673 from *China* make no mention of it, which makes me doubt it; nor do I know of any governor of four provinces there is, unleſs it be *Vu San Kuei*; and if he has revolted, the *Tartar* is in danger. *(We find ſince that all this either was not at all, or came to nothing.)*

13. F. *Victorio* found many Chriſtians in the iſland *Hermoſa*; and perceiving they were not tainted with the hereſy of the *Hollanders*, he inquir'd how it came about; and they told him, that when the *Dutch* took our fort (for which D. *Sebaſtian de Corcuera* was to blame) ſome of them, in the preſence of the *Indians*, went into our church, where one drawing his ſword, hack'd the crucifix that ſtood upon the high altar; and then in the ſight of all the Chriſtians, the heretick turn'd about, and fell down dead. This ſtrange accident convinced the Chriſtians that thoſe were wicked people, and therefore they ſaid they would never give ear to what they ſaid. A wonderful prodigy our Lord was pleas'd to ſhew, to retain thoſe poor converts in the purity of the faith.

14. *Kue Sing* wanted all the qualities and perfections a ruling prince ought to be adorn'd with, therefore it is no wonder God ſhould puniſh him with ſo wretched an end. 1. High place, dignity, and power, is to be dreaded, and not coveted, as S. *Thomas* proves, *lib.* I. *cap.* 1. *de Erudit. Princ.* *Kue Sing* did not only covet, but tyrannically uſurp'd that greatneſs he had. 2. For a man to ſecure and eſtabliſh himſelf in the government, he ſtands in need of true wiſdom, as the ſaint teaches, *chap.* ii. and of goodneſs of life, attended by ſolid and not vain nobility, as he teaches in the following chapters; all which that man was void of. How then could he avoid the precipice? and if humility preſerves crowns, and pride deſtroys them, as was mention'd in the ſecond book, and S. *Thomas* writes *cap.* vi. Who was more proud and haughty than *Kue Sing?* A prince ought to be merciful and mild, not vain, covetous, or addicted to worldly pleaſures, as the ſaint proves at large and incomparably well throughout all that book. *Kue Sing* having been of a quite contrary diſpoſition, he in vain uſurp'd all thoſe titles he made uſe of.

15. And if we conſider the ſuperior qualifications that ought to adorn the regal power, ſuch as the theological virtues, fear of God, and others the holy doctor mentions *lib.* II. we ſhall find that haughty *Chineſe* neither had, nor ſo much as knew any of them. And tho' it be true that the emperors of that nation were defective as to theſe as well as he, yet many of them, as has been ſhewn, did the duty of their office through the means of the natural virtues they poſſeſt, and which *Kue Sing* wanted.

16. Let us ſee whether he had thoſe S. *Cyprian* ſets down in *lib. de duodec. Abuſion. Sæculi.* S. *Thomas* mentions them *lib.* II. *cap.* 13. *de Erudit. Princ.* above quoted. 1. That the king muſt oppreſs or hurt no man wrongfully. 2. That he muſt give equal judgment, without being ſway'd by love or hate. 3. That he muſt be a defender of orphans, widows, and ſtrangers.

4. That he muſt ſuppreſs robberies, and puniſh adultery. 5. Not beſtow high places on wicked men, not incourage players, and baniſh impious perſons. 6. Not pardon murderers; defend the church, and maintain the poor. 7. Make good and juſt men governors, and take ancient, wiſe, and frugal men for his counſellors. 8. Let his anger and paſſion go over, defend his dominions manfully, not be puff'd up with proſperity, and bear all adverſities with reſolution. 9. Have great confidence in GOD, and be obſervant in the catholick religion. 10. Breed up his children holily, and have certain hours for prayer, and not eat but at regular hours. *Theſe things make a kingdom happy for the preſent, and carry a king to heaven.* Then S. *Thomas* quotes what S. *Auguſtin* and St. *Gregory* writ upon the ſame ſubject, whereof ſomething has been ſaid in the ſecond and third books. And though it be true that *Kue Sing* can plead ignorance, as to what relates to GOD and his holy religion, yet he cannot in the other particulars, for as much as all that has been here mention'd out of theſe ſaints, may be found in their books, as may appear by what has been writ in other places. In ſhort, he neither obſerv'd the natural rules a prince ought to follow, nor the ſupernatural. It were well for us that they who have been born under greater ties than that *Chineſe*, who rais'd himſelf ſo ſo high from ſo mean a fortune, would practiſe and obſerve them. If to what is written already we ſhould add the reſt S. *Thomas* mentions in his *opuſc.* which they ought always to carry with them whom GOD has entruſted with government, it would be enough not only to make a king good and virtuous, but even holy, and a great ſaint if he obſerv'd it. In *lib.* VI. *cap.* 7. the ſaint has admirable words, and ſomething concerning thoſe whom kings ought to have about them. Thoſe that are very near, ſays he, muſt be very holy, the next very wiſe; the firſt muſt anſwer to the ſeraphims, who are moſt familiar with God; the next to the Cherubims. NAVARETTE.

CHAP. XXXI.

Some things added relating to what has been already writ.

1. AFTER putting an end to my travels, I have remember'd ſome paſſages that will ſuffice to make up another chapter; and I doubt not but if I would give my ſelf time to reflect upon what I have ſeen, I might find matter to dilate further upon.

2. In the firſt and laſt books I ſpoke ſomething of the civility, modeſty, and good behaviour of the *Chineſe* ſoldiery; and conſidering the experience I had of it, I might well have enlarg'd upon the ſubject. Methinks the *Chineſes* obſerve what the emperor *Aurelianus* writ to one of his lieutenants, *Vopiſcus in Aurel.* ſets it down; Friend, ſays he, if you would be a good commander, and deſire to live, keep your ſoldiers within bounds: I will not have the countryman complain, that a chicken or a bunch of grapes is forcibly taken from him; I will call them to account for a grain of ſalt, or drop of oil, they have unjuſtly made uſe of. I will have my ſoldiers grow rich with the ſpoils of their enemies, not with the tears and ſweat of my ſubjects. I will have them wear their riches on their backs, not laviſh them in taverns; I will have them chaſte in their quarters, and no complaints come againſt them. S. *Lewis* king of *France* could not have given better inſtruſtions to thoſe that ſerv'd in his armies. No body will have cauſe to admire what *Marcus Scaurus* writes, that he ſaw numbers of ſoldiers lying under a great tree loaded with fruit, and none of them ſtretch'd out his hand to gather an apple. Nor will that be thought ſtrange which *Lampridius* writes of *Alexander Severus*, that the ſoldiers march'd to the *Perſian* war as if they had been ſenators, and that the country people lov'd them as if they had been their brothers, and honour'd the emperor as a God. All this I ſaw in effect practis'd in *China*; when five, or ſix, or more companies came into a town, it is no otherwiſe than if half a dozen honeſt known gueſts were coming; no man is diſturb'd, no body is in a conſternation, or hides, as we ſee they do in other parts where they are under greater ties. Many men ſeem to perſuade themſelves, that the day they are liſted and appear in arms, they are to lay aſide all Chriſtianity; this we daily ſee, there is no denying of it. *Soldiers.*

3. That brave and renowned general *Beliſarius* behav'd himſelf much better, as *Procopius de Bello Vand.* writes: he order'd two ſoldiers to be impal'd for ſome crimes; and being inform'd that the reſt mutter'd, he ſaid to them, Know that I am come to fight with the arms of religion and juſtice, without which no victory or happineſs is to be expected. I will have my ſoldiers keep their hands clean to kill the enemy. I will never ſuffer that man in my army whoſe fingers are ſtain'd with blood, though he be a *Mars* in war. Force without juſtice

NAVARRETTE. juſtice and equity, is cowardice, not valour. Read what *Oleaſter* obſerves in *Deut.* ii. *You ſhall buy meat of them for money.* All catholicks who ſerve, eſpecially officers, ought to have theſe words engrav'd on their arms. Puniſhment is very material, every man trembles when he knows for certain there is no pardon. The *Diſcipline.* *Chineſes* make good uſe of this method. Complaint was made at *Fo Ngan*, that ſome ſoldiers had ſtole a hen; the captain who liv'd near the church, enquir'd into the matter, and gave the ſignal that he would ſit to try it. I preſently went up into a garret, the window whereof overlook'd all the court-yard, and part of the room where he ſat in judgment; I ſtood a while to obſerve what was done, though ſomewhat back that I might not be ſeen: there was no hearing what they ſaid, but the reſult of it was, that they ſtretch'd out a ſoldier upon his face in the court-yard, and laying his thighs bare, began to baſtinado him with thich cudgels, that I wonder they did not kill him: It made my heart ake, and I obſerv'd that after one blow was given, till the other fell, that wretch's fleſh ſhook ſo that it was terrible to behold. I went down immediately, having no heart to ſee that cruel execution. Who will dare to offend, ſeeing ſuch puniſhments? But the other was more ſevere, when as I writ before, a ſoldier was beheaded for paying a half-penny ſhort. S. *Thomas* writes much to this purpoſe in *Opuſc. de Erudit. Princip.* And in his ſixth book he makes a ſpecial chapter of the miſchiefs of war.

Winds. 4. It is uſual about the beginning of *Auguſt* to have a terrible ſtorm of eaſt-winds on the coaſt of *China*, which the *Portugueſes* and others call *tufon*, a corruption Tufon. of the *Chineſe* name *tung fung*, that is, eaſterly wind. The ſeamen dread it, and almoſt endeavour to get into harbour before it comes. It ſometimes reaches as far as *Manila*, the *Indians* call it *bagio:* I have felt it, and indeed it is terrible, and does much hurt among buildings, ſugar-canes, and other product of the earth. I have read that of late years they have declin'd, but they know nothing of it in thoſe parts; for I have diſcours'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* about theſe *tufons*, and could never find there was any alteration in them. There is no neceſſity of multiplying miracles, or attributing them to any body to no purpoſe.

Cochinchina. 5. The kingdom of *Cochinchina* lies betwixt *Tunquin* and *Champa*; the country is good, and abounds in ſilk; they trade from thence to *Manila*, whither they carry curioſities from *Japan*, thoſe people having a trade there. They have alſo ſail'd thither from *Manila*, ſometimes they have made good returns, and other times thro' the private fancies of ſome men have loſt all. The ſoldiery of this kingdom is the beſt in all thoſe parts, is well-diſciplin'd, and moſt days the king keeps forty thouſand men at court to ſhoot at a mark, and thoſe that aim beſt are rewarded with pieces of ſilk. I have ſeveral times heard *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* ſay, they are all excellent markſmen; and that the words of *Judges* xx. 16. cannot be better apply'd to any people in the world than to thoſe of *Cochinchina.* This is the reaſon they have always the better in their continual wars with the king of *Tunquin*, though this laſt exceeds the other in all reſpects, not only in number of men, but in wealth, and the multitude of elephants he carries to war. They have alſo many light galleys, with which they do wonders in the great river that runs up to the court. There is no doubt but the *Europeans* have furniſh'd that and other powerful kingdoms, having provided them fire-arms, cannon and gunners. There is at preſent in *Cochinchina*, a half-black of *Portugueſe* breed, who in my time was made knight of the order of CHRIST; he is an able officer, an excellent founder, and very curious at making chain-bullets, and other warlike inſtruments.

Camboxa. 6. The kingdom of *Camboxa* lies more to the ſouth in the latitude of *Manila*, and therefore the people are not ſo warlike as authors write; and experience teaches, they have but little blood, and are afraid to loſe it. That king is not ſo well guarded as others. *Manila* has always had a trade with that country, which has excellent timber for ſhipping. Some years ſince the people of *Manila* built one there which was famous, and the memory of the ſhip of *Camboxa* laſts to this day. Another was built in my time, but periſh'd unfortunately. It has often been argued at *Manila*, whether it be more advantageous to build ſhipping in our iſlands, or in foreign kingdoms, *Camboxa*, *Siam*, &c. I have heard arguments on both ſides, and read printed memorials upon the ſubject at *Madrid:* it is not eaſy to decide. Thoſe that are for building abroad favour the *Indians*, tho' ſome will not have it ſo; certain it is, they that do not groan under the labour, do not like it: I do not deſign to concern my ſelf with theſe affairs, but it can be no harm to repeat what others ſay. I often heard it ſaid, by a perſon of judgment and well meaning, that the beſt way was to buy ſhips of the *Engliſh* or *Portugueſes* of thoſe countries, who build good ones, and ſo ſtrong, that they ſail them into *Europe.* I muſt confeſs I ſaw an *Engliſh* frigat of forty

forty guns at *Malaca*, and was a good while aboard it with ſome *Portugueſes*; it might appear with credit any where, and the captain did aſſure me it did not coſt full eight thouſand pieces of eight. The ſhip, which in the year 1665, was forced from *Macao* to *Manila*, and ſo much commended by all men at the port of *Cavite* becauſe of its goodneſs, was taken by the governor D. *John de Salcedo* to ſail to *Acapulco*, had been built at *Goa*, and coſt not ſeven thouſand pieces of eight; I ſail'd in it four months, which is enough to know whether it was good: and if every ſhip were to coſt *Manila* ten or twelve thouſand pieces of eight, it were too cheap. I did not mention *Camboxa* to this purpoſe, tho' I am not ſorry it came into my mind; my deſign was to give an account, that ſixty leagues up the river beyond the court, there are certain beautiful buildings, with the moſt curious workmanſhip imaginable; the relation of their excellency and perfection which was brought to *Goa*, aſtoniſh'd all men. I ſent that which I had from D. *Francis Enriquez de Loſada* into *Spain* as a rarity, there is no inſerting of it in this place. The work ſome ſay is *Moſaick*, others *Roman:* ſome will have it to be the work of *Alexander* the great, who they fancy went ſo far, and order'd that ſtately palace to be built as a memorial to poſterity of his being there. It conſiſts of ſquare courts and cloiſters, as they are in faſhion at preſent, but no part is without fine mouldings and carvings; it is the king's pleaſure-houſe. When D. *James de Loſada* went over thither to build the ſhip I ſaid was caſt away, the king was taking his pleaſure, and therefore the *Spaniards* went up thither and ſaw this wonder. Above it is the large kingdom of the *Laos*, a country abounding in muſk, civit, frankincenſe, benjamin and ſtorax, which commodities they carry to *Manila*, and thence they are ſent into *New Spain*. The country ſwarms with people; on the weſt it borders upon *Siam*, on the north it draws near to the kingdom of *Tibet*; north-weſt of it is *Bengala*, and then it ſtretches a little up to the *Mogul*'s Dominions; lower is *Narſinga*, but at a conſiderable diſtance.

Laos.

7. I have writ ſomething concerning the kingdom of *Siam*; it is certainly very great and powerful, and croſſing it by land you come to *Tanaſſary*, a famous port of great trade; they that take this way need not come within many leagues of *Malaca* or *Sincapura*, the way is ſhorter and ſaves much ſea. They travel in carts about twenty days journey, and go in caravans, but ſeldom lie in any town. At night they encloſe themſelves with their carts and blankets, to keep off the many elephants there are about the fields. And tho' that defence would avail but little, ſhould any elephant attack it, yet it ſerves to ſcare them ſo that they do not gather near it; thus men and beaſts lie in ſafety. At *Tenaſarim* there are always veſſels to go over to *Coromandel*, *Bengala*, and other parts; this is a convenient way for thoſe that have not much baggage. The chief thing the *Moors* deal in from that part is elephants, they are cheaper than thoſe of *Ceylon*, but not ſo noble.

Siam.

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8. F. *Letona*, *cap.* 2. *n.* 26. ſpeaking of the gulph of *Sincapura*, in his deſcription of the *Philippine* iſlands, ſays, it is the way to the gulph of *Goa*, the court of *India:* A very improper expreſſion, for there is no ſuch thing as a gulph of *Goa*; gulphs of *Bengala* and *Ceylon* there are. That city is ſeated almoſt in the midſt of the coaſt of *Malabar*, which ſtretches out north and ſouth from cape *Comori* to *Suratte*. North-weſt of *Suratte* is the kingdom of *Cambaya*, tributary to the *Mogul*, where there is abundance of agate; abundance of it is wrought at *Suratte*, and very cheap, as I obſerv'd before. At *Macaſar* I read in a *Spaniſh* book call'd *prado eſpuritual*, written by F. *Santoro*, that the firſt velvet ever was ſeen in *Europe*, came from this kingdom. In the time of the *Roman* power that king ſent a preſent, and among other things ſome pieces of velvet up the gulph of *Perſia*, and thence by land, which was eaſy enough; the way is well known.

Cambaya.

9. As to *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*'s letter, which I ſaid was ſhewn to the captain general of *Macao*, forbidding any from the *Philippine* iſlands to paſs that way into *China*; I ſay they cannot make uſe of it, for as much as pope *Urban* the eighth publiſh'd his bull ſome years ſince at *Macao*, forbidding any perſon under heavy cenſures to hinder miſſioners from going into *China* and other parts, what way ſoever they could find out. This bull, if obligatory, takes off all dependence on that letter, if not, we muſt have recourſe to the ſupreme judge. I did ſo, and *Clement* the tenth, who now governs the church, confirm'd the ſaid bull in all its parts; if this be not enough, we muſt bear our neighbours misfortunes with patience. And to take away all colour of authority from that letter, I will here inſert what *Philip* the fourth in his councils of *Portugal* and *India* decreed, in *January* 1632. 1. That in regard the right and duty of preaching and dilating the goſpel is common to all the faithful, and particularly recommended to religious men; therefore the miſſions of *Japan* and *China* are not to be confin'd to the fathers of the ſociety alone, but that all orders have liberty to go thither, and get in the beſt

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10. There are ſome things to be obſerv'd in the deſcription of *Manila*, and other iſlands in that ſea, written by F. *Letona*, whom I knew and convers'd with at *Manila*. Tho' this father was curious in obſerving and enquiring, yet he never going farther than *Manila*, could not be an eye-witneſs of what he ſays, nor be exact in all things.

11. He made no mention of the iſland *Amboyna*, which abounds in cloves; nor of that of *Bima* which is near it and conſiderable; and ſo of others towards *Solor* and *Timor*. The *Dutch* are ſtrong at *Amboyna*. *Amboyna*, and have engroſs'd to themſelves all the trade of cloves, it falls on the back of *Macaſar*. Not long before my coming to *Macaſar*, the ſumbane and prince *Carroro* had been with forty thouſand men to ruin the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. The ſecretary *Franeis Mendez*, knight of the order of CHRIST, a good Chriſtian, and akin to the ſumbane, aſſur'd me, he had made ſo great a progreſs, that the *Dutch* had abandon'd their works, and betaken themſelves to their veſſels to go off: but that the *Mahometans* at the laſt attack falling to drinking, the *Dutch* took heart, return'd to their works, and being encourag'd by the enemy's folly, got the better of them, they returning with ſhame to *Macaſar* when they had been at an incredible charge. The ſecretary much lamented the defeat of that expedition, which had been very advantageous to the *Mahometan*, and perhaps had prevented his falling into the hands of the *Dutch*, as he did in the year 1670.

12. F. *Letona*, *n.* 5. writes, that within the archbiſhoprick of *Manila*, there were certain heathen Blacks, natives of the iſland, unconquer'd, call'd *Zambales*, and very barbarous. I ſaid ſomething of them before, they are moſt expert archers; but they deceiv'd him who ſaid they were the ſame as the *Zambales*; for theſe *Zambales* are mortal enemies to the Blacks, and much dreaded of them. There are very good Chriſtians among them; their towns are on the ſkirts of the mountains, to hinder the Blacks from coming at the towns of the *Indians*. For theſe and other reaſons, the *Zambales* are exempt from contributions and perſonal duty; they pay their taxes in ſilver, not in *ſpecie*. The Blacks have friz'd hair like the *Cafres*, the *Zambales* have not. The Blacks are not conquer'd, nor is it poſſible to ſubdue them, tho' a hundred thouſand men were gather'd to that purpoſe. 1. Becauſe the mountains are inacceſſible, and ſo thick wooded, that unleſs the ſhelter be deſtroy'd, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* can advance a ſtep, and the Blacks run in and out at every hole like hares. 2. Becauſe they ſtanding behind the trees with their arrows, ſhoot as many as they pleaſe without being ſeen, by reaſon their colour cannot be diſtinguiſh'd from that of the tree. If the *Indians* and *Zambales* go into the mountains, they have generally the worſt of it, and therefore they endeavour to catch the Blacks in open fields, but it is no eaſy matter. I knew them ſometimes at peace, and ſometimes at war with the *Indians*; when they were at peace, whole troops of them would come down to the towns; we gave them tobacco, rags and wine, which pleas'd them very much, and ſome of them help'd the principal *Indians* in their tillage. We admir'd to ſee them ſo fat, tall and ſtrong, whereas they eat nothing but wild mountain roots, ſome fruit and raw fleſh, without any clothing but their ſkin, or any other bed but the ground.

13. Every one of them has certainly his bow and arrows, the bow is as long as he that uſes it, they make them of a palm-tree as hard as iron; the ſtring is made of the barks of trees, ſo ſtrong that nothing can out-do them. Beſides the bow, they uſe another little iron weapon, broader than one's hand, a quarter of a yard long, the handle very fine; they ſaid they made it of burnt oyſters and ſnails; it look'd like delicate marble. This weapon ſerves them near at hand, with it they cut off a man's head at the mouth very cleverly. All the people along thoſe mountains, as far as *New Segovia*, value a ſcull mightily to drink out of, ſo that he who has moſt ſculls is the braveſt and nobleſt among them; and they go out to cut off heads only for this honour, without any other proſpect. In ſome places they make uſe of the teeth of thoſe heads they cut off, ſtringing and making garlands of them to wear on their heads; he that has moſt is beſt look'd upon. There are a great many people on the mountains of *Orion*, upon the bay of *Manila*, but they are peaceable; all the time I was there, they never did the leaſt hurt. I ſaw ſome companies,

Amboyna.

Manila.

Zambales.

nies, and particularly an old man, whom I made much of rather out of fear than love; I laid my hand on his back, and it felt like an aſs, it was ſo rough and hairy.

14. *N.* 12. F. *Letona* makes the mouth of the bay at the iſland call'd *Marivelez*, four leagues wide, it has two mouths, but neither of them a league over. The little mouth is wideſt, becauſe the land lying low the water ſpreads, but it has not much depth. The great one is very deep, but not above half a league over. All men complain that a fort has not been built on that iſland, to ſecure the two channels againſt the attempts of enemies; if cannon were planted there, no ſhip could eſcape through without being hit. Thoſe channels lie open to any invader to poſſeſs himſelf of *Pampanga*, and other provinces, without the leaſt let from *Cabite*, or *Manila*; and thence they may croſs the lake, ravage the whole iſland, and ſeize all proviſions. I aſk'd a major, why a thing of that conſequence was not minded? He made me the uſual anſwer, that it was becauſe they took no care of the publick good.

15. Among ſome reflections made upon a memorial preſented at *Madrid* ſome years ſince, I ſaw a note made by ſome one who had been in the iſlands; and having nothing to anſwer or object to one point, he ſays, religious men think they do nothing, unleſs they intrude themſelves to govern all. This is an excellent method to diſcredit all they write or propoſe; and yet who could be more plain and unbiaſs'd than they in propoſing to his majeſty what is for the good of his ſubjects? A great plague has fallen upon the *Indians*, which is, that no notice is taken of what their ſpiritual fathers adviſe for their good; and no ſooner is any thing writ againſt religious men, but it is preſently credited, or at leaſt care is not taken to enquire whether it be true or not. It happen'd in my time at *Manila*, that a governor was accus'd, and heinous things laid to his charge; however it was reſolv'd he ſhould govern out his time, and be accountable when he gave an account of his office. Complaint was made, I know not for what, of a grave religious man of a certain order, and immediately they ſent and ſeiz'd all he had, took him out of the monaſtery, and carry'd him fifty leagues off; I do not argue whether the crime objected was great or not; but ſuppoſing it to be ſuch, had that friar no ſuperiors? The ſecular power preſently took it in hand, without granting him a hearing, or finding any politick excuſe to delay the matter, as they did about the governor, becauſe this they look upon as doing the king good ſervice. So they put a good clergyman, for whom *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* had a great reſpect, into irons, and baniſh'd him the iſlands, in the ſight of many infidels. What opinion can thoſe heathens have of a prieſt ſo baniſh'd by the laity? I will ſay no more of it here, becauſe I will not pretend to govern; but I could juſtly complain of one, who writ ſcandalouſly againſt F. *Victorio Riccio*, to whom thoſe iſlands are more beholden than to all that are or have been there. NAVARETTE.

16. F. *Letona*, *N.* 14. makes a diſtinction betwixt the going out to ſea at *Marivelez* for *New Spain*, and that for *Terranate*, *N.* 17. but I can ſee no reaſon for it; the ſeaſon is different, but nothing elſe. For that reaſon the ſhips that go to *New Spain*, ſtand out to ſea towards the iſland *Luban*, in order to ſail away thence with the trade wind to the anchoring-place. This could not be done in going to *Terranate*, becauſe the winds at that time come off the land, and therefore they coaſted hard upon a bowling along the ſhore of *Balagan*, that they might not fall away to leeward. Nor is *Luban* ſeventeen leagues from *Marivelez*, as he ſays, in my opinion it is not above twelve, for I ſail'd it in *December* between ſun-riſing and three in the afternoon.

17. He mentions other things which happen'd ſometime after the ſaid father was gone from *Manila*. He is much in the right as to what he ſays concerning *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, and more might have been added. I am of opinion that noble gentleman's great reſpect to the church and his miniſters was the cauſe why GOD bleſs'd him there, and ſent him home ſafe to his country. He gave an excellent example in theſe and many other particulars.

18. It is to be obſerv'd, as I have been inform'd from credible perſons, that ever ſince *D. Sabiniano* landed at *Cavite*, no other ſhip from *New Spain* till this time ever could come to an anchor in that place, which is a great damage to the *Indians*. Who can aſſign a reaſon for it? yet certain it is that with regard to GOD nothing happens by chance, but he permits ſecond cauſes to work his deſigns without interrupting their order. When *D. John de Leon* went governor, his ſhip was left much batter'd near *Palapa*, becauſe one undertook to pilot it, who ought not to have done it, and perhaps out of covetouſneſs. The whole cargo was carry'd to *Manila* upon the backs of *Indians*. I am aſſur'd by thoſe who were aboard, that above a thouſand *Indians* dy'd through the hard labour; and had his majeſty's return, which was but forty thouſand ducats, been more, more had dy'd. Let thoſe obſerve this, who

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who believe the remittances to *Manila* are very conſiderable. Before him *D. John de Salcedo* arriv'd at *New Segovia*, and the ſame perſon told me that above two thouſand *Indians* dy'd carrying the goods. Can any thing be more deplorable? Formerly ſhips ſeldom fail'd arriving ſafe at *Cavite*, ſo that all was ſav'd without oppreſſing the natives, unleſs the apprehenſion of meeting enemies happen'd to cauſe any alteration. *D. James Fajardo* was put into *New Segovia*.

19. GOD may remedy this if we uſe our endeavours. All men agree that if the ſhips ſail from *Acapulco* any time in *February* or beginning of *March*, they will come in good time to put into *Cavite*. The reaſon is plain, becauſe the ſouth-weſt winds, which are contrary, do not fix till after *Midſummer*; and tho' they ſhould ſtart up ſooner, they are not laſting, and may be endur'd at ſea either lying by, or tacking as many do, and I ſaw it practis'd at the cape of *Good Hope*, where are the greateſt ſtorms in the world. There we were twenty eight days ſtruggling againſt the wind and waves, ſometimes lying up our head to the wind, and ſometimes traverſing from north to ſouth. But in order that they may ſet out of *Acapulco* at that time, the ſhips muſt ſail from *Manila* at *Midſummer*, or ſooner; ſo they ſail with fair weather to S. *Bernardine*, where they take in wood, water and refreſhment; and as ſoon as the ſouth-weſt ſtarts up, they ſet out upon their voyage. Pilots vary in their opinions as to the latitude they are to keep to; doubtleſs every man follows his own, for they are men that will not ſubmit to another, as in time of peace they may ſafely do, as has been ſaid. A good courſe of life is very conducing to a good voyage. I have ſail'd with ſeveral people of *Europe*, and to ſay the truth, they are much beyond us.

Winds.

20. I have receiv'd information concerning the ſupplies ſent to *Manila* from well-meaning and conſcientious perſons; they have found in me an openneſs of heart and impartiality fit to make it known, it may be want of intereſt or prudence in them to conceal it. The ſupply that goes from *Mexico* for the *Philippine* iſlands, is ſometimes conſiderable, but is much clipt before it comes thither. The king's officers belonging to *Manila*, not thoſe of *Mexico*, muſt give the true eſtimate of thoſe ſupplies. What follows ſeems incredible. At *Acapulco* they make a ſort of hut or arbour of boughs between the ſea and the governor's door, for the people and commodities that are to be ſhip'd. I ſaw it when there, it conſiſts of a dozen poles ſtuck in the ground, others acroſs them at top, and over all boughs, hay, and leaves of palm-tree for a covering. Now for this work ſome years they have placed to his majeſty's account eight thouſand pieces of eight expence, and this defray'd out of the ſupply ſent to the *Philippine* iſlands. Can this be parallel'd in the world? there is a boat they call *Chata*, which ſerves to carry goods and people aboard; when this is mended, they reckon eight hundred or a thouſand pieces of eight for a few nails, tar, hemp, and ſuch things; and ſo in other things, which an honeſt miniſter of ſtate that fears GOD and is zealous for his king's good may eaſily compute. Beſides they ſend the value of many ducats in commodities, ſome of which at *Manila* are ſuperfluous, and others of no value.

21. An accident very remarkable happen'd at *Manila* ſome years ſince, which I have not ſeen in writing, and think convenient to inſert in this place. There was ſuch abundance of pilchards in the bay, and ſo many taken, that it was wonderful; all the poor and common ſort liv'd upon them, and ſometimes the great ones eat them as a dainty; but being extraordinary cheap, they were a great relief to many people. The time came when they baniſh'd the biſhop, and from that moment they went off and totally vaniſh'd. This was much taken notice of, and is ſo to this day. Another ſtrange paſſage fell out, which is ſtill freſh in the memory of all men, which was, that when the good archbiſhop was without the gate of the ſtore-houſes where they ſhipp'd him, he ſhook the duſt off his ſhoes, and caſt ſome ſtones at the city, one of which reach'd *D. Peter de Corcuera* the governor's nephew, and hit him on the ſhin; and tho' the ſtroke and hurt was moſt inconſiderable, it feſter'd and he dy'd of it. The judge *Zapata* dy'd ſuddenly. *Tenorio* was beheaded. The archdeacon of the cathedral dy'd in a ſmall time; theſe were all enemies to the archbiſhop. But the ſtrangeſt of all in my poor opinion was, that a ſoldier being commanded to lay hold of the archbiſhop, who then had the *Ciborium* with the bleſſed ſacrament in his hands, or at leaſt leaned upon the altar where it was, thinking it an execrable action, excus'd himſelf and ſaid, I will rather die than do it, and laying his hand to his ſword, drew it out and fell upon it. GOD was pleas'd to ſave his life, as a reward of the holy zeal he expreſs'd.

22. Much has been ſaid, and many arguments have been made about the royal chapel *D. Sebaſtian de Corcuera* built at *Manila*; I would willingly dilate upon it, and write the opinion of the people of thoſe iſlands, but will confine my ſelf for ſome reaſons I have. Certain it is we muſt not always

always condemn the demoliſhing, or commend the erecting of churches; for, as we ſee in the time of *D. James Faxardo*, ſome noted churches were demoliſh'd that the *Dutch* might not fortify themſelves in them, and annoy the iſlands. Under *D. Sabiniano de Lara* others were thrown down, to prevent the *Chineſes* doing the like, and that the cannon might play freely. This demoliſhing cannot be condemn'd, no more than the ſame done in other places by the order of pious princes. So in caſe of erecting of churches, ſomething may occur or intervene that may make it an ill action either in a moral or civil ſenſe; becauſe *a thing is good when ſo in all reſpects, and bad through any one defect*. King *Philip* and his council were not offended at the building the houſe of the poor *Clares* at *Macao*, becauſe it was a nunnery or a church, for both thoſe things are good; but becauſe the place was not convenient for it being in a country of infidels. When a church is founded or erected, as *David* did, 1 *Chron.* xxii. *Behold I in my poverty am preparing the expence of the houſe of the Lord*, this was very praiſe-worthy. But any man is much to be blamed who would raiſe ſuch ſtructures out of what belongs to others, and is ill gotten; nor would it pleaſe GOD if one ſhould erect churches out of that which he ought to apply to the maintenance of the poor. St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Hom.* 45. in *Matth.* ſays thus: For behold thoſe that adorn churches ſeem to do a good work, if the poor enjoy part of their goods, who build for the glory of GOD. Would you build the houſe of GOD? give a living to the faithful poor, and you will build the houſe of GOD. There are two churches, one of living ſtones, which are the poor, another of dead hewn ſtones; it is not lawful, nor convenient to forſake the former for the latter. Read what *S. Thomas in Cat. Aur. Matth.* xxiii. out of *S. Chryſoſtom*, writes concerning the ſtructures of the Phariſees, which is excellent to this purpoſe.

23. In the 2d place that chapel is no way neceſſary at *Manila*, 1. Becauſe it would imply a neglect in ſo many good governors as preceded him. 2. Becauſe they have a cathedral juſt by, and other churches where they may hear a few ſermons in lent.

24. Beſides, that gentleman ſpent not a croſs of his own in building that chapel, but did it out of the ſoldiers pay, and that is what maintains it to this day. *No man is ſaid to be generous who ſpends out of another's purſe*. Moreover there are above eight thouſand pieces of eight yearly ſpent in that chapel to defray twelve chaplains, muſicians, ſacriſtans, wax and wine for the maſſes; and there are frauds enough practis'd about the wax; and at preſent there are ſoldiers at *Manila*, who go barefoot, and without ſwords, and ſeveral reform'd captains and enſigns who ſtarve. Where then is the good of that chapel? NAVARETTE.

25. But allowing there muſt be a chapel, why muſt there be twelve chaplains, and the dean have a thouſand pieces of eight allow'd him, and the ſoldiers go naked and ſtarving? Allow four chaplains, let their ſtipends be leſſened, and thoſe eight thouſand pieces of eight be divided among them and the ſoldiers, or poor officers. There is no private intereſt I know of in this, but only propoſing what is for the publick good.

26. But allowing the erecting of it good in all reſpects, for ſo we muſt judge of the intention, yet the condition of thoſe iſlands at preſent is nothing like what it was then; then they were rich, now poor, then there were rich men who reliev'd many, at preſent no man has enough for himſelf; the trade was then great, and has ever ſince decay'd; no wonder then if there be reaſon to alter thoſe things, tho' they were then convenient.

27. The caſe is fairly ſtated, if they pleaſe there ſhould ſtill be a chapel and chapels, be it ſo in the name of GOD; yet the erecting of that cannot be juſtify'd upon the opinion of one man, againſt the general conſent of all the iſlands. Another thing very prejudicial to the king's revenue is practis'd in thoſe iſlands, which is that the governors who receive the taxes, ſink a great part for their own uſe. Thus it is, a governor, for example, receives ſome thouſands in tributes, he makes up his accounts to his own mind, and ſays, So much for my ſalary due from his majeſty, ſo much expended, ſo much for fees, ſo much is due to me; he deducts according to his own reckoning, and if he receiv'd a thouſand, ſets down ſix hundred, which he delivers after paying himſelf. The ill conſequences of this practice are viſible. A conſiderable man us'd to ſay it were better the king ſhould pay theſe men their whole allowance, becauſe they being judges of their own ſervices and merits, pay themſelves much more than they deſerve.

28. A particular thing happen'd not long ſince near the town call'd *Lilco*, which is upon the lake of *Bai*; they ſow much corn in thoſe parts at preſent (many thouſands of ducats had been ſav'd if it had been ſow'd ſooner) an *Indian* had ſow'd a conſiderable ſpot of corn. The government ſent to view what every man had ſow'd, and accordingly to allot what he was to pay contribution. They judged by eye there might be fifty buſhels upon that ſpot, ſo they enter'd it, and directed the *Indian* to carry

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29. I have heard notable circumſtances from creditable perſons concerning the impriſonment of *D. John de Salzedo*; I will not argue its legality, for it does not belong to me, but it is reported that a governor of thoſe iſlands us'd to ſay, *In Spain* a man does not know what he is a going about, and as ſoon as he comes to the iſlands, *he finds he is king and pope*. To ſpeak as it really is he ſhould have ſaid, *He is much greater than king or pope*. This is really ſo, and the ill conſequence among many others is, that unleſs the fear of GOD checks them from giving way to all their paſſions, there is no curbing them, nor do the laity or clergy dare open their mouths, or if they do it coſts them dear; and what ſome men act in the devil's name, they take as ſervice done the king, and under that cloke execute all their wicked deſigns. We have too many examples of it in thoſe iſlands, *Peru*, *New Spain*, and other parts. A loyal ſubject of the king's was wont to ſay, Father, a man's wickedneſs may be of that nature, ſo evident and ſo prejudicial to the publick, that it may be a good ſervice done to GOD and the king, to put a ſtop to it the beſt that may be, without waiting for orders from above, for that may require four years, and three is too long, for the iſlands may be ruined in leſs time. It is only requiſite in ſuch caſes that the fact be well examined, and then many would be rewarded for having had a hand in it, and not puniſhed. A few years ſince they carried a viceroy in cuſtody out of *India* into *Portugal*, whoſe crimes were not ſo great as thoſe committed ſuch a year at *Manila*. The buſineſs was examined, the people accounted good ſubjects, and the viceroy condemn'd. I ſhrug'd my ſhoulders becauſe I had not ſeen what was done, and all men ought to be heard before we paſs judgment upon them. This may ſerve to give the reader ſome light into the affairs of thoſe parts, which are nothing like to what we ſee among us. After I had writ this, I read the copy of the archbiſhop of *Manila*, D. *Michael de Poblete*, his letter to his majeſty's confeſſor, wherein are many heinous things concerning that gentleman.

CHAP. XXXII.

A ſhort Supplement to what has been handled in theſe Books.

1. AFTER I had finiſh'd this work, I accidentally met with the R. F. *Francis Colin*'s hiſtory of the progreſs, converſions, and labours of thoſe of the holy ſociety of JESUS in the *Philippine* iſlands; and being, when I liv'd there, particularly acquainted with this great man, and his extraordinary parts, which I do not extol for fear my pen ſhould fall ſhort, as *Tacitus* ſaid of his *Agricola*; *It were a wrong to his other virtues to mention ſo great a man's integrity and abſtinence*; I could not forbear, tho' haſtily looking over what he had publiſh'd; and finding his authority makes good much of what I ſay, I cannot forbear making my advantage of it to confirm what I have writ. In other particulars he gives ſome hints at things, to which I muſt ſpeak my mind, tho' I incur ſome cenſure for it, to avoid greater inconveniences; which is the ſame *Chryſippus*, mention'd by *Stobeus*, urg'd, ſerm. 43. *For if a man governs ill, he will diſpleaſe the gods; if well, men.* But ſince the reader is to be guided by reaſon, and not by paſſion or affection, there is no danger of being ſhipwrack'd in a calm ſea.

2. *Lib.* I. *p.* 2. he endeavours to prove out of *Ptolomy*, that the *Philippine* iſlands are the *Maniola*, becauſe of the likeneſs of that name and *Manila*; but the ground is ſo weak, that there is no ſhadow of truth in it. If *Manila* had ever been the name of that, or any other iſland in thoſe ſeas, the opinion were more tolerable; but it being plain that the name is deriv'd from the ſituation of the city, becauſe it is for the moſt part on a moraſs, which the *Tagales* call *Mainila*, as I obſerv'd in the firſt book, *chap.* 1. it follows that nothing to this purpoſe can be made out by that name. So that as *Cavit* is the name of the port of *Cavite*, becauſe of its ſhape like a hook; and *Malat*, the name of what we call *Malate*, which ſignifies a land of ſalt-peter; ſo *Manila* is only the name of the place the city *Manila* ſtands upon, which the author ought to have known, as having been

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paſtor

paſtor of thoſe people call'd *Tagales*, which he mentions in his hiſtory, where he ſets down the *pater-noſter* and *ave-maria* in that language.

3. Nor does he make out his aſſertion when he ſays, That in the iſlands they build all their veſſels with wooden pins becauſe of the loadſtone; and that when out of the water they ſet them upon ſtocks: Firſt, becauſe he himſelf owns that is done for want of iron, and they are ſet upon the ſtocks to keep them from the great damp of the country, as alſo becauſe of the worms. In the next place, becauſe it is not the cuſtom of thoſe iſlands alone to make uſe of pins, but of all parts within thoſe ſeas. The people of *Borneo*, *Mindanas*, *Macaſſar*, and others uſe it: And I ſaw large veſſels at *Macaſſar* built in that nature, ſo neat and ſtrong that I could not but admire them; ſo that if the *Philippine* iſlands had been the *Maniolæ* becauſe of their uſing wooden pins, thoſe we have mention'd, and many more, would be ſo too. Nor did I ever hear that was done, becauſe the loadſtone ſtaid the veſſels that had iron pins; for tho' there be much of it in ſome parts, yet it is not all about thoſe ſeas, where they ſail from one iſland to another, ſometimes croſſing over twenty or thirty leagues, ſometimes coaſting fifty or ſixty. And if any quantity of that ſtone be found in any river, it is well known that the *Indians* generally go upon rivers in veſſels all of one piece, ſome whereof are ſo big they can carry twenty or thirty men, and theſe need neither wooden nor iron pins.

4. *Chap.* ii. *p.* 6. he ſays, They travel over the deſarts and ſands of *Lybia* and *Tartary* in carts, with rigging like ſhips. In my firſt book I mention'd that ſome had writ this was us'd in *China*, which is not ſo; in great plains ſuch a thing perhaps might be practicable, where the ground is hard and dry, but it ſeems difficult in ſands where the wheels muſt ſink every moment: Nor can I conceive how thoſe carts are to be guided, for no rudder will alter its motion in the ſand. But ſince I never was in *Lybia* or *Tartary*, I will leave the matter to be try'd by its own probability; but there is no fixing any ſuch thing upon *China*.

5. *Chap.* iv. *p.* 16. he treats of the firſt planters and peoplers of thoſe iſlands, and ſays, It was *Tharſis* the ſon of *Javan*, and *Ophir*, and *Hevilath* of *India*, whereof *Gen.* x. makes mention. He aſſigns that country very antient inhabitants: I make no doubt but thoſe iſlands might be peopled with great eaſe, becauſe ſome of them are very near the continent. It is well known the ſtrait of *Sincapura*, which divides the continent from *Sumatra*, is not a muſket-ſhot over. When I paſs'd that way I obſerv'd it, and judg'd thoſe iſlands were all formerly contiguous as far as *Bantam*, *Java*, and *Sumatra*, as is reported of *Sicily*, and others, and that the ſea wore out thoſe paſſages betwixt them. So of conſequence when the land of *Malaca* and *Jor* was peopled, theſe iſlands follow'd; and from thence it is eaſy to go over to *Amboyna*, *Bima*, *Solor*, *Timor*, and other ſouthern parts; and then northward to *Borneo*, then to *Zamboanga*, *Oton*, and others as far as *Manila*. It is no eaſy matter to decide who were the firſt planters. NAVARRETE.

6. *Pag.* 19. he ſays, The *Chineſes* in former times went over and conquer'd the *Philippine* iſlands, and were maſters of all thoſe ſeas. According to *Barros* they were the firſt that peopled *Java* (it is more likely they were ſo of *Manila*) to confirm his opinion he urges, that at *Ilocos* and *Cagaian*, there were found the graves of men larger than the *Indians*, with *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe* arms and accoutrements, who for the ſake of the gold conquer'd and peopled theſe countries.

7. I writ my opinion as to this particular in the firſt book, and can find no reaſon to alter my opinion; and when any can be ſhewn, no man is oblig'd in honour to be obſtinate. *Seneca*, *lib.* IV. *de Benef. cap* viii. ſays thus, *It is not lightneſs to quit a known and condemn'd error, it is no ſhame to alter ones opinion.* It is very unlikely they were the firſt that peopled *Java*; for *Java*, *Bantam*, *Sumatra*, &c. lying ſo near to *Malaca* and *Jor* which is the continent, what occaſion was there for the *Chineſes* undertaking ſo dangerous a voyage, and ſo very long to them? And if it were as the author will have it, how comes it to paſs they left not the leaſt foot-ſteps of their language in thoſe parts? There is no doubt they ſail'd to *Manila*, and that ſome of them might die at *Ilocos* and *Cagaian*, and conſequently ſome of their graves and accoutrements might be found, but that does not make out the other. When I ſail'd to *Macaſar*, and we were drove from our courſe near a great iſland not far diſtant from *Borneo*, we found in a ſmall iſle forty great ſculls of men and women, and much broken *China* ware, beſides other ſmall things; muſt we therefore conclude the *Chineſes* went thither? It is abſolutely impoſſible, they would have been loſt forty times before they reach'd it. We muſt give it for granted, that the *Chineſes* neither take the meridian altitude, nor know the latitude, nor have the inſtruments to this purpoſe; how then ſhould they ſail where the beſt *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* pilots are daily loſt? At preſent they go to *Manila* as a great voyage, and becauſe they have learn'd much experience. In going to *Siam*

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am and *Camboxa* they only coaſt along the ſhore. In ſhort, they hit right by chance, for they have no ſkill.

Tagales.

8. *Chap.* xiii. *p.* 37. he ſpeaks of the people call'd *Tagales*, whom he makes ſo courteous and well-bred, that they never uſe the word *thou* to one another, but always ſpeak in the third perſon; How does my lord? Whence comes my maſter? *&c.* I was miniſter of the *Tagales*, whoſe language, tho' I have been from thence eighteen years, I have not forgot. I exercis'd the miſſion among them, heard thouſands of confeſſions, and preach'd ſome hundreds of times. I do not ſay but ſeveral of them, and particularly the beſt ſort, uſe that manner of ſpeaking the author mentions; yet I cannot grant it to be univerſal, they uſe a thouſand *thou's*, and *be thou's* to the fathers that aſſiſt them. They have learn'd ſome breeding of the *Spaniards* they converſe with, and therefore thoſe about *Manila* are more civil than the reſt. Diſcourſing upon this point upon a time with ſome *Indians*, one of the chief of them then preſent ſaid, if the *Spaniards* had not come to our country we had been all mere brutes, the light of the goſpel, religion and converſation has made us men. He ſpoke the truth, and ſhew'd himſelf a man of ſenſe and reaſon; by which it appears the *Tagales* are not of themſelves ſo courteous and well-bred as ſome will make them.

Idolatry.

9. *Chap.* xv and xvi. he ſets down the multitude of idols thoſe people had, that they ador'd the ſun, moon, rainbow, beaſts, trees, ſtones, crocodiles; had idols of the ſea, mountains, plow'd lands; ador'd their anceſtors, thoſe that were kill'd by lightning, and others. I look upon all this to be very likely, and that they were infected with theſe errors from the continent of *Malaca:* But there is no doubt they own'd the immortality of the rational ſoul, which they had been ignorant of, if their firſt progenitors had been *Chineſes*. Nor had theſe carry'd them ſuch a multitude of idols, ſince they, in the beginning, and before the ſect of *Foe* came thither out of *India*, did not uſe ſo many images, tho' they ever ador'd the ſun, moon, ſtars, and heaven.

Swallows neſts.

Chap. xvii. *pag.* 79. he ſpeaks of the neſts I call of ſwallows. The author calls that bird *ſalangan*; it is leſs than our ſwallows, in all other reſpects they do not differ, and therefore at *Manila* they generally call them ſwallows-neſts. He is in the right in ſaying, that when boil'd they look like large *Macaroni*. He tells us they are ſold for their weight in gold in *China*, but is much deceiv'd in this particular, and no leſs in ſaying that the *Portugueſes* of *Macao* uſing them in their entertainments, are ignorant of their value; they know it very well, and therefore ſell them to the *Chineſes*, tho' ſome now and then eat them as a dainty.

He talks in this place of the bird call'd *herrero* (woodpecker) which with its beak bores trees to build its neſt in them, and makes it as big as a hen's neſt. I ſaw that bird at *Acapulco*, it is as big as an ordinary chicken; every day toward night-fall it furiouſly peck'd a palm tree, which was within the incloſure of the houſe where I liv'd; I obſerv'd it carefully, intending to ſtop up the entrance of the neſt with a plate of iron, to try whether it could break it with the herb they ſay it knows which has this virtue, and endeavour to diſcover that herb; I was there alone, and omitted doing it for want of a ladder, and help, which I was afterwards ſorry for.

Pag. 78. he writes that the great bats of *B.* which I have ſeen, and heard great numbers, are good meat, and their dung good for ſalt-peter. Captain D. *John de Montemayor*, a good ſoldier and better Chriſtian, preſented memorials in my time to D. *Sabiniano*, for leave to go to the iſland *Siao* near *Terranate*, where there are deep dens theſe birds ſhelter in to gather a great quantity of their dung, for the intent abovemention'd: The project was good, but the captain very poor, and could not be at the charge, ſo it came to nothing.

10. *Pag.* 79. He aſſigns peacocks to the iſland *Calamianes*. I have already ſaid, there are abundance in ſeveral parts thereabouts. I have ſeen them at *Narſinga*, *Golconda*, *Siam*, *Malaca*, and even in *Madagaſcar*; and before obſerv'd, that it is the cuſtom in ſeveral kingdoms to make plumes of them, which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have made their advantage of, ſticking the quills in ſilver, or other matter plated or waſh'd, and the ſervants hold them to drive away the flies when they are at dinner, or in company; they are very ſightly. Others make them like large round fans, after the manner of thoſe carry'd at *Rome*, when his holineſs goes abroad *in pontificalibus*; and I think in *Latin* either of them is call'd *flabellum*, which was a fan made of peacock's wings, and a very fine web, with which the deacon drove the flies from the altar, during the holy ſacrifice of the maſs. The *Greeks* uſe this ceremony, which is very myſterious, as may be ſeen in our *Ximenez* his eccleſiaſtical *lexicon*, *verb. Flabellum*. In ſome parts of *New Spain* it is uſual for the *Acolite* to fan the gnats away, whilſt maſs is ſaying, which is very neceſſary; for there were no ſaying maſs without it, the gnats are ſo numerous and cruel troubleſome, as I obſerv'd above.

Fans.

Gnats.

11. *Pag.* 8. §. 2. He treats of the fiſh *muller*, and of the virtue there is in its teeth

teeth and bones to ſtop bleeding. I have writ ſomething of it, and a ſtrange accident that befel an *Indian* with this fiſh. I heard much at *Manila* of the ſtrange virtue there is in thoſe bones to ſtop bleeding, but the rump-bone is that they ſay is moſt valu'd.

Bleeding.

What he writes, *page* 83. concerning the *crocodile*, that it voids no excrement, nor has any paſſage for it, I had not heard before, nor did it come into my mind to be ſatisfy'd in it, but I look upon it to be true as the author ſays. I writ before, that ſculls, bones and pebbles were found in its belly, and was told it ſwallows the pebbles to ballaſt itſelf; I ſaw, and the author affirms it has four eyes. I allow, as the general opinion, that it has no tongue; and I have read that the *Egyptians* us'd the figure of a *crocodile*, to repreſent after their manner the ineffable greatneſs of GOD, which was to denote, that as that creature had no tongue, ſo no tongue was ſufficient to expreſs that ſupreme and infinite greatneſs; it might be conſider'd and reflected on, but no tongue in the univerſe could give an account of it.

Crocodile.

I writ before that the female *crocodile* devours all her young ſhe can; the difference betwixt us is, that the author ſays, ſhe ſwallows them as they come into the water; I ſaid it was down the current, as I was told ſeveral times, and it may be reconcil'd by allowing her to lay the eggs upon land near the current; ſo the main ſubſtance be the ſame, it matters not if there be ſome difference, as to any particular accident. I alſo ſaid, that two bags of pure muſk had been found where the two ſhort forelegs join to the body, the author ſays under the gills. Neither is this very material. He adds, that the female only goes out upon land, and not the male; but I never came near enough to examine whether they were males or females.

12. *Num.* 143. the author ſpeaks of the manner how, and from whence buffaloes, horſes and goats were carried into thoſe iſlands. I had been really very glad he had ſet down what became of *Leitona*'s aſs, that was carried from *New Spain* to cover mares, for it would be no ſmall diverſion to the reader. I will not inſert it in this place, becauſe I am not well ſatisfy'd in all its circumſtances.

Monkeys.

P. 8. He ſets down the manner how the *Indians* catch monkeys, whereof there are vaſt multitudes in thoſe iſlands, and cloſe by *Manila*; it is a thing not to be queſtion'd.

In the following pages he writes of the fruit call'd *Nanca*, I writ the ſame the author does. He alſo treats of the tree call'd *amiot*, in the trunk whereof moſt excellent water is found, which is a great refreſhment to paſſengers. To me that is more wonderful which drops from the *bejuco*, ſome are large and twine about the trees, the end hangs downwards, ſome of them higher, ſome lower; the traveller cuts off the nib, and preſently a ſpout of water runs from it as clear as cryſtal, enough and to ſpare for ſix or eight men. I have drank to my ſatisfaction of it, found it cool and ſweet, and would drink it as often as it were in my way. It muſt be allow'd to be a juice, and not natural water, but I believe any man would lick his lips after it. This is the common relief of the herdſmen when they are looking for the cattel about the mountains; when they are thirſty they lay hold of the *bejuco*, as they ſit a horſe-back, and drink their fill.

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Amiot. Bejuco.

13. *Pag.* 195. He ſpeaks of the plantane; whether it differ from the plane, I am ſatisfy'd there is no reſemblance between them; I have ſaid what I knew to this matter. Certain it is they are near rivers and runing waters, this agrees with thoſe we call plantanes, and not with the planes which are vaſt large trees.

Pag. 96. He urges from *Brocardus* and *Selorgus*, that the forbidden fruit our firſt parents eat in paradiſe was the plantane, which the *Portugueſes* to this day call a fig, the natives of *Manila*, *Saguin* and other nations by ſeveral names. I ſhould eaſily agree to it, if it were not ſaid, *Gen.* iii. 6. to be *beautiful to the eyes, and pleaſant to the ſight*; which if apply'd to the fruit, does not agree with that of the plantane, but ſuits much better with ſeveral other ſorts, and particularly the *chicqueyes* of *China*. If theſe words be meant of the tree, becauſe in is ſaid before, *The woman ſaw that the tree was good*, &c. it can fit no plant in the world better than the plantane, though in ſtrictneſs it cannot be call'd a tree, the colour of its leaves, its ſtatelineſs and beauty is the greateſt in the world; when ſtirr'd by a little wind, it is very agreeable. Nor is there any plant ſo convenient for *Adam* and *Eve* to clothe themſelves with the leaves. Only two leaves ſew'd together will make a frock to cover a tall man from the neck to near the ankles. Every man may give his opinion touching this point, without incurring any church-cenſure.

Plantane.

14. *Pag.* 97. He ſpeaks of the *camotis*, *vuis*, *tuguis*, *gaves*, and *xicamas*; there is abundance of them all, and very much *guiger*. There are *xicamas* in *China*, but I have not ſeen them in any other part; they are good raw, boil'd, preſerv'd, or any way; no *cardoon* is like them with oil and vinegar. There are many things in thoſe

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Chap. 18. *p.* 107. He ſpeaks of *Batachina*, and ſuppoſes the *Chineſes* ſubdu'd it. I ſpoke my mind about it in the firſt book.

Then he talks of *Cauripa* and other ſmall kingdoms, theſe are adjoining to *Macaſar*. Concerning the cloves he ſays, *p.* 113. *Cloves.* It attracts moiſture to it very much, ſuffers no graſs to grow near it, but allows of trees, as I my ſelf ſaw with my eyes, tho' ſome will deny it. The author ſays, I have often heard it told, that ſailors lying upon cheſts or bales of cloves inſenſibly dry'd away ſo faſt, that they would doubtleſs have periſh'd, had they not chang'd their bed. So ſtrongly does it draw the moiſture of any thing that is near it, which plainly appears when it is ſold, for they ſprinkle it with water to make it weigh the heavier, and the cheat cannot be perceiv'd.

15. In his ſecond book he gives an account how F. *Alonſo Sanchez* went to *Macao*, to endeavour to bring that city under our king's obedience, and he compaſs'd it.

In my time *Manila* ſent another father to that city upon the ſame account, who ſucceeded not. When I went afterwards, clergy and laymen told me, Such a one did his own buſineſs very well, and gather'd abundance of good things, but took no care of the main thing he came about; for had he gone about it, he had certainly compaſs'd it: ſuch a one ſhould have come and not he, who only minded his private intereſt. I enquir'd into the whole matter, and concluded that man was pitch'd upon to do nothing; yet I believe they deſign'd well who ſent him. It is neceſſary upon ſuch occaſions to make uſe of one who does not ſtudy his own or his family's intereſt; for if it be inconſiſtent with the publick buſineſs he has in hand, he leaves this laſt, and only minds his own affair. The more a man has of avarice and ſelfiſhneſs, the leſs will he ſtir in the publick ſervice. S. *Jerome* obſerves that when *Nebuchadnezzar* would have divine worſhip given to his golden ſtatue, the firſt he ſent for were the greateſt men of his kingdom, *Dan.* iii. 2. The ſaint aſſigns the reaſon thus: *The princes are call'd to adore the ſtatue, becauſe powerful men fearing to want the riches they poſſeſs, are more eaſily ſupplanted.* That wicked king underſtood it, and made a good obſervation for compaſſing his deſign. They, who ought to have been the firſt in oppoſing that abomination, were the firſt that ſubmitted for intereſt. It is not ſo with him that has no private intereſt to mind: he ſpeaks boldly, oppoſes what is ill, pleads for what is good, and breaks his reſt to attend the publick. The wicked king *Achab*, 3 *Reg.* xviii. 17. complain'd againſt holy *Elias*, ſends for and ſays to him, *It is you that trouble Iſrael.* How uſual a thing is it in the world, and particularly in *India*, to ſay and write that blameleſs prelates diſturb the peace, and make uproars in kingdoms and provinces, and this becauſe they reprove the crimes they ſee publickly committed without any ſhame? And they that are concerned, ſeeking at any rate to ſatisfy their own avarice, they find ways and means, as was done againſt CHRIST, to repreſent things as they pleaſe, ſo that they ſeem credible to thoſe who through a criminal negligence do not dive to the bottom of thoſe affairs. It is you *Elias* that diſturb my kingdom and ſubjects; I know not how to deal with you, nor can I live in peace and quiet. *Elias* anſwer'd, *Not I, but you, and your father's houſe.* It is not I, but your ill government and miniſters that breed this diſturbance. How many might this anſwer be given to at preſent? *Abulenſis* admires at the prophet's anſwer, and ſays, *He a man of great reſolution, is not afraid to ſpeak harſhly to the king.* He valued no private intereſt, had nothing to loſe, and therefore ſpoke his mind freely. So ought all good miniſters to do; but where ſhall we find ſuch? I mention'd no ſmall number among the *Chineſes* in my former books. *Who, think ye, is the faithful and prudent ſervant?* ſaith CHRIST, *Mat.* xxiv. *Hugo* and *Albertus*, ſay that, *Who*, *ſignifies the rarity*; that there are few in the world. S. *Thomas*, *And if there be few faithful, there are fewer prudent.* I underſtand it, that there are but few prudent and wiſe for the publick good, but they are all ſharp and ſagacious for their own affairs, and that to exceſs, they leave no ſtone unturn'd for their benefit; they ſhroud their own buſineſs under the cloak of the king's ſervice, the honour of his crown, the good of his ſubjects; they give it one name to day, and another to morrow, and at laſt it all ends in private intereſt, and for the moſt part with prejudice to others. *The children of this world are wiſer than the children of light.* F. *Alonſo Sanchez* like a worthy religious man as he was, only regarded the ſervice of his king, he deſir'd nothing for himſelf, and therefore manag'd that buſineſs with zeal, and came off with honour. Had the other follow'd his example, he might have done the ſame; he minded private affairs, and therefore muſt of neceſſity fail in the publick.

16. *Pag.* 179. The author owns that the *Portugueſes* in *China* are look'd upon as ſubjects of that kingdom. In the third chapter of this ſecond book, he ſays the ſame, wherein he agrees with what I writ, *chap.* 17.

Chap. 4. *p.* 186. He ſays, The *Chineſes* are miſtruſtful, as being cowards, but not the *Tartars*, who are not jealous of foreign nations.

F. *Colin* is much deceiv'd, he went not over into *China*, nor ſaw the violent ſtorm rais'd there againſt all *Europeans*, nor the practices againſt *Macao*, they are more fearful and jealous than the *Chineſes* themſelves; they care for no ſtrangers, nor do they deſire to know there are any in the world. They turn'd out the *Dutch*, and forbid thoſe of *Macao* trading by ſea; wherein then conſiſts their ſecurity of Mind?

Chap. 5. *p.* 190. He ſays, The firſt that brought the faith into *China*, were the fathers *Matthew Riccius* and *Pantoga*. I have prov'd it was not ſo in the ſecond tome: I will here briefly ſet down what I obſerv'd and took notice of in *China*, and I think it deſerves ſome reflection. I heard F. *Gouvea*, who was ſuperior of his miſſion, and the eldeſt of it, affirm, That *Portugal* even when united to our crown, would never permit any *Spaniſh* prieſt to paſs that way, either to *Japan*, *China*, or any other miſſion; and that there were extraordinary difficulties made about F. *Pantoja* of *Toledo*, who was the only one that paſſed: So that they gave free paſſage to *Germans*, *Flemings*, *French*, *Savoyards*, *Romans*, *Genoeſes*, *Neapolitans*, *Sicilians*, and yet none to *Spaniards*; and we are ſo good that we ſuffer *Portugueſes* and other nations to go over to *America* and the *Philippine* iſlands without any need, though we have found inconveniences from thoſe people (I am not certain whether any *French* religious men have gone over, but of all the reſt I am) I ſaid without any need, becauſe our kings have enough miniſters of the goſpel to ſerve all their kingdoms. One of good experience in theſe affairs was wont to ſay, that he lik'd it well, and thought it a holy thing, that as well religious men, as others of the clergy ſhould employ themſelves in preaching the goſpel, teaching and gaining ſouls to GOD, which is the end for which GOD came into the world; but that he thought it convenient every one ſhould attend that which lay next to him, the *Poles* to *Tartary* and *Muſcovy*, the *Germans* to abundance of hereticks there are in the empire, and ſchiſmaticks near it; the *Flemings*, *French*, and others have enough to do at home, the *Italians* in *Turky*. The *Spaniards* who have no work in their own country, becauſe it is clear, through the goodneſs of GOD, may go over to *America*, and ſince there are enough of them, diſcover new colonies in *Aſia* and other parts. But he could not conceive why the *German* who has ſo much work at home, ſhould go to find out that in *China*, thro' ſo many difficulties, and at ſo great an expence. NAVARETTE.

17. *Chap.* 9. *p.* 206. He writes, that the *Chineſes* are ſuſpicious of *Manila* and the *Spaniards*, becauſe of the ill example of *Mexico*, and their talking of conqueſts.

In this particular the good father *Colin* agrees with F. *Alonſo Sanchez Morales*, and the reſt of their ſociety. I have writ much to this point, and in my opinion made out that it is falſe. F. *Alonſo Sanchez* his experience in the affairs of *China*, though he made two voyages thither, is no way convincing; for he that knows not the language, and reads not their books, nor converſes with thoſe people, cannot be well acquainted with particulars. I have already prov'd that the *Chineſes* do not look upon us as conquerors, or people that talk of ſuch matters; it is enough in this place to ſay that the quarrel the *Chineſes* and *Tartars* have is againſt *Macao*, not againſt *Manila*. None of the perſecutions thoſe of the ſociety have ſuffer'd, has been caus'd by *Manila*. It is their reverences that talk of conqueſts, thoſe of the ſociety have carried fire-arms, caſt great guns, and been *mandarines* of the warlike ſtores. All this and much more I plainly make out in my ſecond tome, and ſomething was ſaid concerning it in the foregoing fifteen and ſixteen chapters.

18. *Chap.* 11. *p.* 211. He inſerts F. *Alonſo Sanchez* his excellent doctrine, which is this: by natural right, and the law of nations, any people may go to ſtrange and new countries, and make uſe of all that is common, as ſeas, rivers, coaſts, food, wood, game, and other things which are not peculiar and appropriated; and take lands, build houſes, towns and forts for their defence; and they may give and ſell what they carry, and receive and buy what they have, and oblige the heads and princes to permit their ſubjects to trade and converſe with their gueſts. The author adds, and this may be better done by divine right, if thoſe that go will preach and teach them the laws and cuſtom of the Chriſtian faith.

I now admit of the doctrine, and do not diſpute it, but only obſerve that it is not very proper for *China*, or cannot be apply'd, for as much as in all that vaſt extent of land, there is not a foot of land but what is appropriated to ſome particular perſon; and conſequently no ſtranger can

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Nor do I conceive that any king has right to come to the coaſt of *Andaluzia*, or any other, and there build towns and forts; for if he has a natural right according to the laws of nations, it will follow that the king of *Spain* oppoſing him, breaks thoſe two laws which are the bands that tie up the hands of princes to keep within their own kingdoms, and live in peace with others, which would be of very ill conſequence.

But leaving the deciſion of theſe difficulties to abler pens, from the doctrine above I infer, *a fortiori*, that all religious and ſecular churchmen may go to all miſſions in pagan countries, though there be other miſſioners there; and that if theſe obſtruct the coming of the others, or their erecting churches, or preaching, they will tranſgreſs the divine and natural law. I am of opinion this is a good inference, and if ſo we may freely practiſe it; and if the firſt there oppoſe it, as they do now at *Macao*, they doubtleſs commit a grievous ſin.

Miſſions. 19. *Chap.* 13. He treats at large of preaching with arms and ſoldiers, and goes on upon the ſame, *chap.* 14. This is a weighty point, has been ſeveral times diſputed, and our good biſhop *Caſas* ſome years ſince argu'd it at *Valladolid*; his propoſitions and the anſwers of doctor *Sepulveda*, are preſerv'd in the archives of the college of S. *Gregory*; I read part of them in my younger years. I here admit many things, and will only add what I have ſeen and obſerv'd. The author corroborates his opinion with the ill ſucceſs of thoſe four hundred who went with the lord *Caſas* to the *Indies*, who were ſlain by that barbarous people. In his ſixth reaſon, *chap.* 14. to F. *John Bolante*, *p.* 229. he ſays, That neither in *Brazil*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, the *Philippine* and *Maluco* iſlands, there has been any converſion or propagating of Chriſtianity, without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular power. *Pag.* 305. he repeats, that no advance has been made any where without force of arms; and before that ſays, that even thoſe of the contrary opinion have of late follow'd his, which doubtleſs is meant of ours of *Manila*, who went with ſoldiers to the converſion of *Itui*. All that has been ſaid ſeems to make out his opinion, which S. *Francis Zaverius* held, and thoſe of his inſtitute in *China* ſaid; and therefore they told it in my preſence, that the ſaint us'd to ſay, That there would be no good Chriſtians till they were under command, which ſeems to be prov'd by the event, ſince we ſee all the miſſions that great apoſtle of *India* founded and labour'd in, are all loſt.

20. My opinion is, that it is no eaſy matter to convince all men, and a very difficult matter to diſſuade any man from that which he has fixt in his mind as truth. But if we muſt be led by examples, I believe we don't want ſome to evince the contrary opinion. I paſs by the method CHRIST took in preaching, was follow'd by his diſciples, and left us in the goſpel; there is no doubt but he that follows it is far enough from any danger of erring; for it is a preſumption, if not a crime, to ſay that our Saviour did not leave general rules for all men to preach in all parts, as one anſwer'd diſcourſing of this ſubject. Let us come to later examples; the converſion of *England* under S. *Gregory* was perform'd, and continu'd without force of arms. Thirty kingdoms, hiſtories tell us, were converted by the ſons of S. *Benedict*, but were no way kept in awe by catholick arms. Thoſe of *Poland*, and others later, were perform'd by the *Mendicant* orders after the ſame manner. But you'll ſay, many for want of a power have fail'd, which might have been ſupported by it. I anſwer, in the firſt place, that we neither can nor ought to judge of future contingencies according to our fancy. 2dly, That if Chriſtianity ceas'd there, it was perhaps becauſe the number of the predeſtinate there was compleat; and if not, as his Divine Majeſty order'd and diſpos'd the planting of the faith there, without the noiſe of arms, he will cauſe it to be reſtor'd by the ſame means, ſending miſſioners thither like to thoſe ancient ones who founded thoſe miſſions.

21. Nor is it altogether true, that no converſion has been made of late ages; without the aſſiſtance of arms we know ours have converted at *Verapaz*, and they continue to this day. And now at this very time F. *Francis* of the Roſary of my order has enter'd the great *Paititi*, where he has thouſands of Chriſtians, without any protection or aſſiſtance but GOD's; and the natives beg that *Dominican* friars may be ſent them, but no ſoldiers. I am well inform'd of this particular, and of the goodneſs of that country, which is fruitful, populous, and pleaſant. Perſons of credit aſſure me, that there are above three thouſand of the trade in the goldſmiths ſtreet at the court. So in *Japan* there was a great increaſe of Chriſtianity without force of arms; and if it fell to nothing, it was not for want of ſoldiers, but by reaſon of other things that might have been well avoided. The two great and general perſecutions

ſecutions in *China* proceeded from other cauſes. I find there is ſomething amiſs every where. The fathers of the ſociety carrying ſoldiers into *Ethiopia*, were expell'd without hopes of ever returning. In *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *China*, they were look'd upon as ſpies, this is not ſo bad as the other.

Itui. 22. Nor does our going from *Manila* to *Itui* with ſoldiers make out any thing; it was the particular opinion of one man, diſapprov'd by others, and the ill ſucceſs foretold. Whilſt there were only three fathers in that province they made ſome advance, and preach'd in peace and quietneſs: as ſoon as ever the ſoldiers came, the natives were alarm'd, ran to arms, burnt, kill'd and wounded, and all was loſt. What happen'd in the iſlands call'd *Marianas* is well known, ſo that there is no aſcertaining any thing in this matter.

23. Another difficulty occurs to me, which is, that if miſſions muſt be carried on under the protection of arm'd force, there will be very few; therefore they muſt either be left off, or continu'd in the ſame manner the apoſtles follow'd them. For whence ſhall we have a force to ſhelter thoſe that preach in *China*, *Japan*, and the *Mogul*'s country? I only mention theſe, without ſpeaking of many other vaſt kingdoms. Now if all the ſoldiers in the church will not ſuffice for three places, how muſt we relieve the reſt? I am perſuaded one Chriſtian converted and inſtructed peaceably, is worth twenty made with the ſhew of force. They who here talk of the protection of Chriſtian forces, will imagine the ſoldiers will do nothing but aid and protect; they will do more miſchief with their lewdneſs in one day, than twenty religious men can repair in a year. But if there be no ſoldiers, they will kill the religious men before they have done any good. Let them kill, CHRIST himſelf and his apoſtles were kill'd; and it is enough done to ſprinkle that country with blood, that it may afterwards yield a more plentiful harveſt. He ſays, no miracles are wrought now a-days, and therefore the method muſt be chang'd. I ſay, S. *Francis Xaverius* wrought many in the *Eaſt* and *South*, and S. *Lewis Bertrandus* in the *Weſt-Indies*; the author mentions many in his hiſtory, and thoſe of his ſociety ſpeak of others. In the next place I ſay, as F. *Lubeli* of the ſociety was wont to inculcate to me, Let us preach as we ought to do, and GOD will work miracles; but how ſhould there be miracles whilſt we preach ſo and ſo? I have alſo given an account, that the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* has condemn'd the method of ſpreading the goſpel by force of arms.

24. F. *Colin*, *chap.* 13. writes, That thoſe of his ſociety live very poor and apoſtolically in *China* upon the alms ſent them from *Europe*, and the labour of their hands and ingenuity, as S. *Paul* did; and yet the converſion does not go forwards, nor does it take ſuch root as it ſhould do. Experience, he ſays, has ſhew'd it in *Japan*, where ſo great an addition as was made to Chriſtendom, fell off for want of being ſupported by arms. With reſpect to ſo great a man, I ſay he is deceiv'd in theſe points, ſomebody ſent him ſuch intelligence from *China*. If what has been ſaid above were true, I doubt not but heaven would grant a more plentiful harveſt, as F. *Lubeli* and others of his brethren ſaid in my hearing, bewailing the abuſes that are crept into that miſſion, whereof I treat at large in my ſecond tome, where the curious reader may ſee it. I anſwer'd above to what relates to *Japan*, and have done it more copiouſly in the ſecond tome. It is requiſite in ſuch miſſions to proceed with caution and diſcretion, any ſecurity is blameable; and for that very reaſon if religious men are alone without any force to protect them, they are to be the more provident and cautious, forbearing all that the infidels may think amiſs in us, as the building of great churches and ſtately palaces, which did us much harm in *China*, in the opinion of the ſame fathers. How can this agree with what the author ſays, that they live in a poor and apoſtolical manner, and on the work of their hands, as S. *Paul* did? Some things are ſo falſe they are inſufferable. My laſt letters from *China* inform me, that the fathers *Enriquez* and *Grimaldo* ſpent four hundred ducats plate in their journey from *Canton* to the imperial city, whither they went as mathematicians, though they are none; now what poverty is this? They by word of mouth in writing maintain, that it is convenient they ſhould behave themſelves with ſtate and gravity, wear ſilk clothes, make great preſents, go in ſedans or palankines on men's ſhoulders, attended by ſervants, *&c.* this they ſay the country requires. Then another writes that they live poorly like the apoſtles, on the labour of their hands, as S. *Paul* did. To what purpoſe is this? F. *Augeri* tells us we muſt behave our ſelves as if we were marquiſſes. F. *James Fabre* is carried in an open palankine by four men. F. *Verbieſt* diſlikes his brethren's proceedings; how ſhall we reconcile theſe matters?

NAVARETTE. *Jeſuits.*

25. *Pag.* 235. *n.* 97. he writes thus. F. *Alonſo Sanchez* intending to put F. *John Bolante* by his deſign of going into *China*, us'd this argument. Which way would your reverence go? through *Chincheo?* no, for the *Chineſes* have never permitted it.

NAVARRETTE. Nor through *Macao*, becauſe the *Portugueſes* will not allow of it, nor the religious there much leſs. This he enlarges upon, deducting in his opinion mighty inferences. I anſwer in ſhort that thoſe of our order, and the *Franciſcans* have gone ſeveral times by the way of *Chincheo*. I went through *Macao*, and others might have done the ſame, had not ſome men obſtructed it, as ſtill they do; when GOD does not obſtruct our ways, it is not fit men ſhould reſtrain his providence. The *Franciſcans*, *Auguſtinians* and *Dominicans* of *Macao* never went about to preach the goſpel in *China*; would to GOD they had, and that the kingdom being ſufficiently ſtock'd, there were no room for *Spaniards*. Thoſe religious men I have nam'd never deſign'd to hinder the *Spaniards*, the laity much leſs; ſo that neither the infidels of *Chincheo*, nor Chriſtians of *Macao* have obſtructed the *Spaniards*. The miſchief ſprung from another place; ſo that it may well be ſaid, *Death in the pot*, 4 *Reg.* iv. ℣. 40. for where the miſſioners ought to have found aſſiſtance and protection, there they have met with troubles, ruin, and perſecution. Death ſprung from the place where life was expected; the words of the Canticles ſuit well in this place, *The children of my mother fought againſt me*, &c.

26. *Pag.* 249. §. 10. he writes that religious men, who go to other countries without orders for it, diſturb and ſcandalize them, being look'd upon as ſpies, which makes the infidels fortify themſelves, as has happen'd in *China*; and that diſorder is the cauſe our holy faith is ſlighted.

Let us aſk the author, what he means by going to other countries without orders? I would know further, who it was that ſcandaliz'd *Japan*, and diſturb'd *China?* The reader will find it in my ſecond tome, where I have it at large. In that particular of being taken for ſpies, we are all alike, tho' in truth thoſe of the ſociety outdo us, for only they and no others have been eſteem'd ſuch in *Ethiopia*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*. The infidels fortify, as they have done in *China*. The worſt of it is, that religious men ſerve as ingineers for raiſing of walls and fortifications, and as ſuch ſerve the infidels, and furniſh them with cannon. In *China* they have been fortified by thoſe of *Macao* and others, not by thoſe of *Manila* or the *Spaniards*. The contempt of our holy faith proceeds chiefly from other monſtrous proceedings. Theſe diſorders, tho' thoſe that cauſe them go with orders to the miſſion, cauſe much miſchief. I would know further by what order the apoſtles went among the Gentiles? The ſame of *S. Francis Xaverius*, and thoſe that went into *Ethiopia*.

27. *Pag.* 250. he with good reaſon blames the falſe accounts ſent into *Europe*, of the converſion of *China* and other kingdoms. This I agree to, it ſuits with what *F. John Adamus* was wont to ſay. I have ſet down abundance of *chimeras* that have been writ into *Europe* concerning *China* and other parts. I have many more in my ſecond tome, where the reader may ſee them, and may receive light, not to be deluded by ſuch accounts.

28. *Chap.* XXV. *p.* 315. he ſhews at large, how GOD at ſeveral times has made uſe of ſeveral means for the converſion of ſouls. At the firſt beginning of the church, he made choice of the apoſtles, whom he endow'd with ſeveral graces, and granted them many privileges. Now in theſe times, GOD does not make choice of them, nor give them ſuch a great power, nor the gift of tongues, nor working of miracles. That at firſt all civiliz'd nations admitted preachers without any oppoſition, *&c.*

Here the author hints at ſeveral particulars, to which I cannot now ſpeak ſo fully as I would; but think what I have in my ſecond tome may ſuffice. My opinion is, that the method CHRIST and his apoſtles us'd in preaching is ſtill in the goſpel. *Matth.* x. ℣. 9, 10. *leg. Sylveira hic, & tom.* vi. *cap.* x. *q.* 1, 2. *n.* 8. *& q.* 3. And there is no doubt it was left there for others to imitate it. I find not any other in holy writ, and this is it which the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* has confirm'd and propos'd to its miſſioners, for them to follow and obſerve, as appears by the inſtructions *pro miſſionariis*, printed at *Rome anno* 1669. If ſeveral methods have been taken, it has been becauſe the miſſioners have taken them up of their own accord, forſaking that way which the author of it inſtituted and follow'd. Nor muſt we imagine the divine providence can forſake its miniſters in all that ſhall be requiſite, unleſs they render themſelves unworthy of its protection. *S. Vincent Fererius*, *S. Antony* of *Padua*, *S. Francis Xaverius*, and *S. Luis Bertrandus* wrought wonderful prodigies, as I ſaid before. Nor is the world at preſent deſtitute of ſome that endeavour to imitate them; one poor *French* clergyman alone, and deſtitute of all human help, baptiz'd ſixty perſons in one day in the kingdom of *Camboxa*, *anno* 1668. what can be a greater wonder? He ſhin'd among thoſe infidels by means of his holy life, like the ſun among the ſtars. Great miracles are told of the biſhop of *Beritus*, who is now at *Siam*; and his life being ſuch as I know it to be, I look upon them to be very likely. Let us preach as we ought to do, ſaid *F. Lubeli*, and GOD will work miracles. *Miracles.*

Theſe following words are in the dedi-

cation

cation of the inſtructions before mention'd to pope *Clement* IX. *Very grave authors, and chiefly* Joſeph Acoſta(in libris de procuranda Indorum ſalute, lib. I. c. xi, xii. lib. II. c. i. & ſequentibus, lib. IV. c. iv, xv. lib. VI. c. ii.) *plainly make it appear, that the ruin of the moſt flouriſhing, or at leaſt very hopeful miſſions proceeded, either from the not altogether commendable manners of ſome of the labourers, or from the manner of propagating the goſpel, which was contrary to the goſpel it ſelf,* &c. It is certain then the form and method for preachers continues to this day; and if they follow any other, it is invented by themſelves, not by CHRIST.

Chap. iii. *art.* 3. he mentions, how the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* condemns the method of planting the faith by the force of arms, as was done in *America*, which is enough to condemn the opinion of the author and his followers. They alſo oppoſe what ſome ſay, and I have often heard, that *China* is a different nation from others, and the people ſingular, and therefore it is requiſite the manner of preaching to them be different from that us'd to other nations. This I ſay is nothing but ſelf-love, and our own fancy. F. *Emanuel George* was wont to ſay to me; Father, when I ſee my ſelf finely clad in ſilk, and that a *mandarin* pays me great reſpect in the preſence of many people, it pleaſes me and I rejoice; but there is nothing in it that tends to GOD, it is all human and worldly, theſe things ſtick to our body. This I look upon to be all true, and would theſe fathers, if they were poorly clad, and liv'd upon the labour of their hands, be viſited with *mandarines?* I may be allow'd to ſpeak of theſe things, becauſe I have ſeen, and had ſufficient experience of them.

29. *Pag.* 315. *n.* 166. and in thoſe following, he endeavours to prove by examples how neceſſary force is towards converting. I have writ my opinion upon it, and it will be proper to conſider what great inconveniences have, and do ſtill follow ſuch courſes, and how much other nations abhor them. Much has been ſaid upon this ſubject, the buſineſs is of weight and moment. *C. Mamartin,* in *Gratiar. Act. pro Conſul. ad Julian. Auguſt. cap.* iv. *But the mending of manners, and correcting of judgments, is a difficult ſtrife, and buſineſs full of danger.* When the end is ſo ſublime and divine, the means muſt alſo of neceſſity not be human or earthly, but ſublime; they muſt be ſuitable, and tend to the erecting of heavenly *Jeruſalem*, to unite the ſouls to the living foundation-ſtone of this ſtructure, which is CHRIST: Why then do we uſe methods that tend only to ſeparate and deſtroy all that preachers with much labour and ſweat erect? Theſe things ought to be conceiv'd by ideas lifted up far above all that is clay and earth, and not be adapted to our own fancies, which perhaps flow from our private ſatisfaction, tho' ſhrowded under the outward pretences of GOD's glory, and the good of ſouls. Read S. *Thomas* in *Matth.* x. upon the words, *like ſheep,* &c. which anſwers my deſign, and is contrary to the author's. NAVARETTE.

30. *Lib.* III. *c.* vi. *p.* 354. *n.* 35. the author owns his ſociety obtain'd a bull of his holineſs *Gregory* the 13th, forbidding religious men of other orders going to *Japan.* Neither I nor others doubted of this matter, therefore I was ſurpriz'd, and admir'd that *F. Joſeph Morales* in his treatiſes ſhould defend, that the ſaid bull was not granted at the requeſt of the ſociety; which he endeavours to make out ſeveral ways. But the author plainly and ingenuouſly owns the truth in the place above mention'd, which he ſo wiſe, ſo antient, and ſo well read a man could not be ignorant of. I have already taken notice how that prohibition ceas'd by virtue of a ſpecial bull of pope *Urban* the 8th, *anno* 1633, which was confirm'd again in the year 1674 by his holineſs *Clement* the 10th; ſo that any churchman either religious or ſecular may freely at preſent go to thoſe miſſions, which way he ſhall think fit. It appears by the bull, which ſhall be inſerted at the end of this volume. The reaſons which moved the ſociety to procure that bull are ſet down in the ſecond tome.

Pag. 357. *n.* 40. he ſpeaks of the tempeſts and ſtorms the devil by means of the infidels rais'd againſt the tender plants of the church of *Japan*, and its labourers. I refer to what I have writ in my ſecond tome.

In the year 1594, he ſays, his ſociety had in *Japan* two hundred thouſand Chriſtians, two hundred churches, and one hundred and thirty religious men. Would to GOD thoſe labourers had converted thoſe iſlands, that we might all bleſs GOD, and extol the labour of his miniſters! What I have to ſay now, is, that the number he ſpeaks of, does not agree with that I heard from *F. Gouvea* in *China.* I have writ how much they vary in this paricular.

31. *Pag.* 358. he ſpeaks of the prudence of his ſociety in *Japan*, in correſponding with his majeſty and holineſs, and receiving their bulls and orders to hinder other orders at that time from going to *Japan.* Time has made it appear; GOD grant it may give them ſome caution for *China*, *Tartary*, and the *Mogul*'s country and other civiliz'd nations of *Aſia.* They are all the author's own words.

NAVARETTE. Since the ſociety had with ſo much prudence procur'd that bull, as has been mention'd, I do not find it was any thing praiſeworthy in them to accept it, with the king's letter to the ſame purpoſe: there is little merit in obedience, where we comply with thoſe things we are pleas'd with and deſire; obedience is perfect, when it has nothing of our ſelves, and the more difficult the thing is that is commanded. S. *Thomas opuſc.* 2. *c.* 227. ſays, *Obedience is ſo much the more commendable, by how much thoſe things are more difficult which a man obeys.* See *Sylveira* to this point, *Tom.* 6. *p.* 119. *n.* 4. *verb. obedientia.* We very well know, that when in the year 1648 the decree of *Innocent* the 10th was made known to the miſſioners of *China*, they took no notice of, nor thought themſelves oblig'd to obſerve it, which the author was not ignorant of. This was a time for prudence and obedience to appear, ſubmitting the underſtanding to the command of the head of the church. S. *Bernard de præcep. & diſpenſ. cap.* xii. ſays thus; *Whatſoever man commands in the name of* GOD, *ſo it be not certainly diſpleaſing to* GOD, *muſt be receiv'd no otherwiſe, than if* GOD *himſelf gave command.* And afterwards; *We muſt therefore hear him, whom we have in the place of* GOD, *as we would* GOD *in thoſe things which are not directly againſt* GOD. Time, ſays he, has ſhewn it. He that ſhew'd it me in all its minute circumſtances, was *Francis Caron*, general director of the *French Eaſt-India* company at *Suratte*, *anno* 1671. as I have ſet it down in my controverſies. GOD grant he goes on, this may give them ſome caution for *China*, &c. The miſſioners of *China* might have taken warning by the example of *Japan*, thoſe of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *Ethiopia*, and even by that of *China* it ſelf at this time, and in the year 1618, beſides many others they have had, that might ſuffice to make an impreſſion even upon ſtone and braſs. When the perſecution in *China* began, ſome talked of altering thoſe things that had caus'd troubles and calamities. I forwarded it, but was ſoon convinc'd it would come to nothing. Men uſe to take warning by other men, which is certainly very good and holy, *Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. Hugo* in *Pſal.* xlix. But even brute beaſts grow cautious by their own ſufferings. He who ſtumbles in a place, takes care the next time he comes that way; which makes me wonder at what I have been a witneſs to. The effects are ſuitable, tho' ſome pretend to mend them. An exact account of every thing is given in the ſecond tome.

32. *Pag.* 359. He ſays, that in the year 1597. there was a perſecution in *Japan*, becauſe a ſhip of *Manila* was put in there; and the emperor ſaid, it went to conquer the country, as they had done *Mexico*, and that the *Franciſcan* friars were ſpies.

I anſwer that nothing can be made out or urg'd either *pro* or *con*, upon a mere accident and caſualty, and there is no doubt but the emperor muſt be void of reaſon in ſuppoſing one ſingle ſhip went to conquer that iſland. It was alſo unreaſonable that he ſhould look upon *Franciſcans* as ſpies, only upon that account. And ſuppoſing it were ſo, I have already writ what happen'd to the fathers of the ſociety in *Ethiopia*, which their hiſtorian *Tellez* mentions, and what befel to them in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*; and it were fit that ſome of them making their advantage of ſo many examples, ſhould look at home, and not neglecting this altogether, bend their whole thoughts upon things at a diſtance, and mere poſſibilities. *Tacit.* in vit. Agric. *Beginning by himſelf and his, be firſt order'd his own houſe, which is no leſs difficult to moſt men, than to govern a province.* Caſſiodorus lib. X. Var. epiſt. 5. *We will begin to ſhew good government in our family, that the reſt may be aſham'd to do amiſs, when it is known we allow not our own people the liberty of tranſgreſſing.* Nor do I like the miniſters of the goſpel ſhould entertain ſo many fears, ſince it is a thing ſo deſpicable in a worthy ſoldier. We ought to proceed with more liberty and aſſurance; and ſince the buſineſs we have in hand is ſo immediately GOD's, and tending to his glory, it is not reaſonable we ſhould be faint hearted, or believe we can want his ſpecial protection and providence over us. *Fear is a token of infidelity*, ſays S. *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, *Orat.* 22. I have often conſider'd who he or they were that made it known in *Japan* and *China* that the catholick king had conquer'd *China*, and what their deſign could be in ſo doing. As to my ſelf, I believe I am not out in my judgment, I think there needs not much better grounds to ſpeak it out; I only require ſome little pious affection in the reader, to be ſatisfy'd in all he ſhall find in my controverſies.

33. *Pag.* 360. He ſpeaks of the martyrdom of the religious men of the order of our father S. *Francis* and others. We know that pope *Urban* the eighth declar'd them martyrs, ſo that there is no room left for catholicks to make a doubt of it. Therefore I always look'd upon what a clergyman ſaid publickly at *Macao* as a preſumption, to wit, that they dy'd excommunicate. Others have ſaid the ſame upon no other ground, but becauſe they will have it they went to *Japan* contrary to the command of pope *Gregory* the 13th.

Something

Something might be ſaid to this point; let it ſuffice to know, that notwithſtanding that came to the ears of his holineſs *Urban* the 8th, and the ſacred congregation of rites, yet thoſe religious men were ſolemnly declar'd martyrs. This being ſo, it was a great impudence to utter ſuch words, when the feaſt of their martyrdom had been celebrated in ſeveral places, to the honour and glory of GOD.

34. F. *Michael de Cardenas*, who approv'd this hiſtory, gives it for granted that the apoſtle S. *Thomas* never went to *China*, *Japan* or the *Philippine* iſlands, which confirms my opinion ſet down in the firſt book, and I find it favour'd by F. *Silveira Tom.* 6. *in Evang. lib.* IX. *cap.* 10. *p.* 796. ℣. 58. He ſpeaks of *America*, *Braſil*, and *Angola*, where he ſays, no foot-ſtep of Chriſtian religion was found. And when I thought this point was clear'd or agreed upon, I ſee new difficulties ſtart up. F. *Cyprian de Herrera*, in the life of that worthy arch-biſhop of *Lima*, *Toribio Alfonſo Mograbexo*, about whoſe beatification ſome meaſures are now taken at *Rome*, *Chap.* xxii. ſays, that in the province of the *Chachapoyas*, ſome tokens were found of the holy apoſtle's having been in that country, and that the holy archbiſhop own'd and worſhip'd him as ſuch. *Portugueſes* write that the ſame footſteps have been found in *Braſil*, to which they add traditions of the natives. If this be ſo, it is likely he went along from *Coromandel* through all thoſe kingdoms between it and *China*, whence he might go over to *Japan*, and ſo to all the iſlands in that ſea, viſit the *Mogul*'s and *Malabar*'s country, croſs over to the cape of *Good Hope*, and other kingdoms thereabouts; for all theſe countries lying nearer the holy apoſtle, it is not likely he ſhould forſake them, and go to others ſo remote as *America*. And if any man ſhall ſay he was firſt in *Braſil* and *Peru*, and thence went over into *India*; I anſwer, I am of opinion the ſaint would not have left that new world cut off from the reſt to go away into *Aſia*, and thoſe countries contiguous to *Perſia*, and nearer to us. Every man may believe what he pleaſes, but I am apt to ſuſpect that if the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita* be diſcover'd, there will preſently be other footſteps of St. *Thomas* found there, and there will not want reaſon and probabilities to make it out. Thus I will put an end to what I deſign in this ſupplement.

35. But becauſe it is *China* that all my thoughts are bent upon, I cannot chuſe but return to it, tho' at preſent it ſhall be very briefly. I think what is ſaid in the land of promiſe in *Deut.* viii. 7. may with good reaſon be apply'd to that kingdom. *For the* LORD *thy* GOD *bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that ſpring out of valleys and hills: A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomgranates, a land of oil and honey: A land wherein thou ſhalt eat bread without ſcarceneſs, thou ſhall not lack any thing in it, a land whoſe ſtones are iron, and out of whoſe hills thou mayſt dig braſs*, &c. NAVARETTE.

That country has much more than all this, and tho' it have neither olive-trees nor vineyards, it abounds in ſeveral ſorts of oil, and has plenty of grapes, and thouſands of things we do not know among us; innumerable rivers, brooks, and fountains, corn, rice, honey, fruit, metals, &c. Where is there any country that can match it? *Olive-trees. Vineyards.*

I writ in another place, what notable care thoſe people take in preparing and diſpoſing themſelves to ſacrifice to their dead, and be preſent at theſe ſacrifices. They faſt three days, marry'd men are ſeparated from their wives ſeven days; they all retire upon the eve, keep ſilence, make themſelves clean outwardly, waſh themſelves to go into the temple, and all this in order to recollect themſelves inwardly, and aſſiſt devoutly and decently at thoſe ſacrilegious ceremonies; and this not once in their life, but ſeveral times in a year. If we catholicks took example by thoſe heathens againſt ſaying maſs, and receiving the bleſſed ſacrament, we ſhould receive much more benefit by it. S. *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, *Orat.* 19. ſays, *Be a diſciple of the Gentiles; that you may believe, follow the unbelievers.* Much liberty is taken among marry'd men about receiving, ſome rules have been aſſign'd in canons touching this matter, which is only by way of advice, but no precept. *B. Humbertus de Romanis, lib.* IV. *de Erudit. Religioſ. cap.* xiii. reflecting on the death of *Oza* for touching the ark, 2 *Reg.* vi. ſays, *The Hebrews ſay the cauſe of it was, becauſe he had lain the foregoing night with his own wife; if* GOD *ſo puniſh'd that preſumption, what puniſhment are they worthy of who come to receive the* LORD*'s body without reſpect?* &c. *Achimeleck*'s anſwer to *David*, 1 *Reg.* xxi. 4. is to the purpoſe, *I have no lay-loaves at hand, but only holy bread, if the young men are clean, particularly from women. David* anſwer'd, *If you talk of women, we have abſtain'd yeſterday and the day before.* Certain it is he who was repreſented exceeds the figure, or repreſentative. The ark and that holy bread were types of the euchariſt; and if thoſe requir'd ſo much reverence, more is requiſite for him that was repreſented. *Oleaſt.* in *Exod.* xix. explicating theſe words, *Sanctify them*, &c. ſays thus, *You ſee what purity is requir'd to converſe with* GOD, *much more to deal familiarly with* *Sacrifices.*

NAVARETTE.

with him. S. *Thomas* has the same; *Opusc.* 58. *cap.* 16. And no doubt it requires a purity infinitely greater to receive him every day. This doctor a little lower speaks more to the purpose upon the words, *Do not approach to your wives*, he says thus; *There are in these times many (I wish it be not only in name) holy marry'd men, who rarely or never abstain from their wives bed and embraces, and yet frequently communicate and often presume to be familiar with* GOD, *believing conjugal embraces to be no obstruction to piety; to whom this place should be often inculcated, that they might learn to treat the most holy things with more reverence, and might know that even corporal uncleanness is offensive to the divine purity, and understand that not only the heart, but the body, clothes, and all things are to be made clean, when we are to approach to* GOD. *Whence I suppose the custom came among the* Jews *of washing their hands and garments, when they went to prayer*, &c. *and tho' the* LORD *in the new law require rather an inward than an outward cleanness, yet he does not altogether neglect the corporal.* Read *Corn. à Lap.* and S. *Thom.* 3. *p. q.* 83. *art.* 4. and *cap.* 15, & 16. *opusc.* 58. and S. *Basil interrog.* 23. *Reg. Brev.* And if S. *Paul* 1 *Cor.* vii. advises marry'd people to abstain only to pray, something more is requir'd for receiving the supreme majesty of GOD. S. *Thomas* quotes the iii. *Chap.* of the holy Ghost to the same purpose as S. *Paul. There is a time of embracing, and a time of removing far from embraces.* These words can be no way so well apply'd as to the holy communion; for no case so positively requires such a disposition, This that has been said, and the opinions of grave doctors, has brought up the custom in the *Philippine* islands, *China*, and other parts of the east, for marry'd people to part beds the night before they receive, which they strictly observe. Read S. *Thomas*, *opusc. ut sup. cap.* 16. where he speaks to this purpose. Nor is this condemning the frequenting the sacrament, but blaming them that do not approach to it with due reverence, decency and other dispositions, Nor is it enough, as some men urge, that man is in a state of grace, to justify the receiving as every man fancies. It is well known that tho' a man be in a state of grace, he may commit so many indecencies, and irreverences, as may be an obstacle to the due honour due to, and consequently the effect of that august sacrament. Many examples might be brought here, but I omit them because the matter is plain, tho' I shall give some hints, when I speak of converts, and those newly baptiz'd.

Eucharist.

I always dislik'd one thing in penitents, which is, when they will needs receive, contrary to their confessor's advice and opinion; I believe such persons rather displease than please GOD. What patient does not follow his physician's prescription? He knows what may do good and harm, and a good medicine without a proper disposition may be hurtful. To this end read S. *Thomas*, *opusc.* 58. *cap.* 18. where he has very plain instances. On the contrary I like those, who even when ask'd, Whether they dare receive our LORD, submit themselves to the direction of their confessor; for this shews humility, knowledge of their unworthiness and fear, which is a good disposition. The doctrine of S. *Austin*, quoted by *Cajetan*, 3. *p. q.* 38. is good and proper for all men, *Live so, that you may daily deserve to receive.* If a man feeds on the best and thrives not, it is a sign there is some defect in the natural heat. If a plant be cultivated and water'd, and yet grows not, it shews there is something amiss in the root; so if a man often feed on the bread of angels, and find no change of life, and increase of virtue, it is most certain the fault is on his side, and that we do not eat it with due preparation. Nor is it allow'd in those parts, that the penitent as soon as he rises from the feet of his confessor go immediately to receive the communion; they are instructed to perform the sacramental satisfaction first, if they can, and if not that they give GOD thanks for the benefit receiv'd, and dispose themselves anew for a greater; for those two sacraments being distinct, the dispositions ought to be so, and man ought to stir up devotion, and much love in himself, &c.

36. I have writ several sentences us'd by those Gentiles, and could add more in this place, but that I would not tire the reader. I have set down one which I afterwards found to a letter in S. *Chrysologus*, *serm.* 3. *de Fil. Prod. Love sees no faults.* And another in *Tertul. c.* 14. *in Apolog. A word of piety is more grateful than a word of compassion.* It would be too tedious to translate all the documents of that nation, which are much admir'd by the *Europeans*; but that which S. *Jerome* writes *lib.* II *comm. in Matt.* xiii. is infallibly true; thus it is, *The preaching of the gospel is the least of all doctrines. Compare it with the instructions of philosophers, and their books, the splendor of their eloquence, and regularity of speech, and you will see how much the seed of the gospel is less than other seeds. But these when they grow up, have nothing that is sharp, sprightly and lively, but is all fading, soft and flaggy, growing up to weeds and grass, which soon withers and falls. But this preaching which at first seem'd little, or when it came into the soul of the believer*, &c. *grows up to a tree, so that the fowls of heaven come*

and build nests on its boughs. Christians daily own this truth, and shew it by their change of life, whereas infidels draw no profit from their doctrines, which we see produce no other fruit but pride, vanity and hypocrisy.

Tartar. 37. The *Tartar*, as has been writ, possess'd himself of all that empire, and laid a foundation to perpetuate himself in it, doing by the imperial family as *Zambri* and *Jehu* did by those of *Baasa*, and *Achab*, 3 *Reg.* c. xvi. ℣. 11. & 4 *Reg.* c. x. ℣. 10. *He left not one of it to piss against a wall*, &c. True it is that precaution settled not *Zambri* above seven days; tyranny is never lasting. What may avail the *Tartar*, is his great caution and circumspection in managing the government, and his extraordinary care in cuting off heads, without regarding the popular hatred, according to the doctrine of *Seneca* in *Oedipus*, *Odia qui nimium timet regnare nescit*. He knows not how to rule who is too much afraid of being hated. But he ought to observe the words of *Justus Lipsius*, 3 Polit. *There is often the greatest danger, where it is least fear'd*. I have writ much concerning that mission in my controversies; I hope in the divine goodness, that if God opens a way for the bishops his holiness has sent to get in, that church will daily increase, tho' it meet with never so many oppositions, especially by ordaining priests of the natives, as the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* ordains. Had this method been us'd forty years ago, no doubt that mission had been better advanced.

I put those who write in mind of *Cicero's* words, *Tuscul.* 3. *It is a folly to see the vices of others, and forget our own*. And what *Seneca* writes, *lib.* I. *de Morib. For nothing is baser, than to object to another that which may be objected to a man's own self.* S. *Augustin* says it, *cap.* 10. *de confess. A curious sort of people, to pry into other mens lives, slothful to mend their own. Seneca* too, if I forget not, said, *The way is short by example, tedious by words.* NAVARETTE.

The misfortune of it lies in our miserable state, our self-love and passions. S. *Chrysostom* homil. 3. sup. cap. 1. 1. ad Cor. *That there is nothing at all so holy, and so well ordain'd, which human malice cannot abuse to its own ruin*. It finds faults in all things; if we preach in a poor manner, the method is not proper; if we wear mean clothes, they are not decent for such men; if we discover CHRIST crucify'd, it is indiscretion; if we do not visit *mandarines*, and present them, we cannot secure Christianity; if we teach the mathematicks, they banish us; if we teach none, there is no admittance. Good God, how many scare-crows they set before us upon all occasions! God order all for his greater glory, and grant unity and concord among the missioners, which, I think, is the main point: I have writ something to this purpose in the second tome. See S. *Thom. in apoc. cap.* viii. ℣. 6, 7. explicating those words, *They prepar'd themselves to sound the trumpet*. Having taken notice that in the second verse it is said, that a trumpet was given to every one of the seven spirits, and what *Richardus Victor* observes upon the ninth *chap.* ℣. 19. *I heard one voice from the four horns*, &c. *One voice, that is, the agreement of the universal doctrine, from the four horns of the golden altar, that is, from all the preachers of* CHRIST, *preaching the four gospels through the four parts of the world*. Thus the heavenly and divine seed will certainly bring forth fruit. Otherwise we shall say, *In vain do we labour and run*. See *Sylveir. tom.* VI. *cap.* 4. *q.* 1.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Notes upon F. Martin Martinez's *Treatise* de Bello Tartarico.

1. I Know not whether I got the better of sloth, which hinder'd me from reading the little book *de bello Tartarico*, publish'd by the R. F. *Martinez*, or whether curiosity overcame me; I took it up accidentally, thinking it had been *Aristotle's* problems, and resolv'd to look it over: I made some remarks, tho' not very weighty ones, and will insert them in this place. *Seneca*, *epist.* 45. says, *The words of truth are plain, and therefore must not be entangled*, &c. To be zealous for truth in all respects, implies sincerity of mind, not a spirit of contradiction, as some incurious and troublesome persons imagine. St. *Gregory* says, *With the true worshippers of* God, *even those wars are sinful which are not made through ambition or cruelty, but for the sake of peace*, Cap. apud veros 23. q. 1. Among God's servants nothing is to be attributed to discord or dissension, but to a desire of clearing the truth, the knowledge whereof is delightful and coveted by all men, says S. *Thom.* 2. 2. *q.* 15. *art.* 1. *ad* 3. S. *Augustin*, *conf.* 10. *cap.* 23. says, *All men love to know clear truth*.

2. In his preface to the reader, *pag.* 16. he excuses his Latin if it prove not so polite and elegant as may be expected, with his being taken up with the study of the *Chinese* tongue, &c. This were more proper for others, and for those who for above

Navarette. bove twelve years handled none but *Chineſe* books, and ſpent ſome more in the *Philippine* iſlands upon the languages of the natives there. F. *Martinez* was not there full ſix years, it may be his humility.

3. *Pag.* 21. I ſee he holds the opinion I mention'd in the firſt book, that *Tamerlane* never conquer'd *China*, as the hiſtory I there ſpoke of tells us. The computation by chronology I do not inſiſt on; it is enough I confirm my opinion by what has been ſaid. This alſo makes out what I writ againſt F. *de Angelis* a *Portugueſe*, that they were the *Weſtern Tartars* who formerly conquer'd *China*, not thoſe who now poſſeſs it.

4. *Pag.* 23. He ſays, that he who made head againſt thoſe *Tartars*, was a ſervant to the *bonzes*. The common vogue in *China* is, that he was a very brave and reſolute *bonzo*. He was the firſt emperor of the reigning family before this call'd *Tai Ming*.

Pag. 26. He confirms what I writ in the firſt book, that the *Chineſes* had a mil-
Wall. lion of men to guard the wall; I ſaid ſome added half a million more. The charge was doubtleſs prodigious, and wonderful how they carried proviſions and neceſſaries for ſuch a multitude, and defended them from the cold, which is very ſharp there in winter; they muſt ſtand in need of many things. To me who know that country, the ſupplying all theſe wants ſeems more eaſy, than to relieve two hundred ſoldiers from *Madrid* if they were but at *Pardo*. This is no hyperbole, but a known truth.

5. *Pag.* 28. He tells how ill the *Chineſes* treated the merchants that went to *Leao Tung*, which cannot be deny'd; but neither *Leao Tung*, nor *Leao Jang*, was or is either of them a metropolis; nor did it then, or does it now belong to the province of *Xan Tung*, the metropolis whereof is call'd *Zi Nang*.

Pag. 29. He mentions the great *Lamaſe*, by whoſe means the *Tartars* ſent their complaints to the *Chineſe* emperor. I ſaid he was the pope of the *bonzes* in thoſe parts, and lived in the kingdom of *Tibet*. I was often told in *China*, that as well the eaſtern as the weſtern *Tartars* put
Te. a great value upon the herb *cha* or *te*, whereof the moſt uſual drink in that kingdom is made; and not being allow'd to carry it out, they uſe this contrivance to get it: they firſt treat with the *Chineſes* that ſell it, agree about the price, and appoint a day to carry it away. This done, they take as many horſes as they think will carry the burden, and keep them three or four days without a mouthful of food, then they come in with them, and give them as much as ever they are able to eat of that herb; immediately they mount them, and with all ſpeed get out of the bounds of *China*: As ſoon as they are within their own they alight, kill the horſes, rip open their bellies, and take out all the *cha* they eat, dry it, and ſo carry it about to ſell and make drink of it.

6. *Pag.* 31. He writes of the barbarous cuſtom of the *Tartars* at the death of noblemen, that they burn their wives, ſome *Funerals.* ſervants, horſes, and other things to go to ſerve the dead. In *India* this cuſtom is in ſome meaſure practis'd, but he ſays they left it off when they came into *China*; *being reprov'd by the* Chineſes *themſelves*. I mention'd that they had not left it off till the year 1668, when the preſent emperor forbid it.

7. From *page* 34 forwards, he relates the perſecution his ſociety endur'd there in the year 1618, and ſays, ſome remain'd hid, perhaps he means F. *Longobardo*. He adds, that *ſome were cruelly baſtinado'd by the magiſtrates*. It might be ſo, but he does not ſet down the cauſes of the perſecution, but only that a *mandarin*, who was an enemy to the law of God, promoted it. He attributes the miſchief the *Tartars* did in *China* to this perſecution, tho' he affirms the faith was advanced by it. *But the faith encreas'd, as it is wont to do by perſecution*, &c. Which farther confirms what I writ concerning this matter, in the firſt book of my ſecond tome. I writ, that when the *Tartar* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the imperial city, about the year 41 or 42, there were on the walls of *Pe King* ſeven thouſand pieces of cannon; ſo I was told when I was in that city. But before that, when they attempted to break in, and durſt not, F. *Martinez* ſays there was in the imperial city, *an infinite number of cannon*; theſe words imply more than the determinate number of ſeven thouſand.

8. As for what he writes, *page* 42. of the *Portugueſe* ſuccours, I already took notice that the ſoldiers of *Macao* never came to court, whereof there is a credible witneſs at *Madrid* in the ſervice of the lady marchioneſs *de los Velez*, who was then in arms, and went with thoſe men from *Macao*; only five or ſix gunners went up to the court. I do not look upon it as probable, that the law of God was then, and till thoſe times publickly preach'd with the emperor's conſent.

9. What he ſays, *page* 45. that the *Tar-* Tartars. *tars even pull out all their beards by the roots*, is contrary to what we have ſeen thouſands of times. They uſe whiſkers like the *Turks*, and larger, Nor do I agree to what he writes, *page* 47. *But they are handſome enough in body and face, and much delighted with*

with ſtrangers. This is not at all proper; I have heard ſo much of the cruelties and inhumanities of the *Tartars*, that all he writes concerning them is credible. *Pag.* 56. he ſays, the *Portugueſe* gunners that went to court were ſeven, which differs not much from what was ſaid before.

10. Then he gives an account of the rebellion of the *Chineſe* robbers, and the deſtruction of the metropolis of the province of *Ho Nan*, where the good F. *Figueredo* had his church; he might well have ſav'd his life, but like a good ſhepherd, would not leave or forſake his flock; he attended them living, and bore them company in death. F. *Figueredo* was an excellent miſſioner, and writ extraordinary good books in the *Chineſe* character. I read ſome of them, and they pleas'd me to the height; therefore I wonder'd that thoſe of his ſociety forbid them to their brethren, ſince he printed them with leave. True it is, the prohibition did not reach us, or the native Chriſtians.

S. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* vi. ſets down the qualifications of miſſioners in theſe words; *In much patience, in tribulations, in wants, in afflictions, in ſtripes, in priſons, in ſeditions.* *Cajetan* adds, *which are rais'd againſt us in cities*, &c. It is fit the whole be read, with the expoſitions of S. *Thomas* and *Cajetan.* It were no hard matter to apply every particular to this reverend father: But one I cannot make out of him, which is, that whereas the fathers of the ſociety in *China* underwent ſo many perſecutions, which I mention'd in the firſt book of my ſecond tome; yet I never heard that F. *Figueredo* ſuffer'd in any of them, notwithſtanding he was againſt the practice of his own order, and follow'd that which the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* always obſerv'd, in relation to the worſhip the *Chineſes* give to their dead, their boards, *Confucius*, and other particulars. This to me is a myſtery that requires much reflection.

11. *Pag.* 79. He corroborates my opinion, wherein I agree with the fathers *Longobardo*, *Gouvea*, and other grave men of the ſociety: *For they believe*, ſays he, *that crowns are given by heaven; nor do they think they ought to be ſeiz'd by human arts or force.* How come others to contend that the *Chineſes* know GOD, when they themſelves ſay the contrary? The GOD they acknowledge is heaven, and not any other thing diſtinct from it.

12. From *page* 87. forward, he gives a relation of the rebels breaking into the imperial city and palace, and the *Chineſe* emperor's unhappy end; he agrees he hang'd himſelf, and ſays, he kill'd a daughter he had that was marriageable: It was reported in *Pe King* as I writ it.

13. *Pag.* 94. He ſpeaks of the impriſonment of the father of *U San Kuei* the *Chineſe* general, and the letter he writ to his ſon, with the anſwer he ſent to it; it is worth every man's knowledge, and that makes me inſert it here. The rebel preſs'd him to write to his ſon, to ſubmit himſelf and all his army to him, and obey his orders. The good old man took the pencil, and writ thus; "Son, the changes we ſee "are the effects of heaven and fate, the "rule *ta ming* is ended, our emperor pe- "riſh'd, heaven has deliver'd up the "crown and ſceptre to this robber *Li Kung*; "we muſt ſuit our ſelves to the times, and "make a virtue of neceſſity to eſcape his "tyranny and a cruel death. He promiſes "to make you a king, provided you and "your men will acknowledge him empe- "ror. My life depends on your anſwer, "conſider what you owe to him that be- "got you. NAVARETTE.

U San Kuei read his old father's letter; no doubt it forced tears from him, and fatherly love ſtrove in his breaſt, with the duty he owed as a loyal ſubject to his emperor. The latter prevail'd, and he generouſly anſwer'd his father in a few words, thus; "I will not have him be my father "who is not true and loyal to the empe- "ror; if you, ſir, forget the fidelity you "owe to the emperor, no body will think "it ſtrange I ſhould forget the duty I owe "to ſuch a father; I will rather die than "ſerve a robber." He ſent this loyal and reſolute anſwer to his father, and preſently ſent to crave aid of the *Tartar.* He acted inconſiderately and raſhly; this was the occaſion of the mighty havock he ſaw ſoon after. He call'd in lions to drive out dogs.

14. *Pag.* 97. He confirms what I was told in *China*, and mention'd in the firſt book, that they were employ'd eight days carrying riches out at four gates of the palace upon carts, horſes, camels, and mens ſhoulders. I do not agree to what he ſays, *pages* 105, 106. that the *Tartars* took from *U San Kuei* the command of the army; he was deſirous ſo to do, but never durſt provoke him. He kept that poſt till my time; and if it were not ſo, what ground was there for the hopes the *Chineſes* had conceiv'd of this man? *Treaſure.*

What he writes, *page* 125. concerning the petty king, who went over to the ſmall iſland near to the city and port of *Ning Po*, and made himſelf king of it, was not of any continuance. The governor of *Kin Hoa*, a great friend to F. *Martinez*, was beheaded in my time at *Pe King.*

15. *Pag.* 126. He relates how he was taken by the *Tartar*, but after another manner than really it was. F. *Martinez* was then with *Liu Chung Zao* in the quality of

Navarette. *mandarin* of the ammunition, a title his brethren did not approve of, he had ſcarce time to cut off his hair; he own'd himſelf a near kinſman of F. *Adamus*, and that ſav'd him.

Pag. 38, 39. He gives an account of the baptiſm of *Conſtantine* his mother, *&c.* I have writ ſomewhat concerning this particular, and refer my ſelf to it. Some things might have been ſpar'd in this point; and in the cut he inſerts in this place, they who are vers'd in theſe affairs will underſtand it.

Army. 16. *Pag.* 167. He ſays, all the *Tartar* and *Chineſe* troops are rang'd under eight colours: in the firſt book I ſaid it was under twenty four; I was often told ſo in *China*.

Food. *Pag.* 168. He mentions the *Tartars* eating horſes and camels, which has been ſet down before. I often heard, that theſe people had a cuſtom, as ſoon as they kill one of them, to take out its heart, and eat it raw.

17. *Pag.* 178. He writes that *Amavandus* the *Tartar* in three days threw up a trench ten leagues in length, with ſeveral forts upon it. This will ſeem incredible in theſe parts, but is not ſo to me, who have ſeen the vaſt numbers of people that can be gather'd to furniſh ſuch a work; tho' it be very much if it had been but ſix or ſeven leagues, and it would take up a great multitude to man it.

From *page* 176, forwards, he deſcribes Canton. the taking of *Canton*; it coſt dear. That which moſt terrify'd the *Chineſes* was, a wooden caſtle the *Tartars* built, which overtopt the walls whence they play'd their guns, and then the *Chineſes* began to abandon the wall. *Peter Caravallo* a mongrel got by a *Portugueſe*, who ſeeing himſelf left alone upon the wall, fled haſtily, told me, that if only two hundred men had kept their poſt with fire-arms, they had certainly repulſed the *Tartars*, and diſappointed their deſigns. The fathers, *Alvaro Semedo*, and *Feliciano Pacheco*, both *Portugueſes*, were then in that metropolis; the latter, as he told us ſeveral times, got out, though with much difficulty, with his muſket upon his ſhoulder. The *Tartars* took the former, and from him a great ſum of money, as F. *Antony Gouvea* told us in that city.

18. *Pag.* 180. He ſays, almoſt all the *Tartars* love, honour, and reſpect thoſe of his ſociety; this appears by our ſufferings. He adds, *Et non pauci ex illis jam fidem amiſerunt noſtram.* I underſtand it not; if by *amiſerunt* he means they have receiv'd, he is much deceiv'd; here and there one it may be, and this ſeems to be the author's meaning.

19. From *page* 182, forwards, he ſpeaks of the cruel actions of the ſecond rebel, or robber; I look upon them all to be true. The fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo* ſuffer'd very much under this man. F. *Gouver* ſaid it was their own fault, becauſe they were very headſtrong.

20. *Pages* 193, 194. He ſays, That Literati. robber call'd together the learned to be examin'd, and that above eighteen thouſand met; *All whom, as the cuſtom is, he put into the college of the city, as it were, to be examin'd*, and put them all barbarouſly to death. F. *Martinez* here gives it for granted, that in every metropolis there is a college for examinations, and that large enough to contain the number abovemention'd. Why then did he give out at *Rome*, that the examinations were made, and degrees taken in the chapel dedicated to *Confucius*, which cannot hold fifty men ſtanding? There is no anſwering this point.

21. *Pag.* 207. *in Appendix*, he ſays in *Worſhip.* the margin; "The religious worſhip of "the *Chineſes* towards the dead." And in the body of the page, "No puniſh-"ment is more heinous among the *Chi-"neſes* than that ſort of execution; for "by reaſon of the religion ingrafted in "their minds, they pay a ſupreme vene-"ration to the ſepulchers of the dead." Hence it follows that all the *Chineſes* do towards their dead, is not a civil worſhip. This is certainly a neceſſary conſequence, elſe it would not be a religious worſhip of *Chineſes* towards the dead, nor would the extraordinary veneration they have for their tombs be an effect of the religion ingrafted in their minds. It were well for the father if this were not contrary to what he himſelf propos'd at *Rome*. From what is here writ I alſo infer, that what I ſaid in another place is true, that the *Chineſes* look upon the place of their ſepulchres as holy, and not profane, as well as other nations.

To confirm what I alledge in another place out of F. *Suarez*, *contra Reg. Ang.* to prove that the worſhip of the *Chineſes* towards their dead, is not only civil and political, but ceremonious and religious: I here add what F. *John de Sancto Thoma* ſays, 2. 2. *q.* 87. *diſp.* 27. *art.* 4. "A "worſhip is call'd holy and religious, "not becauſe it is divine, but becauſe "it is above the civil degree; that is, it "is given to perſons near to God, and "above human converſation: and, be-"cauſe thoſe perſons to whom it is given, "are above the civil rank." No man who has been in *China*, can reaſonably defend, that the ceremonies wherewith that nation honours their philoſophers, emperors,

rors, and progenitors departed, are not far ſuperior to thoſe they uſe to honour the living. *Card. Lug. de incarnat. diſp. 35. ſect. 1. n. 1.* ſays, "That is call'd civil "worſhip, which uſually men give to one "another." And it is certainly very different from that the *Chineſes* give to their dead. This matter ſhall be handled at large in the ſecond tome; for the preſent it ſuffices that F. *Martinez* calls that the *Chineſes* practice, a religious worſhip towards the dead.

22. *Pag.* 210. He ſays, he knows not what was the end of *Jun Lie*, I ſet it down in the fifth book. He adds, that F. *Andrew Xavier* follow'd him, his wife and ſon. I have given an account how they abandon'd and forſook him; F. *Victorio Riccio* was told it by the eunuch, who went to crave ſuccours in the iſland *Hia Muen*; and becauſe the king, queen, and other Chriſtians had never a prieſt, he preſs'd to have the ſaid father go with him; who would have gone, had he been furniſh'd with a companion to whom he might commit the charge of his Chriſtians.

Xavier.

23. *Pag.* 215, and laſt, He tells the news he receiv'd at *Bruxels* of the *Tartars* kindneſs to the miſſioners, that they gave full liberty to preach the goſpel, that they allow'd the erecting of new churches, and contributed towards them. The laſt I neither do, nor for the world can agree to: the firſt part I grant, and was an eye-witneſs to it: but that mighty liberty and toleration laſted not long, becauſe it was all built upon ſand. F. *Martinez*, as I was often told, was of opinion, that the *Tartar* was lawfully poſſeſs'd of the *Chineſe* empire. I always thought he would have prov'd his title in this little book; but nothing can be gather'd out of all he writes to make this out, or prove his aſſertion, ſo that I am left more at liberty to go on in my own opinion.

Miſſioners.

24. A learned and judicious man thinks nothing impoſſible. S. *Thomas*, 1 *p. q.* 94. *art.* 4. "Nothing is incredible to a wiſe "man; children and fools are ſurpriz'd "at every thing as ſtrange." He will not therefore make a doubt of what has been hitherto ſaid, or ſhall be added in the ſecond tome. Some perſons are amaz'd to hear that many new Chriſtians turn apoſtates, without regarding that many of our own people do the ſame among the *Mahometans*, of which ſort there are enough at *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other parts. We know, that according to S. *Auguſtin*, *lib.* I. *cont. Julian*, *c.* 3. whom *à Lapide* quotes and follows in *Gen.* iii. 5. *Adam* loſt his faith when he ſinn'd: ſo S. *Peter*. What S. *Thomas* did we all know. Beſides, *Himeneus* and *Alexander* fell back, 2 *Tim.* iv. What wonder is it the *Chineſes* and other nations ſhould do the ſame? What we ought to admire is, that there ſhould be any, who forſaking ſo many idolatries in which they were bred from their infancy, come over and embrace our holy law, without ſeeing any miracles as the antients did. And whoſoever reflects upon the inconſiſtency of the *Jews*, who ſaw ſo many prodigies as GOD perform'd among them, and for them, will leſs wonder at what many *Chineſes* have done: I ſee more to admire at among Chriſtians. One of my order exhorted an *Alcade* of *Manila* to moderate himſelf in ſome particulars, he put him in mind of the account he was to give to GOD; and he anſwer'd, Let me but come off well when I am call'd to account here, for that in the other world does not much trouble me. No *Chineſe* would have utter'd ſuch an extravagancy. This man had not read that which all we who have faith ought to know. Let him who has the curioſity read *Oleaſter* in *Levit.* vi. *ad mores*. I call'd to mind a while ſince an extraordinary paſſage, which is in the claſſick *Chineſe* authors. They write of one who being altogether ignorant, one morning awak'd ſo learned, that he repeated all the *Chineſe* doctrines by heart. They praiſe this man very much; what I underſtand of it is, that only GOD, and none elſe can infuſe habitual knowledge. This is an agreed point of divinity, which *à Lapide* follows in *Gen.* xi. 7. The devil may infuſe actual knowledge, either ſuggeſting, or ſpeaking himſelf, and perhaps it is moſt likely he did ſo in this caſe we have mention'd. Other ſtories and accidents, which might be added in this place, are inſerted in the ſecond tome.

NAVARETTE. *Apoſtates.*

The End of the Sixth Book.

BOOK VII.

Decrees and Propoſitions reſolv'd at *Rome*, by order of the Holy Congregation of the Inquiſition.

Queſtions propos'd to the Holy Congregation, *de Propaganda Fide*, by the Miſſioners of *China*. With the Anſwers to them, approved by Decree of the ſaid Holy Congregation.

The following Propoſitions tranſmitted by the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, to the Inquiſition, were reſolv'd as follows, by the Fathers Qualificators of the ſaid Inquiſition.

NAVARETTE. WHETHER *the* Chineſe *Chriſtians are oblig'd to the obſervation of the poſitive precepts of the church, as to faſting, confeſſing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days, in the ſame manner as the* Indians *in New* Spain *and the* Philippine *iſlands are oblig'd, by the decree of pope* Paul *the* 3d *for the weſtern and ſouthern* Indians.

Faſting. They are of opinion, that the poſitive laws of the church for faſting bind the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, and that the miſſioners are to notify it to them. But conſidering the nature of countries, and perſons, his holineſs if he pleaſes may grant the ſame diſpenſation *Paul* the 3d of happy memory granted to the *Indians*; which being obtain'd, let the miſſioners endeavour to make known to them the goodneſs of our holy mother the church, who favours them in remitting a great part of what ſhe has decreed for the whole world.

Confeſſion. They alſo judge the aforeſaid *Chineſes* are oblig'd to ſacramental confeſſions once a year, and the miſſioners are to make them ſenſible of this duty.

Communicating. The ſame they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing of it at the time appointed, *viz.* at *Eaſter*, that is to be underſtood, unleſs there be ſome impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken, that they receive within two or three months next before or after *Eaſter*, as far as may be done without danger, or at leaſt within the ſpace of a year beginning from *Eaſter*.

Holy-days. *Laſtly*, they judge the *Chineſes* who are converted to the faith are abſolutely oblig'd to keep holy-days, and the miſſioners are bound to let them underſtand as much. Yet, if his holineſs pleaſe, he may limit the number of holy-days according to the privilege granted the *Indians* by *Paul* the 3d.

Baptiſm. 2. *Whether the miniſters of the goſpel in the ſaid kingdom may, for the preſent at leaſt, forbear giving women the holy oil of* Catechumens, *the putting ſpittle in their ears, and ſalt in their mouths: As alſo adminiſtring the ſacrament of extreme unction to women. The cauſe of putting the queſtion is, for that the* Chineſes *are very jealous of their wives, daughters and other women, and will be ſcandaliz'd at ſuch actions.*

They judge the ſacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and *Extreme unction.* that the cauſe they alledge for their doubt is not ſufficient for the miſſioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit theſe things. Therefore care is to be taken, that ſuch wholeſome rites and ceremonies be introduced and obſerv'd, and the miſſioners muſt adminiſter them with ſuch circumſpection, and give the men ſuch inſtructions, that they may be void of all thoughts of any indecency.

Intereſt. 3. *It is eſtabliſh'd by law in the aforeſaid kingdom*, 30 per Cent. *Intereſt be taken for money lent, without any regard to gain otherwiſe failing, or loſs accruing. The queſtion is, Whether it be lawful for the ſaid* Chineſes *to receive the ſaid* 30 per Cent. *the rate eſtabliſh'd by law in that kingdom, tho' their profit ceaſe not in another place, nor loſs accrue. The cauſe of the doubt is, for that the principal runs ſome hazard, to wit, that he who borrows may run away, or delay payment, or force the creditor to recover it by law, or the like.*

They judge nothing above the principal ought to be taken immediately and directly for the loan. But if they receive any thing on account of the danger may probably happen, as in this caſe, they are not to be moleſted, ſo regard be had to the nature of the danger and the likelihood of it, and there be a proportion betwixt the greatneſs of the danger and what is receiv'd.

4. *It is frequent throughout all* China *to have publick houſes aſſign'd for uſury, where publick uſurers put out their money to uſe upon pawns, deducting the intereſt, and yet to receive ſo much* per *month for every ducat; and in caſe the owners of the pawns within a certain number of years does not redeem them, paying the principal and intereſt, he loſes all his right and title to thoſe pawns. Now theſe houſes are uſeful to the publick; and tho' the uſurers themſelves would deſiſt from that trade of uſury, yet they are compel'd to follow it by the magiſtrates. The queſtion is, whether if theſe uſurers ſhould deſire to be converted to the faith, they may be baptiz'd tho' they continue in their courſe of uſury, for the reaſon above mention'd, or what is to be done in that caſe?*

They judge that the *Chineſes* who continue in the practice of uſury cannot be baptiz'd. But if they be compel'd by a magiſtrate to lend their own money, then they may take ſomething above the principal, tho' they have a pawn, both becauſe of the trouble forced upon them, and for their care in keeping the pawns, as alſo of the profit they might make another way, and of the preſent loſs they are at. But if at the time appointed, there ſhall remain upon ſelling the pawn any thing above the principal and lawful intereſt accruing, for the reaſons above mention'd they ſhall reſtore it to the owner.

Reſtitution. 5. *Whether the ſons of the aforeſaid uſurers, being Chriſtians when they inherit their fathers wealth, be oblig'd to make reſtitution of what their parents got by uſury either in the whole or in part, according to the exceſſive extortion. And in caſe ſuch ſons of uſurers, now become Chriſtians, be compelled by the government, or magiſtrate, to open and keep up their parents publick houſes of uſury; what then the miniſters of the goſpel are to do in this caſe for the eaſe of their conſciences.*

They judge, that the heirs of uſurers are obliged to make reſtitution of what their parents have unlawfully got by uſury, to the true owners, if any ſuch can be found; if not, according to the rules aſſign'd by doctors. But the actual reſtitution muſt be directed by learned, pious, and diſcreet men. As for the ſecond part of the queſtion, it is anſwer'd in the next above it.

Contributions 6. *It is the cuſtom among the people, and in the cities of that kingdom to lay certain impoſitions, which are exacted from the neighbouring people, to be ſpent at the feaſt of the new year, in ſacrifices and idolatries of their devils, in invitations and banquets prepar'd in their temples, as alſo in feſtivals, and other indifferent ſhews for the peoples diverſion.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians, and their miniſters (of whom it is demanded as of neighbours) at leaſt for the preſent, to contribute towards theſe things? For in caſe the Chriſtians would not contribute to it, ſome tumult will be rais'd againſt them by the Gentiles.* NAVARETTE.

They judge the Chriſtians may contribute money, provided they do not deſign by ſuch contributions to join in thoſe idolatrous, or ſuperſtitious acts; ſuppoſing that cauſe for it, which is propos'd but doubtfully: eſpecially entring their proteſtation, if it may be done with conveniency, that they pay thoſe contributions only for the diverſion of the people, and indifferent actions, or at leaſt ſuch as are not oppoſite to the worſhip of the Chriſtian religion.

Worſhip of Chim Hoam. 7. *In all the cities and towns of that kingdom, there are temples erected and dedicated to a certain idol call'd* Chim Hoam, *which the* Chineſes *pretend to be the ruler, protector, and guardian of the city; and it is an eſtabliſh'd law of the kingdom, that all governors of towns and cities, whom they call* mandarines, *when they enter upon the government, and twice a month throughout the year, upon pain of forfeiting their employment, ſhall repair to the ſaid temples, and there proſtrating themſelves before the altar of the ſaid idol, kneeling, and bowing their head down to the very ground, adore and worſhip the ſaid idol, and offer in ſacrifice to it candles, perfumes, flowers, fleſh, and wine. And when they take poſſeſſion of their government, they take an oath before the aforeſaid idol, that they will govern uprightly; and in caſe they fail, ſubmit themſelves to be puniſhed by the idol; and alſo they beg of him a rule and method to govern well, and other things to this purpoſe.* Quære, *Whether conſidering the frailty of that nation, it may be allow'd for the preſent, that ſuch governors being Chriſtians carry ſome croſs, which they may conceal among the flowers on the idol's altar, or in their own hands; and directing their intention not to the idol, but to the croſs, perform all thoſe genuflexions, bowings, and adorations before that altar outwardly and feignedly, directing all the worſhip inwardly in their heart to the croſs? for if ſuch governors be obliged to deſiſt from doing this, they will ſooner revolt from the faith than loſe their commands.*

They judge, it is no way lawful for Chriſtians to perform theſe publick acts of worſhip

NAVARETTE. worſhip and honour to an idol, upon pretence, or intentionally to a croſs they have in their hand, or hid among flowers on the altar.

Worſhip of Confucius. 8. *In the aforeſaid kingdom of* China *there was a learned maſter in moral philoſophy, long ſince dead, whoſe name was KUM FU CU, ſo much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and inſtructions, that as well the kings as all other perſons of what degree or quality ſoever, propoſe him to themſelves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at leaſt in the ſpeculative part, and extol and worſhip him as a ſaint; and there are temples erected in honour of the ſaid maſter in every city and town. Governors are oblig'd to offer up a ſolemn ſacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themſelves doing the duty of a prieſt, (they repair thither without ſolemnity twice a month throughout the year) with them go ſome of the* literati, *or learned, to aſſiſt them in the offering of that ſacrifice, which conſiſts of a whole dead ſwine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, ſweets,* &c. *Alſo all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go into this maſter's temple, to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and ſweets. All this worſhip, ſacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all thoſe Gentiles, is deſign'd as a thankſgiving for the good inſtructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him, through the merit of his excellent wit, the bleſſing of wiſdom and underſtanding.* Quære, *Whether ſuch governors as are or ſhall be Chriſtians, or the learned call'd and forc'd, may repair to the ſaid temple, offer ſuch ſacrifice, or aſſiſt at it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of thoſe idol offerings; chiefly, becauſe thoſe Gentiles believe, that he who eats of thoſe idol offerings will make a great progreſs in learning, and advance in degrees; and whether they may lawfully do this, carrying a croſs in their hands, as was mention'd in the laſt foregoing doubt, becauſe if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the miniſters of the goſpel will be baniſh'd, and the converſion of ſouls will be hindred, and ceaſe?*

They judge, that what is contain'd in the queſtion propos'd cannot be allow'd the Chriſtians upon any pretence whatſoever.

Worſhip of progenitors. 9. *'Tis a cuſtom inviolably obſerv'd among the* Chineſes, *as a doctrine deliver'd by the ſaid maſter KUM FU CU, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer ſolemn ſacrifices to their aforeſaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceas'd parent or grandfather on an altar adorn'd with many candles, flowers, and ſweets; and in this ſacrifice there is one that plays the part of the prieſt, who with his aſſiſtance, offers fleſh, wine, ſweets, goats heads,* &c. *Now this ſacrifice according to the common intention of that nation, is deſign'd as a thankſgiving to their aforeſaid progenitors, an honour and reſpect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore, proſtrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harveſt, many children, much proſperity, and to be deliver'd from all adverſity. Which ſacrifice is alſo perform'd in their houſes and at the tombs of the dead, but with leſs ſolemnity.* Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may feignedly, and only in outward ſhew, as was propos'd above, be preſent at this ſacrifice, or exerciſe any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple at home, or at the tomb publickly, or privately, or how it may be allow'd Chriſtians? leſt if they be abſolutely forbid doing it, they loſe the faith, or rather forſake the outward actions of Chriſtians.*

They judge, it is no way lawful for the *Chineſe* Chriſtians to be preſent at the ſacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any ſuperſtitious rites whatſoever the Gentiles uſe towards them, tho' it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much leſs can they be permitted to exerciſe any function relating to thoſe matters.

10. *The* Chineſe *Chriſtians do affirm, that by the aforeſaid offerings they deſign no other honour to their progenitors, than if made whilſt they were yet living, and that is only in memory and as an acknowledgment of the being receiv'd from them; and were they living, they would offer them the ſame things to feed on; and they offer them without any other intention, or hope in their prayers, knowing they are dead, and their ſouls bury'd in hell.* Quære, *Whether if theſe things were done among Chriſtians only without the company of infidels in the temples, or houſes, or at the tombs, placing ſome croſs on the altar of the aforeſaid dead, and directing their intention to it, provided they attribute nothing to their progenitors but a filial reſpect, which (if they were ſtill living) they would have paid, by preſenting them eatables, and ſweets; that ſo they may pleaſe the people: The queſtion is therefore, whether this may be tolerated for the preſent to avoid other inconveniences?*

They judge, conſequently to what has been ſaid above, that the aforeſaid points cannot be ſalv'd, either by the application of the croſs, or the abſence of Gentiles, or by the intention of the actions, in themſelves unlawful and ſuperſtitious, in the worſhip of the true God.

11. *Moreover the* Chineſes, *to put them*

in mind of their anceſtors, make uſe of certain tablets on which the names of their progenitors are writ, which they call the ſeats of the ſouls, believing the ſouls of the dead come to reſt upon thoſe tablets, to receive ſacrifices and offerings; and the aforeſaid tablets are placed on altars peculiar to that purpoſe, with roſes, candles, lamps, and ſweets about them; and they kneel, pray and offer up their devotions before the ſaid tablets, and expect thoſe dead perſons ſhall relieve them in their troubles and adverſities. Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians, laying aſide all heathen ſuperſtitions and errors, to make uſe for the preſent of the ſaid tablets, and to place them among the images of our* LORD *and the ſaints on the ſame altar, or on another apart, adorn'd as aforeſaid, for the ſatisfaction of the Gentiles; or whether they may offer the aforeſaid prayers, and ſacrifice with the intention aforeſaid?*

They judge, it is abſolutely unlawful to keep thoſe tablets on a true altar, and peculiarly dedicated to their anceſtors, much leſs to offer prayers and ſacrifice to them, tho' it be done with a private and counterfeit intention.

Worſhip of the dead.

12. *When any perſon happens to die in that kingdom, whether he be a Chriſtian, or a Gentile, it is obſerv'd as an inviolable cuſtom, to ſet up an altar in the houſe of the party deceas'd, and to place on it his or her image, or elſe the tablet aforemention'd adorn'd with ſweets, flowers and candles, and to ſet the carcaſe in the coffin behind it. All they who come to thoſe houſes to condole, make three or four genuflexions before the altar and image of the perſon deceas'd, proſtrating themſelves on the ground, with their heads touching it, bringing with them ſome candles and ſweets, to be conſum'd and burnt on the altar before the image of the dead perſon.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians, and chiefly for the miniſters of the holy goſpel, to do theſe things, eſpecially when the perſons deceas'd are of the greateſt quality?*

They judge, that provided the tablet ſet up be only in the nature of a board, and not a true and exact altar, if all other particulars be within the bounds of a civil and political worſhip, they may be tolerated.

Catechumens.

13. Quære, *Whether the miniſters of the goſpel are obliged to declare to, and particularly to inſtruct the* catechumens *ready for baptiſm, that their ſacrifices and all things above mention'd are unlawful, tho' there enſue many inconveniences of ſo doing, as their forbearing to receive baptiſm, the perſecution, death, or baniſhment of the miniſters of the goſpel?*

They judge, the miniſters of the goſpel are oblig'd to teach that all ſacrifices but thoſe of the true GOD are unlawful, that the worſhip of devils and idols is to be laid aſide, and that all things relating to that worſhip are falſe, and repugnant to the Chriſtian faith: But that they are to deſcend to particulars, according as they find the readineſs of wit, or dulneſs of the *catechumens* ſhall require, and with reſpect to other circumſtances, cuſtoms, and dangers. NAVARETTE.

14. *In the* Chineſe *language this word XING ſignifies holy; and in the books of Chriſtian doctrine printed by ſome miniſters of the holy goſpel, this word XING is made uſe of in naming the moſt bleſſed Trinity,* CHRIST *our* LORD, *the bleſſed Virgin, and the reſt of the ſaints.* Quære, *Whether when in the ſaid books there is occaſion for naming the* Chineſe *maſter CUM FU CU, or the king of* China's *order, or other kings, who are generally reputed holy in that kingdom, tho' they are infidels and idolaters, it be lawful for us the miniſters of* CHRIST *to call the aforeſaid perſons by this name XING?* Xing.

They judge, no poſitive reſolution can be given concerning this word, or the uſe of it, unleſs they firſt had a knowledge of the language, and of its true and genuine ſignification. But if that word in *China* has a latitude, the miniſters may make uſe of it; if it be confin'd to ſignify a true and perfect ſanctity, then they may not upon any account.

Worſhip of their emperor.

15. *In many temples of that kingdom there is a gilt tablet placed on a table, or altar, and ſet out with all ſorts of ornaments, as candles, flowers and ſweets, on which tablet the following letters or characters are writ: HOAM TY UAN SUY VAN VAN SUY. That is, May the king of* China *live many thouſands of years. And it is the cuſtom of thoſe idolaters twice or thrice a year to ſacrifice before that tablet, and make genuflexions in honour of it.*

Quære, *Whether the miniſters of the goſpel may place ſuch an altar and table in their churches in manner aforeſaid, and this before the altar on which the prieſts of* GOD *offer up the unſpotted offering?*

They judge that excluding the ſacrifices, and altar properly ſo call'd, the other parts, which ſeem to imply only a civil worſhip, or can be reduced to it, may be permitted.

Maſs for Infidels.

16. Q. *Whether it will be lawful in that kingdom for the Chriſtians to pray and offer the true ſacrifice to our* LORD GOD *for their dead who depart this life in their infidelity?*

They judge it is utterly unlawful, if they depart this life in their infidelity.

Crucifixion.

17. Q. *Whether we preachers of the goſpel are oblig'd in that kingdom to preach* CHRIST *crucify'd, and to ſhew his moſt holy image, eſpecially in our churches? The cauſe of making this doubt, is becauſe the Gentiles are ſcandaliz'd at ſuch preaching and ſhewing, and look upon it as the greateſt folly.*

They

NAVARETTE. They judge that the doctrine of CHRIST's paſſion is on no pretence or policy whatſoever to be delayed till after baptiſm, but of neceſſity to precede it. But tho' the miniſters of the goſpel are not oblig'd to the actual preaching of CHRIST crucify'd in every ſermon, but to deliver the word of GOD and divine myſteries diſcreetly, and according as opportunity ſerves, and to expound them according to the capacity of the *catechumens*, yet they are not to forbear preaching upon the paſſion of our LORD, for that reaſon, becauſe the Gentiles are ſcandaliz'd at it, or think it a folly.

They alſo judge it convenient, that there be images of CHRIST crucify'd in the churches, and therefore care is to be taken, that they be expos'd to view, as much as conveniently may be. *Crucifix.*

The Decree of the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide *held the twelfth of* September, 1645.

Decree of the pope, 1645. "THE moſt eminent lord cardinal *Ginette*, having reported the above-written queſtions, with the anſwers and reſolutions of the congregation of divines particularly appointed to examine the ſaid queſtions; the holy congregation of the moſt eminent lords cardinals *de propaganda fide*, approv'd the aforeſaid anſwers and reſolutions; and upon the humble application of the ſame congregation, our moſt holy father, for preſerving of unity in preaching, and the practice of it, has ſtrictly commanded all and every the miſſioners, of what order, rule, or inſtitute ſoever, even thoſe of the ſociety of JESUS, who at preſent are or ſhall be in the kingdom of *China*, upon pain of incurring *ipſo facto* an excommunication, reſerv'd only to be taken off by his holineſs, and the ſee apoſtolick, that they carefully obſerve the aforeſaid anſwers and reſolutions, and practiſe them, and cauſe them to be obſerv'd and practis'd by others, whom it ſhall concern, till ſuch time as his holineſs, or the holy ſee apoſtolick ſhall order the contrary. Printed at *Rome* in the printing-houſe of the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, 1645. with permiſſion of ſuperiors.

Morales. This decree was ſet forth at the inſtance of F. *John Baptiſt de Morales*, a religious man of our province of the *Roſary* in the *Philippine* iſlands, bred in the monaſtery of S. *Paul*, in the city *Ezija*, a great miſſioner in *China*, of known virtue, and very zealous for the good of ſouls. He having preach'd the goſpel ſome years in that empire, and together with the religious of the order of our holy father S. *Francis*, who preach'd our holy faith there, obſerv'd ſome conſiderable points, which they could not reſolve themſelves; by expreſs command from his ſuperiors, he ſail'd from *Macao* to *Perſia*, whence he travel'd by land, and came to *Rome*, where he fairly propos'd the doubts mention'd in this paper which his holineſs, pope *Urban* the 8th, had by another way before receiv'd an account of, as he plainly told the ſaid father, when he kiſs'd his foot, ordering thoſe doubts to be laid before the congregation of the holy inquiſition. They were finally reſolv'd and deliver'd, when pope *Innocent* the 10th of happy memory ſat in S. *Peter*'s chair. In the year 1646, when I went over to the *Philippine* iſlands with F. *John*, we carry'd along with us a great number of authentick copies; ſome, tho' but few, were left in *Europe*. When we came to *Manila*, a packet ſent by *Monſenhor Ingoli* ſecretary to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, was deliver'd to the chapter, the ſee being then vacant, and with it an authentick copy of the decree, with orders from that holy congregation to publiſh and make it known to all religious orders, which was punctually perform'd. He ſent another packet and copy to the ſame effect, to the metropolitan of *Goa*, the court of the *Eaſt-Indies*, which was no leſs punctually obey'd. The ſame was done in the city *Macao*, inhabited by *Portugueſes*, and ſeated in the dominions of *China*. In the year 1649 F. *John* went over again into *China*, and by expreſs order from the holy congregation, according to form, intimated the aforeſaid decree to the F. vice-provincial of the ſociety then in *China*; to which his reverence, and others of his brethren anſwer'd, they had further matter to lay before his holineſs.

The moſt reverend and moſt learned F. *Thomas Hurtado*, afterwards writ in *Spain* upon this decree, *p.* 1. *reſol. Moral. trac.* 3. *ch.* 1. *reſol.* 40. The moſt illuſtrious lord *D. F. Peter de Tapia*, archbiſhop of *Sevil*, quotes it in his *Caten. Moral. Princip. tom.* 2. *lib.* I. *quæſt.* 3. *art.* 9. *n.* 20. he refers to the author above, who ſpeaks of it in his *reſol. orthod. Moral. de vero Mart. Fidei tract. ult.* F. *Henao* of the ſociety mentions it too, *de Divin. Sacrif. diſp.* 29. *ſect.* 17. where he raiſes ſome doubts, which I will anſwer fairly and diſtinctly in the ſecond tome. F. *Angelo Maria* of the regular clergy writ at large in *Italy* upon the ſame ſubject, with much ſincerity and good doctrine. Some without any reaſon for it, as I ſhall make appear in my ſecond tome,

ſay

ſay that our decree was annulled and vacated by that which paſt in the year 1646, at the inſtance of the R. F. *Martin Martinez*, which ſhall be mention'd hereafter. For this reaſon the lord biſhop D. F. *John de Polanco*, my companion in that miſſion, aſk'd of the congregation of the holy inquiſition, whether it was ſo or not. Their anſwer was, that they confirm'd it anew, as the reader may ſee immediately.

Thus much may ſuffice till my ſecond tome comes abroad, only adding, that the faithful printed memorial, which was preſented ſome years ſince to his majeſty king *Philip* the fourth, mention'd by the moſt reverend F. *Hurtado*, and ſeveral times by F. *Henao*, was compos'd by F. *James Collado*, above ſpoke of; this is a matter well known, and I cannot imagine how it comes to paſs that grave and learned author ſhould not have heard of it all this while. What he ſays, *Long ways long lies*, I have ſufficiently obſerv'd on account of ſeveral paſſages in my ſecond tome, and ſome in this. NAVARETTE.

Anſwers of the Holy Congregation of the Univerſal Inquiſition, approv'd by our moſt Holy Father Alexander *the Seventh, to the Queſtions propos'd by the miſſioners of the Society of* JESUS *in* China, *Ann.* 1656.

THE underwritten queſtions, and many others were propos'd to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, by ſome miſſioners of *China* in the year 1645, which being by his holineſs's order tranſmitted to the holy congregation of the ſupreme and univerſal inquiſition, each of them was examin'd by the divines qualificators, and the anſwer annex'd to every one, in the ſame manner as follows.

1. *Whether the* Chineſe *Chriſtians be oblig'd to obſerve the poſitive eccleſiaſtical law, as to faſting, confeſſing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days in ſuch a manner as the* Indians *in* New Spain *and the* Philippine *iſlands are oblig'd, according to the appointment of pope* Paul *the third, for the weſtern and ſouthern* Indians?

They judge the poſitive eccleſiaſtical law for faſting abſolutely binds the *Chineſe* Chriſtians, and that the miſſioners are to declare it to them. But with regard had to the nature of the countries and people, if his holineſs pleaſe, he may grant them the diſpenſation, which was formerly granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third of happy memory; which being obtain'd, let the miſſioners endeavour to make them ſenſible of our holy mother the church's goodneſs to them, whom it eaſes of a great part of what is laid upon all the world.

They alſo judge the aforeſaid *Chineſes* are oblig'd to ſacramental confeſſion once a year, and the miſſioners are to make them ſenſible of this duty.

The ſame they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing it at the time appointed, *viz.* at *Eaſter*, that is to be underſtood unleſs there be ſome impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken that they receive within two or three months next before or after *Eaſter*, as far as may be done without danger, or at leaſt within the ſpace of a year, beginning from *Eaſter*.

Laſtly, they judge, the *Chineſes* who are converted to the faith, are abſolutely oblig'd to keep holidays, and the miſſioners are bound to let them underſtand as much. Yet, if his holineſs pleaſe, he may limit the number of the holidays, according to the privilege granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third.

2. *Whether the miniſters of the goſpel in the ſaid kingdom may for the preſent at leaſt, forbear giving women the holy oil of* catechumens, *the putting ſpittle in their ears, and ſalt in their mouths; as alſo adminiſtring the ſacrament of extreme unction to women? The cauſe of putting the queſtion is, for that the* Chineſes *are very jealous of their wives, daughters, and other women, and will be ſcandaliz'd at ſuch actions.*

They judge the ſacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and that the cauſe they alledge for their doubt, is not ſufficient for the miſſioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit thoſe things. Therefore care is to be taken that ſuch wholeſome rites and ceremonies be introduced, and obſerv'd, and the miſſioners muſt adminiſter them with ſuch circumſpection, and give the men ſuch inſtructions, that they may be free from all thoughts of any indecency.

3. In the foreſaid kingdom of *China*, there was a learned maſter in moral philoſophy, long ſince dead, whoſe name was *KUM FU ZU*, ſo much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and inſtructions, that as well the king, as all other perſons of what degree or quality ſoever, propoſe him to themſelves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at leaſt in the ſpeculative part, and extol and worſhip him as a ſaint; and there are temples erected in honour of the ſaid maſter in every city and town. Governors are

NAVARETTE. oblig'd to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themſelves doing the duty of a prieſt (they repair thither without ſolemnity twice a month throughout the year) with them go ſome of the *literati*, or learned, to aſſiſt them in the offering of that ſacrifice, which conſiſts of a whole dead ſwine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, ſweets, *&c.* Alſo all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go to this maſter's temple to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and ſweets. All this worſhip, ſacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all thoſe gentiles, is deſign'd as a thankſgiving, for the good inſtructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him thro' the merit of his wit, the bleſſing of underſtanding.

Quære, *Whether ſuch governors as are or ſhall be Chriſtians, or the learned call'd and forced, may repair to the ſaid temple, offer ſuch ſacrifice, or aſſiſt at it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of thoſe idol-offerings; chiefly becauſe thoſe gentiles believe, that he who eats of thoſe idol-offerings, will make a great progreſs in learning, and advance in degrees? And whether they may lawfully do this carrying a croſs in their hands, as was mention'd in the laſt foregoing doubt, becauſe if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the miniſters of the goſpel will be baniſh'd, and the converſion of ſouls will be hindred and ceaſe?*

They judge that what is contain'd in the queſtion propos'd cannot be allow'd the Chriſtians upon any pretence whatſoever.

4. 'Tis a cuſtom inviolably obſerv'd among the *Chineſes*, as a doctrine deliver'd by the ſaid maſter *KUM FU ZU*, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer ſolemn ſacrifices to their aforeſaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceas'd parent or grandfather on an altar, adorn'd with many candles, flowers, and ſweets; and in this ſacrifice there is one that plays the part of the prieſt, with his aſſiſtants, who offer wine, fleſh, ſweets, goats-heads, *&c.* Now this ſacrifice, according to the common intention of that nation, is deſign'd as a thankſgiving to their aforeſaid progenitors, and honour and reſpect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore proſtrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harveſt, many children, much proſperity, and to be deliver'd from all adverſity. Which ſacrifice is alſo perform'd in their houſes, and at the tombs of the dead, but with leſs ſolemnity.

Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may feignedly and only in outward ſhew, as was propos'd above, be preſent at this ſacrifice, or exerciſe any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple at home, or at the tomb, publickly or privately, or how it may be allow'd Chriſtians? leſt if they be abſolutely forbid doing it, they loſe the faith, or rather forſake the outward actions of Chriſtians.*

They judge it is no way lawful for the *Chineſe* Chriſtians to be preſent at the ſacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any ſuperſtitious rites whatſoever the gentiles uſe towards them, though it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much leſs can they be permitted to exerciſe any function relating to thoſe matters.

But whereas the miſſioners of the ſociety of JESUS in the aforeſaid kingdom were not heard at that time, after the year 1655, they propos'd the aforeſaid four queſtions to the ſame holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, with the diverſity of circumſtances, which is adjoin'd to each queſtion, *&c.* The matter was by order of our moſt holy father remitted to the holy congregation of the ſupreme and holy inquiſition. The ſaid holy congregation having heard the opinion of the qualificators, anſwer'd as follows.

1. Quære, *Whether the miſſioners are oblig'd to ſignify to the new Chriſtians, when firſt baptiz'd, the eccleſiaſtical poſitive law, as binding under mortal ſin, in relation to faſting and confeſſing, and receiving once a year?*

Faſting. The reaſon of making a doubt about faſting is, becauſe the *Chineſes* are us'd from their infancy to eat three times a day, which the lightneſs of their diet obliges them to. This would oblige magiſtrates to go to their courts faſting, where they continue from eight in the morning till two afternoon, which they could not poſſibly do.

Holiday The reaſon of making the doubt concerning holidays, confeſſion, and communion, is becauſe moſt of the Chriſtians muſt work for their living, and the Chriſtians are often forced by infidel magiſtrates to do ſeveral ſorts of work upon holidays. And the Chriſtian magiſtrates themſelves muſt keep their courts upon days, which among us are kept holy, upon pain of forfeiting their employments.

Confeſſion. The miſſioners are but few in number, the kingdom of a vaſt extent, and therefore many Chriſtians cannot hear maſs upon holidays, and receive and confeſs once a year.

The

The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the poſitive eccleſiaſtical law relating to faſting, keeping of holiday, ſacramental confeſſion and communion once a year, is to be made known to the Chriſtian *Chineſes* by the miſſioners, as obliging under mortal ſin; but that they may at the ſame time declare the cauſes which excuſe the faithful from the obſerving of thoſe precepts, and if his holineſs pleaſes, power may be granted the miſſioners to grant diſpenſations as they think fit, only in particular caſes.

Baptiſm. Quære 2. *Whether all the ſacramentals are to be applied in the baptizing of females at womens eſtate? Again, Whether it be ſufficient to adminiſter the ſacrament of extreme unction only to ſuch women as deſire it?* *Extreme unction.*

Again, Whether it may be refus'd even them that aſk it upon a prudent foreſight of inconveniences, and dangers that may enſue to all Chriſtians?

The occaſion of making this doubt, is the incredible modeſty of the *Chineſe* women, their reſervedneſs, and their commendable avoiding, not only the converſation of men, but even the ſight of them; in which particular, unleſs the miſſioners be extraordinary cautious, a mighty ſcandal will be given the *Chineſes*, and the whole body of Chriſtians there may be expos'd to imminent danger. *Modeſty.*

The holy congregation, in order to what has been above propos'd, judges, that on account of a preſſing proportionable neceſſity, ſome ſacramentals may be omitted in baptizing of women, and that the ſacrament of extreme unction may be alſo forborn.

Quære 3. *Whether the Chriſtian* literati, *or learned* Chineſes, *may perform the ceremony of taking the degrees, which is done in* Confucius's *hall? For no ſacrificer, or miniſter of the idolatrous ſect is concern'd there; nothing is perform'd that has been inſtituted by idolaters, but only the ſcholars and philoſophers meet, acknowledging* Confucius *as their maſter, with only civil and political rites inſtituted from their very original for mere civil worſhip.* *Worſhip of* Confucius.

For all that are to take their degrees go together into *Confucius*'s hall, where the chancellors, doctors, and examiners expect them; there they alltogether, without offering any thing, perform thoſe ceremonies and inclinations after the *Chineſe* faſhion, which all ſcholars do to their maſters whilſt living: and thus having acknowledg'd *Confucius* the philoſopher for their maſter, they take their degrees from the chancellors, and depart. Beſides, that hall of *Confucius* is an academy, and not properly a temple, for it is ſhut to all but ſcholars.

The holy congregation judges, according to what has been above propos'd, that the aforeſaid ceremonies may be allow'd the *Chineſes*, becauſe the worſhip ſeems to be merely civil and political. NAVARETTE.

Quære 4. *Whether the ceremonies paid to the dead, according to the rules ſet by philoſophers, may be allow'd among Chriſtians, forbidding all the ſuperſtitious part which has been added?* *Worſhip of the dead.*

Again, Whether the Chriſtians may perform thoſe lawful ceremonies in company with their pagan kindred?

Again, Whether Chriſtians may be preſent, eſpecially after making a proteſtation of faith, when the infidels perform the ceremonious part, they not joining with, or encouraging them, only becauſe it would be a great reflection if they were then abſent, and it would cauſe enmity and hatred? The Chineſes *aſſign no divinity to the ſouls of the dead, they neither hope nor aſk any thing of them.*

There are three ſeveral ways they honour their dead.

Firſt, When any one dies, whether he be Chriſtian or heathen, it is an inviolable cuſtom to erect an altar in the houſe of the party deceas'd, and to place his or her image on a tablet, containing the perſon's name on it, ſet out with ſweets, flowers, and candles, and to lay the body in the coffin behind it. All perſons that come into thoſe houſes to condole, kneel three or four times before the aforeſaid tablet, or image, proſtrating themſelves, and touching the ground with their heads, bringing ſome candles and ſweets along with them, to be conſum'd or burnt on that altar or board before the image of the party deceas'd.

The ſecond way is, that they perform twice a year, in their anceſtors or progenitors *halls*, ſo the *Chineſes* call them; not temples, for that is the meaning of *TSU TANG*, which are memorials or monuments of families; only the great men have them, or the richeſt families: no dead body is bury'd in them, but in the mountains. Within there is only the image of the nobleſt of their progenitors; then upon ſteps one above another, there are little boards or tablets about a ſpan in length, on which are written the names of all the family, their quality, honour, ſex, and age, and the day of their death, even to infants of both ſexes. In this hall all the kindred meet twice a year; the richeſt of them offer fleſh, wine, candles, ſweets. The poorer ſort, who cannot have ſuch halls, keep the tablets of their anceſtors at home, in ſome particular place, or elſe upon the altar on which are the images of their holy men, which cannot have another place allow'd them becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the houſe; *Worſhip of anceſtors.* *Burying-places.*

NAVARRETTE. houſe; yet they do not worſhip nor offer any thing to them, but they are there for want of another place: for the aforemention'd ceremonies are not perform'd by the *Chineſes* any where but in the hall of the dead; and if they have none, they are omitted.

The third is that perform'd at the tombs of the dead, which are all without the walls on mountains, according to the laws of the kingdom: to theſe the children or relations repair, at leaſt once a year, about the beginning of *May*; they pull up by the roots the weeds and graſs that is grown about the tombs, cleanſe them, weep, then ſhriek out, make ſeveral genuflexions, as was mention'd in our firſt way, lay out meat dreſs'd, and wine; then their tears ceaſing, they eat and drink.

The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the converted *Chineſes* may be permitted to perform the ſaid ceremonies towards their dead, even among the infidels, ſo that ſuch as are ſuperſtitious be forborn. That they may be only preſent among the infidels when they perform the ſuperſtitious part, eſpecially after making a proteſtation of their faith, and there being no danger of their being perverted; and this, if enmity and hatred cannot be otherwiſe avoided. *Thurſday, March* 23, 1656.

In the general congregation of the holy *Roman* and univerſal inquiſition, held in the apoſtolick palace at St. *Peter*'s before our moſt holy lord *Alexander* the ſeventh, by divine providence, pope, and the moſt eminent and reverend lords cardinals of the holy *Roman* church, eſpecially deputed by the holy ſee apoſtolick general inquiſitors againſt heretical pravity throughout the whole commonweal of Chriſtendom.

Decree of inquiſition 1656. *The aforeſaid queſtions, together with the anſwers and reſolutions of the holy congregation, being there reported, our moſt holy lord pope* Alexander *the ſeventh aforeſaid approv'd of the ſaid anſwers and reſolutions. Inſtead of* ✠ *a ſeal.* John Lupus *not. to the holy* Roman *and univerſal inquiſition*, &c. *Printed at* Rome *in the printing-houſe of the holy congregation* de propaganda fide, 1656. *By permiſſion of ſuperiors.*

In my ſecond tome I ſpoke ſomething in relation to this decree: F. *Henao* mentions it, *ſect.* 17. *diſp.* 29. *de divino miſſæ ſacrificio, num.* 226. He ſeems to blame the moſt illuſtrious lord *Tapia*, and moſt R. F. *Thomas Hurtado*, as if they had deſignedly omitted to make mention of this decree, which he has not the leaſt reaſon for. If thoſe of his ſociety will not publiſh it at *Macao*, nor even in *China*: if ſome of his own brethren in that miſſion had not ſeen it in my time, nor any perſon has as yet ſeen it ſufficiently authoriz'd: if F. *Martin Martinez*, who by his propoſition obtain'd it, would not ſhew it: if the fathers *John Adamus*, *Ignatius de Acoſta*, *Antony Gouvea*, and others, did not like it: if the fathers of the ſociety themſelves had made no account of it in *China*, as F. *Emanuel George* plainly own'd; how, or which way ſhould thoſe authors have knowledge of it? I ſaid already, I would anſwer the reſt of F. *Henao*'s objections in my ſecond tome. I alſo reſerve for that place ſome obſervations I have already made and ſet down, upon the brief relation publiſh'd at *Rome* in the *Tuſcan* language, by F. *Proſper Intorceta* a *Sicilian* miſſioner in *China*, and my companion in the perſecution and baniſhment. I was very deſirous to have found him at *Rome*, and am of opinion that he having notice of my going to that court, ſet out immediately for *France* to carry miſſioners to that miſſion. I will clear all things, without leaving the leaſt thing unanſwer'd.

Reflections on the Propoſitions made at Rome, *by F.* Martin Martinez, Anno Dom. 1656.

1. WHAT F. *Martin Martinez* propos'd at *Rome*, being poſitively diſapprov'd of by F. *John Adamus*, and the fathers *Antony Gouvea*, and *Ignatius de Acoſta*, both prelates of their miſſion in *China*, and F. *Emanuel George*, all of them of the ſociety, and that it was very diſpleaſing to thoſe of the two religious orders: I made it my buſineſs at *Rome* to prevail with the holy congregation to recal and annul what has been decreed upon the four queſtions above-mention'd, making it appear, by what ſhall be here ſet down, that the ſaid father had not legally ſtated the matter of fact, which he was to propoſe and explain to that holy aſſembly. It is the cuſtom of the church, ſays S. *Bernard. ep.* 180. *ad Innocent.* 2. *pap.* to revoke things of this nature; *The ſee apoſtolick is uſually careful in this point, not to be backwards in recalling whatſoever it finds has been fraudulently drawn from it, and not merited by truth.* The words of S. *Auguſtin, lib.* II. *de baptiſm. c.* 3. are much to this purpoſe, they are theſe; *Former great councils are often corrected by the latter, when experience lays open that which was ſhut, and makes known what was hid.*

hid. Which, as *Cabaſſucius Not. Concil. pag. mihi* 450. well obſerves it to be underſtood, *not in definitions of faith, theſe being immutable in the church, but in things that concern diſcipline, matter of fact, or perſons.* Nor can or ought it therefore to be ſaid, that the head of the church, or any of his congregations err'd in the firſt decree they granted, but that his holineſs, or the holy congregation was miſinform'd. The confeſſor is not in the wrong, or errs, who gives abſolution to a penitent ill-diſpos'd, who conceals and hides his unworthineſs and ill diſpoſition: We ſay he was impos'd upon. The moſt eminent lord cardinal *Ottobono* taught me this ſimile upon this ſubject; and I take what cardinal *Bellarmine* ſays, *lib.* III. *de Rom. Pontif. c.* 2. in this ſenſe; *That the pope with his congregation of counſellors, or with a general council may err in private controverſies of matter of fact, which depend on the informations and teſtimonies of men.* Which is no more than to ſay, that the pope, council, and holy congregations may be impos'd upon by thoſe who give them information.

2. The ſame cardinal ſays, "That the "pope as a private doctor may err, *&c.* "and that through ignorance, as it ſome- "times happens to other doctors. But here *Cabaſſucius*, *p.* 299. makes this note, "Nevertheleſs, whoſoever ſhould "on this pretence make a ſchiſm in the "church, or obſtinately contemn the pope "himſelf, or a ſynod, to whom reſpect "is ever due from the faithful on account "of their dignity, thoſe perſons would "doubtleſs offend GOD, and give ſcandal "to the faithful." This comes pat to the anſwer one made in my hearing; being aſk'd, Whether biſhops could declare the forms of ſacraments? He ſaid with a ſtately tone, much emphaſis, and haughtineſs: If the biſhops be as ours, who have always been moſt learn'd and eminent men, they may. Many popes may not, becauſe they are rais'd to it, being but ignorant men. This ſaid a private miſſioner, with ſuch reſpect and reverence did he ſpeak of thoſe the holy Ghoſt makes choice of to ſteer S. *Peter*'s boat. This doctrine will make it no difficult matter to him to diſobey the apoſtolical decrees. What cenſure ſuch an expreſſion deſerves will appear by the anſwers given to the queſtions I propos'd. And tho' at *Rome* they agreed to the reflections I made and preſented touching the information given by F. *Martinez* in his four queſtions offer'd to the holy congregation, yet they thought not that a ſufficient ground to proceed to the aforeſaid revocation of that decree, becauſe there wanted ſome one of the adverſe party at that court, to argue the matter; wherefore it was put off till further inquiry, which was order'd to be made. And tho' the main reflections may be found in ſeveral parts of the ſecond tome, yet I thought fit to inſert them here altogether, this being their proper place: and becauſe it is convenient the reader ſhould be immediately ſatisfy'd, as to the principal grounds of the controverſies that have been between the three orders, I give it for granted that F. *Martinez*, and the reſt that were aſſiſting with their accounts to forward his propoſitions, meant well, and had a good intention; and tho' what ſhall be writ may cauſe ſome ſuſpicion that it was not ſo, yet it ſhall proceed from ſtrength of argument, not of deſign, to thwart theirs which I look upon as blameleſs. *Cabaſſucius*, p. 457. proves this matter elegantly; and becauſe it is a general caſe, and may ſerve upon other occaſions, I will here inſert his words: "But "that it may appear of how great conſe- "quence it is, whether a man acts out of "a good or bad deſign, *Lewis Alleman- "nus* cardinal and biſhop of *Arles*, who "relying on the judgment of the graveſt "divines and canoniſts of that time, had "conceived a moſt deep notion of the "authority of councils above the pope, "and who otherwiſe was extream zealous "for reſtoring eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, "which he poſitively believ'd to have "been long ſince depraved and corrupted "by the *Roman* court; and grounded "himſelf beſides on the declaration of the "general council of *Conſtance*, Seſſ. 4. "which defines, That a general council "lawfully aſſembled, has ſuch an autho- "rity as binds the pope himſelf, and can "force him to obedience, and can no way "be infring'd, annull'd or alter'd by the "pope. Upon this he moſt inflexibly op- "pos'd the commands of *Eugenius*, and "ſtood ſtiff for the aſſembly at *Baſil*. "Moreover, *Lewis Alemannus* inſiſted on "the approbation of pope *Martin* the "fifth, who confirm'd that council, as "far as all its acts were made in the due "courſe of a council, as he calls it. Thoſe "at *Baſil* in their firſt ſeſſions, reviv'd that "decree of the council of *Conſtance:* Which "was the cauſe that *Eugenius* the fourth "diſſolv'd the council; but they not obey- "ing, and rather deſigning to chuſe a "new pope, then *Eugenius* to ſecure the "unity of the church, recall'd his diſſo- "lution, and again ſent his embaſſadors "to the council. Then the fathers at *Ba- "ſil* repeated the ſaid decree, *Seſſ.* 18. &c. "And he that on this account (had not "his ſincere deſign and upright intention, "ſupported by the judgment of grave "and pious doctors, interpos'd) might "have

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3. In the first query, to excuse the converts from fasting, he assigns as the reason of his doubt, that *the lightness of their diet obliges them to eat thrice a day*. And that *magistrates must repair to their courts fasting, where they continue from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, so that it would be altogether impossible for them to do it*. Observe in the first place, that *China* is one of the plentifullest countries in the world for provisions, they are all cheap, and as good as the best in *Europe*. There is great abundance of beef, pork all the year about, mutton, goat-flesh, hens, capons, geese, pheasants, tame and wild ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves, small birds, and all very good; there is no want of horse-flesh: dogs-flesh is look'd upon as a dainty, and that of the ass as still better. Certain it is, these things mention'd cannot be call'd *light diet*. For fasting-days there is sea-fish all along the coast, and all over *China* fresh water; fish enough in rivers and ponds: We saw all all sorts of fish eaten among us very plentifully and cheap in *China*. There are infinite quantities of hen and goose-eggs, which latter the *Chineses* are fond of. In some places there is milk and little cheeses, excellent salmon, choice olives, eels, trouts, oysters, and salt-fish; a thousand sorts of varieties for collations; many sorts of cakes, great variety of greens, beans, infinite vetches; abundance of excellent fruit, rice, wheat, *French*-wheat, and a thousand other odd sorts of food. All which positively makes against the *lightness of diet*, mention'd as a reason of the doubt; nor is that it which *obliges them* to eat three times a day, but only the custom of eating a breakfast as is us'd in *Europe*, where people do it because they have been bred so to nourish the body, and be the better able to go about their business; so that the *Chineses* breakfast as the *Europeans* do. The quality and quantity is also small and distinct from what is eaten at noon. The wine, tho' not made of grapes in some parts, is good, in others better.

Meals.

Wine.

4. 2d *Reflection*. If the reason of making the doubt were true, methinks we missioners might for the same cause be excus'd from fasting, and with better reason than the *Chineses*, because those light meats are natural to them, and we us'd to others more solid and nourishing, which is not so at all. So if the *Europeans* in *America* and the *Philippine* islands, did eat nothing but as the *Indians* do, they would certainly enjoy the same privilege as the others; for the ground of granting it was their eating so small a quantity, and their food having so little nourishment, for they are really light and slender. Nor does this argument hold in the *Philippine* islands; the *Indians* eat but twice a day, therefore their diet is strong and nourishing; consequently it does not hold in *China*, or *Europe* to say, they eat three times, therefore the meat is light and not nourishing. Both these differences proceed from other causes, which are either the peoples being stronger, or more laborious, or the countries being hotter or colder. Cold countries require more sustenance than the hot: according as the heat or cold increases, more or less food is requisite; which is most certain, and experience shews it better than speculation. How is it possible a *Chinese*, *Spaniard*, *Frenchman*, and much less a *German*, should subsist upon what an *Indian* of *Macasar* or *Borneo* lives on? All one of them eats in a day is not equivalent to a quarter of a pound of bread, and a little water, yet they are as strong, lusty and plump as any *Europeans*.

Abstinence.

5. If the diet of *China* be light and slender, how comes it we see infinite numbers of people that fast there, and in all countries even to *India*? and these people abstain from flesh, fish, white-meats and wine all their whole lives, yet they are sound and healthy, and strong enough to labour, some at tillage, others in boats, and others at mechanick handicraft trades; and the women work at home, and breed their children. So that the lightness *of the diet*, even excluding fish, flesh, *&c.* will not prevail with them to leave their devilish fasts; and yet it shall be of force tho' they eat fish, and whitemeats, and drink wine,

wine, *&c.* to excuſe them from the faſts of the church. Only one objection can be made againſt this argument, which is, that thoſe *Chineſes* only keep abſtinence from thoſe things mention'd, and therefore eat breakfaſt and ſupper of ſuch meats as are allow'd them; but the Chriſtians, tho' they eat fiſh and whitemeats, *&c.* muſt eat no breakfaſt, which is what they cannot endure, becauſe they are otherwiſe us'd. The anſwer is, that this proceeds not from the *lightneſs of the meat*, which was the cauſe of the doubt. Beſides, among labouring people, what is us'd here may be us'd there; for ſcholars, as a ſmall quantity is tolerated among us, ſo it may among them, which F. *Brancato* has already aſſign'd to be two ounces, upon which a ſcholar may well hold out till noon, and we ſee many men and women faſt very well without it.

6. Nor are ours the moſt rigid faſts in the world. The 50th canon of the council of *Laodicea* commands that Chriſtians in lent keep *Xerophagia*. *Tertullian lib.* I. *adverſ. Pſychicos*, ſays, *we keep the* Xerophagia, *which is, abſtinence from all fleſh and broth, and all freſheſt fruits, that we may neither eat nor drink any thing of wine.* And this we ſee was in the infancy of the church. *Cabaſſucius pag.* 148. adds: *The* Greeks *to this day obſerve ſuch a* Xerophagia *in their faſts; and* Balſamon *tells us, abſtinence from fiſh is much us'd among them, which* Tertullian *includes under the denomination of all ſorts of fleſh. Alſo the* Armenian *Chriſtians, the* Euticians *and* Schiſmaticks, *do not only abſtain from earthly fleſh, whitemeats, and eggs, but alſo from fiſh, wine, and oil, as many write, who have travel'd thoſe countries in our time. And* Balſamon ad Apoſt. can. 69. *tells us that the* Greeks *obſerve the* Xerophagia, *throughout the whole year, upon wedneſdays and fridays, ſo far that neither upon theſe days, nor the faſts of lent, they ever diſpenſe with ſick people, tho' in danger of death, any farther than to eat fiſh.* It goes yet farther with the *Chineſes*, and others who keep the *Xerophagia* all their life time, without ever diſpenſing with it; *tho' they be in danger of death, they do not allow of fiſh, whitemeats, or eggs.* What wonder the *Carthuſians* ſhould not diſpenſe with fleſh?

7. It is alſo to be obſerv'd that the *Chineſes* make great account of faſts; and therefore we find the firſt queſtion they put, when they diſcourſe concerning our holy faith, is what faſts we have: and when we make them eaſy, ſaying there are but few, as believing this makes it more grateful to them, they rather diſlike it, for they do not approve it ſhould oblige them to ſo few faſts. For which reaſon I often ſaid in *China*, that if it were in my power, I would not diſpenſe with one faſting day. I conclude this point according to the intention of it, which was to ſhew that the reaſon alledg'd for excuſing the *Chineſe* convert from the duty of faſting, *viz.* the *lightneſs of the diet*, has not the leaſt ſhadow of truth. NAVARETTE.

8. As to what he alledges to excuſe the *mandarines* from faſting, I declare there is no truth in it. For the better underſtanding whereof it muſt be underſtood, that the greater the *mandarines* are, the ſeldomer, and the leſs time they ſit in court, which is in their own houſes, except thoſe at court (therefore the *Chineſes* do not ſay the *mandarin* goes to, or comes from his court, but that he comes out to, or withdraws from it, becauſe it is a room in his houſe; ſo he comes out of his own apartment, where no body goes in about buſineſs, to a publick hall where he hears cauſes, and from this to another yet more publick: by which it appears that the word *Adire*, which is to go to, can only be verify'd of the *mandarines* at court, and no others throughout the whole empire.) So the ſupreme *mandarin* or governor uſually reſiding in a metropolis, goes to his court but two or three times a month. The viceroys do the ſame, the governors of *cities* or TAOS, ſomewhat oftner. The judges and their aſſiſtants are they that follow it moſt, and they have no fix'd time to come out, or to ſit, as is uſual in *Spain*; but they come out when they pleaſe, and ſo withdraw. This indeed is obſerv'd, that as ſoon as the judge, for example, comes out to his court immediately his deputies come out to theirs; and as ſoon as he withdraws, they do ſo too: but to ſay any *mandarin* ſits in court from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, is a mere *chimera*. And if this ever happen'd, yet it ought not to be repreſented as a conſtant, ſettled, and general practice. And tho' it were really ſo, yet there was no neceſſity of repreſenting it at *Rome*, becauſe this is one among the many other caſes ſet down by divines, that excuſe a man from faſting. Beſides, the *Chineſe mandarines* whilſt they ſit in court, publickly and very freely eat and drink whatſoever they fancy; and therefore any of them who ſhall be a Chriſtian might be advis'd to take ſome refreſhment there, if he found himſelf faint, which he might do without the leaſt reflection. In ſhort the reaſon alledg'd for making the doubt is altogether groundleſs. *Judicatories.*

9. To excuſe them from keeping of holidays he gives this following reaſon: *Becauſe moſt of the Chriſtians muſt work for their living, and the Chriſtians are often forced by the infidel magiſtrates to undergo ſeveral*

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veral ſorts of labour; *the Chriſtian magiſtrates themſelves muſt keep their courts, even upon our holidays, on pain of forfeiting their employments.* I anſwer, that when a man muſt of neceſſity work to maintain himſelf, his wife and children, *&c.* there is no need of going further about it, or putting the queſtion; for it is a plain caſe, that a ſuperior law exempts him from the precept; nor is it proper to endeavour that all men ſhould be excuſed on account of this ſort of people, when there are others not under thoſe circumſtances. Beſides, where there are tradeſmen in a city who know that maſs is ſaid at ſuch an hour, the hearing of it will not obſtruct their working for their living, eſpecially according to that erroneous opinion ſome men hold, that the church does not oblige to forbear work, but only to hear maſs. So that this argument will clear the latter, but not the others; and it will be only accidentally, and when that neceſſity preſſes, the reaſon for it ſtands good. So thoſe labourers, whom the *mandarines* command to work upon holidays, are diſcharg'd from the precept of the church, which is not obligatory when any conſiderable damage may accrue to the Chriſtian from it. Yet I am of opinion that will happen but ſeldom, for there are ſo many of every trade in *China*, that there is no neceſſity of forcing the Chriſtians to do any ſort of work. Therefore I look upon that propoſition as chimerical, when he ſays, *And the Chriſtians are often forced by the infidel magiſtrates*, &c. For which reaſon when this point was argu'd at *Canton*, no man made uſe of this argument. As to what concerns the *mandarines*, I declare I never heard there was any ſuch penalty for thoſe who omit frequenting their courts. I have already ſaid, the greateſt of them do not much appear in their courts; but certain it is, ſuppoſing ſuch a law, that if they cannot conveniently hear maſs before, they are diſcharg'd of the duty. But if they go to the court at eight of the clock, why may not they hear maſs at ſeven? and if the *mandarines* go from their courts a viſiting, and receive them, go to plays, entertainments, and other feſtivals they have on their tablets, without forfeiting their employments, why might not they hear maſs on ſundays, and great holidays? This is only a pumping for reaſons to ſtand out in their opinion, as they us'd to ſay at *Rome*.

10. To excuſe the *Chineſes* from yearly confeſſion, and from communion, he propoſes, That *the miſſioners are few, the kingdom of a vaſt extent, and therefore many Chriſtians cannot hear maſs upon holidays, nor confeſs and receive once a year.* I allow there is no precept that obliges thoſe, who cannot hear maſs, or confeſs and receive either in *China*, or any where elſe. We know there are viſitations, particularly in *America* and the *Philippine* iſlands, where they do not ſee a prieſt in a year or two, but they meet upon holidays in the church to pray and humble themſelves before GOD, and yet they are oblig'd to hear maſs, confeſs, *&c.* The ſame then muſt be allow'd in *China*, tho' in *China* it is eaſier to viſit the Chriſtians, than in ſome parts of the *Philippine* iſlands, where we muſt go ſeveral leagues by ſea, and in danger of enemies; and if we go by land, the ways are ſo bad that they are almoſt impaſſable, without any thing to eat, or any houſes to reſt, as I know by experience. Beſides, if there are ſo few miſſioners that they cannot aſſiſt the Chriſtians, why will not they ſuffer other religious men to help them? And if when the Chriſtians call them, they go to them, why do the fathers of the ſociety complain of us and the *Franciſcans*, as F. *Martinez* actually did complain of F. *John Baptiſt de Morales*, becauſe he went with a companion to the city NING PO, when he was courted and invited by the licenciate CHU *Coſmus?* Or why ſhall not the miſſioner labour and travel, in viſiting his flock, to teach, inſtruct and feed their ſouls, as F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* us'd to ſay of F. *John Francis Ferrari* did? Therefore I ſay all the reaſons alledg'd for the doubts, are not according to the general opinion of the ſociety, but F. *Martinez* his own, and fram'd by one or two more, and have nothing in them.

11. The holy congregation anſwers, *The aforeſaid poſitive precept is to be made known by the miſſioners, as obliging under mortal ſin*, &c. It muſt be here obſerv'd, that tho' his holineſs *Innocent* the 10th ordain'd and commanded the ſame, and his decree, as is order'd in it, was notified to thoſe of the ſociety, nevertheleſs they took no notice of it, alledging they had further matter to lay before his holineſs; they made their information by F. *Martinez*, and had the ſame anſwer, and yet they did not notify to the Chriſtians what the holy congregation commands. Therefore the ſtreſs does not lie upon the court of *Rome*'s being well or ill inform'd, there muſt be ſomething more in it. So that till F. *Ignatius d'Acoſta* entred upon the government of his miſſion in *China*, there was no talk of notifying the poſitive eccleſiaſtical law to thoſe people; and the ſaid father commanded it to be notify'd, many of his brethren oppoſing it, and it had not been done by another, as I my ſelf heard it ſaid. And ſtill ſome contend that the *Chineſes* are not yet capable of this duty, whereas the *Indians* of *America* and the *Philippine* iſlands

iſlands were ſubject to it from their firſt converſion. Before the church had declar'd it ſelf as to this point, there might be ſome plauſible reaſons, or pretences, to think the contrary lawful. *But ſince the church has pronounced judgment, it is a crime even to doubt of it,* ſays *Cabaſſucius*, p. 153. upon another caſe.

1. The ſecond queſtion is concerning adminiſtring the ſacramentals to females at womens eſtate. He drove the reaſons of the doubt as far as poſſible, ſaying, *Unleſs the miſſioners be extremely cautious, a mighty ſcandal will be given to the* Chineſes, *and all the ſtate of Chriſtianity there may be expos'd to moſt imminent danger.* Notwithſtanding this rigid and exorbitant propoſition the holy congregation decided, as appears in the decree. F. *Joſeph de Morales* writ largely upon this ſubject, in his treatiſes, *pag.* 294. but immodeſtly, and mixing with the truth what is not ſo. I writ in the ſecond tome what happen'd in *Canton*, when this point was argu'd. Here I muſt obſerve that F. *Trigaucius* mentions the baptiſm of ſome women, perform'd with all the ceremonies of the church, which proved very edifying. And F. *Morales* brings an example of another baptiz'd by one of theirs, who was not well vers'd there, which gave ſome ſcandal. What can we ſay to this? If they on account of the ſecond precedent omit the ſacramentals, we on account of the firſt and of many which we have both before and after, of which no inconveniency has followed, tho' they were on perſons of note, will continue to practiſe them. And ſince they who have power ſo to do, order it to be put in execution, even when they have receiv'd information from the ſociety, thoſe of the ſociety are oblig'd to perform the ſame, without oppoſing the decree, which they cannot do but they muſt commit a great crime, and give ſcandal. I refer the reader to the reſolutions taken at *Canton*, which will ſatisfy him as to all that concerns this point, and he will there find enough to anſwer F. *Morales*.

2. Here I muſt obſerve two things, ſuppoſing the ſacramentals to be a matter of great moment in the church. The firſt is, what is ordain'd by the firſt canon of the council of *Orange*: *If any perſon in caſe of neceſſity have not received the holy oil in baptiſm; let the biſhop be advertis'd of it, when he comes to be confirm'd, that he may in the firſt place anoint him on the crown of the head, which ſhould have been done in baptiſm, then on the forehead for the ſacrament of confirmation, that both the anointings may be look'd upon as neceſſary.* Cabaſſucius, *p.* 225. ſays thus upon this canon: *This canon teaches us many things: Firſt, That he who is baptiz'd, is to be anointed with holy oil on the crown of the head, by any prieſt adminiſtring baptiſm,* &c. *Fifthly, That both anointings are neceſſary.* So that it is not ſo trivial a matter, that every man may omit it of his own head. This ceremony, ſays *Ammularius Fortunatus, lib.* I. *de Eccleſ. offic. cap.* 27. had its beginning under pope S. *Silveſter*.

Unction in Baptiſm.

Navarette.

My ſecond and chief reflection I take from *Cabaſſucius, pag.* 146. where, ſpeaking of the oil of *catechumens*, he ſays thus: *But the anointing with oil of* catechumens, *which preceded baptiſm, was us'd among the* Latins *upon the head and breaſt of the perſon that was to be baptiz'd, as* Pamelius *out of S.* Ambroſe *obſerves on* Tertullian *of baptiſm, in the beginning of the book; and alſo on the breaſt and ſhoulders,* &c. *But among the* Greeks *the anointing was perform'd by the prieſt all over the body of the perſon to be baptiz'd; for ſo it is learnedly deliver'd by* Dionyſius, *Eccleſ. Hier. cap.* 2. Cyril, Chryſoſtom. A little lower: *For this reaſon,* Reinaldus Theophilus *in his treatiſe of the prohibition of clergymen converſing with women, is fully perſuaded that women us'd formerly to be anointed all over the body, as well as men, upon the bare ſkin, but that the temptation of the eyes was prevented by ſome linen-cloth ſpread before them,* &c. If this ceremony were ſtill in uſe, there is no doubt but it would be attended with all the inconveniences F. *Martinez* propoſes, ſhould it be practis'd in *China*; but it is eaſier to introduce thoſe us'd by the *Roman* church, adminiſtring them as ought to be, than it is to give the communion to women, and hear their confeſſions. Which notwithſtanding, a viceroy ſaid to F. *Sambiaſi*, If you deal with women, there's no more to be ſaid. Yet I ſay, notwithſtanding this, and other difficulties that attend theſe actions they are all overcome, and the fathers of the ſociety have taken no notice of them, therefore there is the leſs occaſion here to deſcant on it.

1. As to the third queſtion it is to be obſerved, the better to judge of the propoſition, That there never was any diſpute in *China*, whether it was lawful or not to receive the degrees of batchelor, licentiate and doctor: and it was ſo far from being argu'd, that no body ever had a thought of making a doubt of it. Therefore it was nothing to the purpoſe, an unneceſſary and idle action to propoſe this matter, in regard that nothing but what is difficult and doubtful ought to be propos'd and aſk'd. But it being true that *deep calleth unto deep*; when he had committed this error, and fallen into ſuch a fault, he tumbled headlong by degrees into many others of greater conſequence. He ſets it down in the queſtion as granted, that the degrees are taken

Degrees.

NAVARETTE. taken in the hall (ſo he terms the temple) of *Confucius*. Nothing in the world can be more unreaſonable, or untrue; it is ſet down in its proper place how and where the degrees are confer'd, and how impoſſible it is to do it in that place, if they would. If F. *Martinez* propos'd ſuch things as thoſe, moſt certain it is, the anſwer given upon them, tho' not revok'd, does not make againſt us.

Another ſtumble is this, he ſays, *no ſacrificer, or miniſter of the idolatrous ſect, is preſent.* No man in *China* ever imagin'd any ſuch thing taking the words as they ſound, and as he and we diſtinguiſh between the ſect of the learned, and that of the idols, which went out of *India* into *China*. In this ſenſe we all agree, that none of the idolatrous ſect have to do either at the conferring of degrees, or any other ceremony of the learned, nor would they allow it on any account whatſoever. Therefore the propoſing of it was only to trick the holy congregation; and ſince no body has made a doubt of it, it follows there was ſome further fetch in propoſing it after that manner. He ſays further, *Nothing at all is done that has been inſtituted by idolaters*; this includes the ſame double meaning, which is eaſily taken away, if it be granted, as to the ſect that went out of *India*, and denying it as to that of the learned. He goes on telling, that the learned own *Confucius* as their maſter, performing to him civil and political ceremonies, from their firſt inſtitution directed to mere civil worſhip. I ſay in the firſt place, that it is moſt falſe, that they give any worſhip either *political* or *religious* to *Confucius* at the time of taking their degrees; the veneration they pay to him is ſome days after receiving the degree, as all that vaſt kingdom well knows. Therefore he has err'd again in propoſing this, and has committed a great error as to the rites with which the learned honour their *Confucius*, be it as this or any other time: for the difficulty being whether the ſaid rites are religious or civil, he ought to explain them, that it might be judg'd and determin'd of which ſort they were; and not to give that for granted which was his duty to prove, and which we the *Franciſcans*, and many of his own ſociety have always deny'd. We of the two religious orders never went about to aboliſh any thing that is civil and political in *China*, nor is it reaſonable we ſhould; we cut off what is religious in a falſe religion, and we prove it to be ſuch, not only by arguments, but by the authority of the graveſt miſſioners of the ſociety. Therefore to ſuppoſe them to be civil rites, is to ſuppoſe what ought to be prov'd; ſo that all the difficulty would be, Whether it is lawful to give a political worſhip to *Confucius*, which no body ever yet deny'd.

Sect of the idols.

2. As for thoſe rites being from their very original inſtituted *as a mere civil worſhip*, he ought not to aſſert, but to prove it, and to lay down the firſt inſtitution, that it might be judg'd, whether it was religious or political. F. *Martinez*, and ſome of his brethren would maintain againſt the ſenſe of other very learned men of the ſociety of the learned ſect, which *Becanus in Analog. Vet. & Nov. Teſtam. cap.* 11. *q.* 3. writes of the Phariſees, *The ſect of the Phariſees in its firſt original and inſtitution was moſt certain, according to that of* Act. xvi. 5. *according to the moſt certain ſect of our religion. Becanus* does not ſuppoſe but proves this, and ſo ought F. *Martinez* to do. Then he ſays, *That vices afterwards crept in, and thus it err'd in many particulars.* The ſaid fathers would make out the ſame of *Confucius* his ſect, *viz.* that in its beginning it was holy, ſpotleſs and good, all political and courteous, and agreeable to reaſon; but that afterwards by degrees it was corrupted and defil'd; ſo that at preſent we are not to regard what is ill that has clung to it, but endeavour to cut it off, and look only on that which is properly its own, and very good. How true this is appears by the fifth book, and by another in my ſecond tome, and it will be proper to read what *à Lapide* writes in *Numb.* xxi. 8. ſpeaking of the brazen ſerpent, Q. 4. and what has been already quoted out of *Becanus*; and he adds, *But afterwards, as it uſually happens, there ſprung up ſuperſtitions and falſe doctrines, with which the latter Phariſees in the time of* CHRIST *were infected, and therefore ſeverely rebuk'd by him, not that all, but moſt of them were ſuch; for it appears ſome were clear from thoſe vices, as* Nicodemus, Gamaliel, *and* Paul. Here it may be obſerv'd, firſt, that our Saviour reprov'd the Phariſees, not regarding the origin of the ſect, whereof he makes no mention, but looking upon the condition it was then in. Therefore ſuppoſing, but not granting, that the learned ſect was good in its firſt inſtitution, we muſt conſider whether it afterwards alter'd, and embraced new doctrines, not look to its beginning, which is paſt and came not near theſe times. 2. That notwithſtanding there were ſome who follow'd that ſect according to its firſt inſtitution, as thoſe above nam'd; yet CHRIST ſeveral times ſeverely reprov'd the other ſectaries, who had degenerated from that firſt ſtate; whence we may infer, that had the ſect been corrupted in all its individuals, our LORD's reproof had been ſtill more ſharp, as only looking upon their preſent ill ſtate, without looking back

on

on that paſt, whoſe goodneſs is no juſtification of the depravedneſs it had fallen into through the malice of men. Now ſince the learned ſect is at this time wholly and in all its members corrupt, perverted and degenerated, there is no reaſon why laying aſide its preſent condition we ſhould only regard what it was formerly. To go about to perſuade that the followers of other ſects have intruded ſuperſtitions into that of the learned, is a chimerical undertaking, ſince all men know what care the learned have always taken to ſhun all others. The caſe is, that ſect was always bad, as the fathers *Longobardus* and *Gouvea* prove.

Literati.

3. F. *Martinez* goes on and ſays, that *all who are to take their degree enter* Confucius's *hall together*. Here he propoſes two things which had nothing of truth in them. The one, that they go into that place before they take their degree, which is not ſo. The other, that they can all go in, or be contain'd there; both which particulars are falſe, and falſly grounded, that is, that they are examin'd and take their degrees there; whence it follows, that *the chancellors, doctors, and examiners expecting them there*, and the reſt that follows, is alſo falſe. For, as has been ſaid, in that place, or hall, there is no examination nor degrees given or taken, nor is any act of learning perform'd; and it is afterwards, not before, that the ſcholars go thither to worſhip that philoſopher.

As to the laſt part, that the ſaid hall is an academy, and not a temple, *properly ſo call'd*, becauſe *it is ſhut to all*; we will anſwer it at large in another place.

4. The holy congregation, *according to what had been propos'd*, anſwer'd, that the ſaid ceremonies be tolerated, becauſe *the ſaid worſhip ſeems to be merely political and civil*; of which anſwer no doubt is to be made, becauſe being ſuitable to the propoſition, which repreſents nothing that may cauſe any ſuſpicion of ſuperſtition, it follows that it muſt be good and juſtifiable.

It is well worth obſerving, that F. *Martinez* knowing all the points wherein the doubt and difficulty conſiſted, did not propoſe, or make known any one of them at *Rome*, but only mention'd that whereof there never was any controverſy, except the calling *Confucius*'s temple a hall, or college. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid father, and others of his brethren gave out in *China*, that this decree had revok'd all that had been order'd by that of *Innocent* the tenth: whence I infer, what others ſaid before, that he had no further regard than to procure a ſugar-plum for his own palate.

If he had deſir'd to know the truth, he ought to have propos'd and ſtated the queſtion thus: Moſt eminent lords, when they are to offer ſacrifice to *Confucius*, the *Chineſes* try the beaſts by pouring hot wine into their ears; if they move their heads, they are accepted for the ſacrifice, if not, they are laid aſide. Is this ceremony political, or ſuperſtitious? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe ſuch like acts and rites are condemn'd as ſuperſtitious in other gentiles; for inſtance, our *Torre* 2. 2. *q.* 85. *art.* 1. *diſp.* 3. ſays, that, *Mighty care and induſtry was us'd in chuſing of victims, for the fatteſt were choſen out of the flock, ſuch as were not lame, or ſick, or any other way faulty; but if the victim in coming to the altar ſtruggled very much, or came as it were unwillingly to the altar, or if it fled or groan'd when ſtruck*, &c. *it was put away from the altar, as being judged no way acceptable to the gods.*

NAVARRETTE. *Worſhip of* Confucius.

The Greeks *try'd the worthineſs of their victims by laying food before them; for if the beaſts would not eat it, they thought that ſacrifice was not acceptable to the gods. The greater victims were alſo us'd to go with gilt horns, but the leſſer crown'd with boughs.* Now all this being ſuperſtitious, I put the queſtion to your eminencies, whether what has been propos'd be ſo too? as alſo their offering to the dead goats-heads, adorn'd with flowers and boughs?

He ſhould further put the queſtion. In order to perform their ceremonies to *Confucius* and the dead, there is a waſhing of hands; and for the departed abſtinence, faſts, and ſeparation from the marriage-bed for the ſpace of ſeven days; and a maſter of ceremonies preſcribes what is to be done, and other things mention'd in this book. The queſtion is, whether this be political, or not? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe theſe ſame actions are condemned as ſuperſtitious, and irreligious worſhip in other gentiles. *Torre* above quoted ſays thus, *num.* 12. *The prieſt firſt purify'd himſelf by waſhing his hands: he abſtain'd from many things, to wit, from fleſh, and wine, and from all venereal acts*, &c. *He wore a moſt pure garment, and a crier who proclaim'd ſilence, ſaid at the ſame time, Do this you are about*, &c. All this was religious, and not political worſhip, and conſequently it muſt be ſo in *China*.

Thus theſe points muſt be propos'd, not giving it for granted they are political rites, and then putting the queſtion, whether they may be allow'd? this is downright ridiculous. Nor is it to the purpoſe to alledge, that waſhing of hands, putting on clean clothes, faſting, abſtaining from venereal acts, &c. are things indifferent; for, tho' it is true that in themſelves they

Navarette. are ſo, like kneeling, taking off the hat, &c. yet they are decided to be political or religious, according to time and place, by the intention, object, and other circumſtances. Many inſtances of this ſort are brought in the proper place, here I will only inſert what our *Torre* writes, *num.* 12. *ut ſup.* That *the prieſts of* Cybele *did cut off their privy members, or elſe deſtroy'd the genital power by the uſe of certain herbs.* Which moſt certainly in them was no political, but a religious act; and the ſame action in the people of *Cochinchina*, and the *bonzos* of *China*, (ſome of whom to live at eaſe, cut a ſmall ſtring belonging to the private parts) is no religion but barbarity. The ſame argument may be urg'd in all other caſes, except for the ſacrifice and temple, which are, at leaſt by *the law of nations*, dedicated to God.

1. *Quære* 4. There are reflections enough to be made here: in the firſt place he ſets it down as a rule, that whatſoever there is ſuperſtitious in the ceremonies perform'd to the dead in *China*, is added to what the learned inſtituted: and whereas the contrary appears by the teſtimony of moſt grave fathers of the ſociety, and by the claſſick authors of the learned ſect, he ought not, nor in reaſon could take ſuch a thing for granted.

He aſks further, whether the Chriſtians may perform the ſame ceremonies among the infidels? If he gives it for granted, that the proper ceremonies of the learned are not ſuperſtitious, and cuts off the ſuperſtitious part, that has crept in from abroad, there is no doubt but they may perform them, nay there is no need of putting the queſtion. The church has always taken care that Chriſtians ſhould not imitate the actions of the infidels, leſt it ſhould be a ground to believe they agree in the ſame errors. On this account it was order'd, that no bread, or other eatable things ſhould be put upon the graves of the faithful departed at *Macao*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. This it was the council of *Iliberis* or *Granada* had regard to, when it ſaid, *can.* 34. *It has been thought fit that candles be not lighted in the day-time in the church-yard, for the ſouls of the holy are not to be diſturb'd.* *Cabaſſucius* on this place, *page* 19. "This prohibition, which broach-
"ers of novelties abuſe, contrary to the
"pious uſe of catholicks, was proper in
"thoſe times, when Chriſtians liv'd among
"pagans, leſt the former ſhould be in-
"fected with ſuperſtition; for the hea-
"thens were perſuaded that the ſouls of
"the dead wanted meat and light, to diſ-
"pel hunger and darkneſs, and therefore
"they carry'd food, milk and wine to
"the graves, as *Plutarch* teſtifies at the
"beginning of *Romulus*'s life; and ſo
"other ancients, as *Homer*, &c. The
"reaſon why the faithful uſe torches and
"candles at funerals is altogether myſti-
"cal, to ſignify light everlaſting, &c.
"But the word *diſturbing* which the canon
"makes uſe of, ſignifies a diſpleaſure the
"ſaints conceive after this life at the ſu-
"perſtition of thoſe that are living. But
"when gentiliſm declining, Chriſtian re-
"ligion lifted up its head, then at laſt
"the faithful having baniſh'd all fear, or
"ſuſpicion of approving or imitating the
"profane rites of the heathens, follow'd
"the funerals of Chriſtians with lighted
"candles." *Card. Lugo de incarn. diſp.* 37. *ſect.* 2. *num.* 20. mentions the aforeſaid canon, though to another purpoſe, which he ſolves five ſeveral ways, ſee it there. The ſame is to be done in *China*, in relation to laying meat before the images or tablets of the dead, or on their tombs for the ſame reaſon.

The difficulty is, whether the ceremonies which are taken *from the doctrine of the philoſophers*, are political, or belong to a falſe religious worſhip; and therefore it was his duty to propoſe them as they are in themſelves, that ſuch ſentence might paſs upon them as they deſerv'd.

2. He goes on with the queſtion, *Whether Chriſtians may be preſent, particularly after making a proteſtation of the faith, whilſt the infidels perform the ſuperſtitious part, not joining with, or authorizing them, but becauſe it would be much taken notice of, if the kindred were then abſent, and it would cauſe hatred and enmity?* In confirmation of the proteſtation of faith, we may add what *Morales* mentions, *pag.* 159. he ſays, that one D. *Peter* and Lady *Mary* being preſent at one of the anniverſaries they perform to the dead, when all the ceremonies of the learned ſect were perform'd, and thoſe of the ſect of the idols came on, D. *Peter* with a loud voice declar'd, He had perform'd the firſt becauſe they were good, but could not as a Chriſtian perform thoſe of the idols, as being wicked, and ſo went away with his wife. Thus that father pleaſes himſelf, and thinks every body will be ſatisfy'd with this ſtory. In the firſt place, this ſhews how little he is acquainted with *China*, ſince he calls that Chriſtian a gentleman, and by the title of D. *Peter*, and his wife *donna*, whereas it is notorious that we never give any body in that country the ſtile of *don*, nor do we call them gentlemen, becauſe there is no gentility there but what every man acquires, excepting very few, of whom I ſpoke in another place. And tho' this be not to our purpoſe, yet it ſhews his miſtake in meddling with what he does not

Gentry.

under-

underſtand. I ſhould make no difficulty to ſay D. *Peter*, and the lady *Mary* are counterfeit and imaginary; but that it may not be ſaid I do it to ſhun the difficulty I allow of the paſſage as true and real, and deny what *Morales* juſt before much extols, *Converts.* ſaying, that the the *Chineſe* Chriſtians are very obedient and ſtrict obſervers of what the miſſioners ſay and teach them. But to the purpoſe, I do not deny but there may be ſome, eſpecially of the learned, if they are good Chriſtians, who will not perform or be preſent at the ceremonies of the ſect call'd of the idols. But the difficulty lies not in this, ſince we all agree that theſe are bad, as the learned infidels themſelves confeſs, tho' they perform them among the reſt. The queſtion is, whether the ceremonies peculiar to the learned are ſuperſtitious, and whether the Chriſtians may perform or be preſent at them, when they are condemned as ſuch? and yet as to theſe, there is no man who will proteſt he is a Chriſtian, and forbear performing them; and if any do proteſt, there will enſue enmity, hatred, and quarrels among the kindred, unleſs he who does ſo be a perſon in great authority, whom they highly honour and reſpect.

Worſhip of the literati. 3. In the ſecond place, I maintain that the Chriſtians by their preſence at thoſe ceremonies, cannot but co-operate and authorize the act, or elſe enmity and hatred muſt enſue, which is what F. *Martinez* would prevent. The reaſon is plain, becauſe all there preſent compoſe one body in order to thoſe ceremonies, for every one ſtands in his place aſſigned him, and acts the part allotted him, kneels and riſes with the reſt, upon a word given by the maſter of the ceremonies; ſo that there is not the leaſt difference in outward appearance betwixt Chriſtians and infidels as to all that is done there: ſo that if the Chriſtian might be there apart from the reſt, for inſtance in a corner, only looking on, as *Tertullian* ſaid, he would be preſent *materialiter*, and not co-operating or authoriſing; as when a catholick goes into a church of hereticks out of curioſity, or with a deſign to oppoſe what he ſees or hears there: but if he be there in that manner as has been ſaid, he is preſent *formaliter*, and as a part of that body. Whence I draw this concluſion, that F. *Martinez* gave in his information, only to the end abovemention'd.

4. Thoſe propoſitions, *The* Chineſes *aſſign no divinity to the ſouls departed, they expect nothing, nor aſk nothing of them*, are all oppoſite to what his own brethren own, and to what F. *Martinez* himſelf confeſs'd in *China*, as ſhall appear in the ſecond tome.

5. In the firſt way or manner. *The firſt is*, &c. he paſs'd by ſome things of no ſmall moment. It is not to be admir'd that F. *John Baptiſt* ſhould omit ſomething, neither he nor others of thoſe times could ſee thoroughly into all things; but thoſe of the ſociety muſt of neceſſity in ſo many years have diſcover'd more, as appears in their works which ſhall be quoted. In the firſt place, he omitted the letters on that tablet or tabernacle, which they ſay is the ſeat of the perſon's departed ſoul; he alſo *Souls.* paſs'd by the others which mention, that children offer ſacrifice to their parents. He further forbore to make it known, that the *Chineſes* believe the airy ſouls of their friends departed come to thoſe tabernacles, and are maintain'd by the ſteam of the meat laid before them. And to conclude, he ſpeaks not of the chair and bed of the ſoul where they place its figure. All this is to be found in the ritual of the learned, with which other ſects have had nothing to do, nor have inſerted any thing into it. NAVARETTE.

6. *The ſecond way is*, &c. In this too he was ſhort, firſt in calling the temples of the dead SCU TANG, concealing the word MIAO, which is more frequent and proper to a temple, though the firſt be ſo too, but for thoſe that are leſs than the MIAO's, which emperors, petty kings, and perſons of note have. This point ſhall be treated of at large in its place.

We have already obſerv'd what he forbore to make known as to the tablets, and many ſacrifices and ceremonies perform'd in thoſe temples, as ſhall be ſaid. In the laſt he was very much out, ſaying, *Which nevertheleſs they do not worſhip*; whereas the contrary is well known to all men, and that there is no new or full moon through the year but they light candles before them, burn perfumes, place meat, and make genuflexions. It alſo appears by the ritual, that many who have no temples, perform their ceremonies at home, in the ſame manner as thoſe that have.

7. *The third way is*, &c. Here he omitted one thing very material, which is, that at every tomb there is a little chapel dedicated to the tutelar ſpirit of the dead perſon there buried, to whom they offer ſacrifice in thankſgiving, for his care in guarding the ſaid party deceas'd, and whom they intreat to protect, and look to him for the future.

By what has been ſaid in theſe reflections, the reader may eaſily gather, whether F. *Martinez*'s propoſition was legal, ſincere, and true, or not; and he will be the better enabled with more eaſe to ſatisfy himſelf in thoſe points which are handled in the ſecond tome.

NAVARETTE. As for what concerns the anſwer of the holy congregation, to which I give all imaginable honour, it is to be obſerv'd that it never allows of any ſuperſtitious act, as F. *Proſper Intorceta* publickly declar'd at *Canton*; which, beſides that it is otherwiſe moſt certain, the moſt eminent lord cardinal *Ottoboni* confirm'd to me with his own mouth. It is to be obſerv'd in the ſecond place, that by thoſe words, *They may only be preſent*, it only allows of a material preſence, not the formal, co-operative, or authoritative.

8. Concerning the other point, which F. *John Baptiſta de Morales* propos'd in the 1646. year 1646, F. *Martinez* made no mention, the reaſon of it is not to be gueſs'd; nor did he touch upon that about CHRIST crucify'd, tho' the fathers of the ſociety were much concern'd at it, as thinking we had done them much wrong. I write what I know, and make out in another place. F. *Joſeph de Morales* enlarg'd much upon this ſubject, with his uſual modeſty and piety; he treats of it from *page* 342, to *page* 473. he ſhall be fully anſwer'd, GOD willing. I will here only inſert what he quotes *page* 470. out of the council of *Iliberis*, or *Granada*, *can.* 36. which is thus, "It has been thought fit that there ſhould "be no pictures in churches, leſt that "which is honour'd and worſhip'd be "painted on the walls." He ſets down two reaſons for it, one taken from *Alanus*, *cap. dial. cap.* 16. *Sanderus*, *lib.* II. *de adorat. imag. p.* 4. and of F. *Turrianus*, and *Cabaſſucius* follows it, *pag.* 20. and ſays, "For the underſtanding the deſign of the "council, the time is to be conſider'd "when the perſecution of the Gentiles "rag'd againſt the Chriſtians; for this "canon is in favour of holy images, which "it therefore forbids being painted on the "walls, leſt they be ſcoff'd at by the "Gentiles." Which inconveniency did not attend thoſe painted on cloth, paper, or board, becauſe they could be remov'd and hid. Hence *Morales* would infer, that the image of CHRIST crucify'd, is not to be expos'd to the danger of being inſulted by the Gentiles: but this does not anſwer, nor is it to the purpoſe of the matter in controverſy, eſpecially becauſe what he alledges to make good his deſign is groundleſs.

The ſecond reaſon is taken from *Vaſquez*, *lib.* II. *de adorat. diſ.* 5. *cap.* 2. *n.* 133. who is follow'd by *Ayala*, our *Torre* 2. 2. *q.* 94. *art.* 1. *diſp.* 6. *dub.* 2. and others. The Council thought it inconvenient and indecent, that holy images ſhould be painted on the walls, becauſe the dampneſs and other accidents defaced them, and ſo they rather mov'd laughter than devotion; and becauſe in times of war churches are polluted, and all reſpect to holy images is loſt; which makes nothing at all to what our adverſary aims at, unleſs applied through many conſequences, in which great difficulties occur. Cardinal *Lugo de incarn. diſp.* 36. *ſect.* 1. *num.* 10. follows both reaſons, and concludes, that the precept is repeal'd. *Torre*, *Cano*, and others, give a truer ſolution, which is, that it was a provincinl ſynod, held without any authority of the pope; and as it err'd in other things, ſo it did in this. I will add a fourth, which *Cabaſſucius* aſſigns. "Beſides, *ſays he*, "*Baronius* not without reaſon ſuſpects that "this canon was counterfeited and forg'd "by the *Iconoclaſts* who formerly inha-"bited *Spain*. His reaſon is, becauſe tho' "it be ſet down by *Ivo*, *lib.* III. yet it is "not mention'd by thoſe that compil'd "the canons before him, as *Ferdinand* the "deacon, *Dionyſius Exiguus*, *Creſconius*; "as alſo becauſe none of the *Spaniſh* old "*Iconoclaſts*, tho' they us'd all poſſible "care to draw arguments from any part "whatſoever againſt holy images, ever "produced any canon of the council of "*Iliberis* which was held in *Spain*. Nor "did *Vigilantius*, and *Claudius* biſhop of "*Turin*, who were both well acquainted "with *Spain*, and oppos'd holy images.

What conſequence can be deduced from an antecedent ſo uncertain, to make uſe of it againſt the expoſing the image of CHRIST crucified? I muſt alſo obſerve in this place, that when the perſecution in *China* began, ſome of us endeavour'd to ſecure the holy images, for the reaſons above-mention'd, and others did not take them up.

S. *Hierom*, *epiſt.* 14. to S. *Auguſtin* writes thus, "If I write any thing in my defence, "the fault is yours that provok'd me, not "mine, becauſe I am oblig'd to anſwer." I might ſay the ſame to F. *Martin Martinez* if he were alive, and ſhould blame or complain of me; but I believe he would take no notice of it, becauſe he would be ſatisfied I had right and reaſon on my ſide.

Queries

Queries propos'd to the Holy General Congregation of the Holy Roman *and Univerſal Inquiſition; and by its leave and direction tranſmitted to the moſt Reverend Fathers, F.* Laurence Brancato de Lauræa *of the Order of the Friars Minors of S.* Francis, *Conſultor of the Holy Congregations of the Holy Inquiſition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Biſhops, and the publick Divines of the* Sapientia *at* Rome.

And F. John Bona *Abbot of the Congregation of S.* Bernard de Fulco, *Conſultor of the Holy Inquiſition, Rites and Indulgences; but now Cardinal of the Holy* Roman *Church.*

1. WHereas the blind Gentiles do on ſeveral accounts highly extol and commend ſeveral infidels long ſince dead, and have added them to the number of their vain deities or gods, or elſe do honour and worſhip them as ſaints. *Quære*; Whether (laying aſide that vain belief) it be lawful for Chriſtians who live among infidels, firſt making a proteſtation of their faith, or without it to honour thoſe dead men with ceremonies of external worſhip, ſuch as kneeling, proſtrations, offerings, and the like, either in company with the ſaid Gentiles, or elſewhere apart, when thoſe things either according to the intention of the Gentiles, or by uſe, and cuſtom, or law, are directed to a ſuperſtitious worſhip?

2. Whereas the ſame Gentiles do honour and worſhip their principal maſter *Confucius*, who dy'd in infidelity, as a ſaint; and perform many things, as making offerings, genuflexions, proſtrations, burning of perfumes, praying and begging of aſſiſtance, graces, and benefits, before a ſmall tablet, with this inſcription; *The throne, or honourable ſeat of the ſpirit, or ſoul of the moſt holy and principal maſter. Quære*; Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to light candles, and burn ſweets before the ſaid tablet, or together with the Gentiles, or apart, to kneel, proſtrate themſelves, burn perfumes, the ſaid Chriſtians omitting the prayers and invocation?

3. Whereas the Gentiles believe, that the ſouls of their anceſtors departed dwell on certain little tablets, on which theſe words are written, *The throne or ſeat of the ſoul of N, or N*; and that they attend to receive the offering and ſacrifices the Gentiles make to them, imploring and expecting their aſſiſtance in their neceſſities. *Quære*; Whether the Chriſtians may keep ſuch tablets, either in their temples, or their private houſes; at leaſt if they raiſe that inſcription, *The throne or ſeat of the ſoul*, and lay aſide that falſe belief of the ſoul's reſiding on them; whether in ſuch caſe they may have them in their houſes, or any other places, and there either with the Gentiles, or apart, may honour them with offering fruits of the earth, and ſweets, or at leaſt by proſtrations by way of gratitude, and celebrating their memory? NAVARETTE.

4. In all towns and cities of *China* there is a temple dedicated to the idol CHING HOANG; which is look'd upon and believ'd to be the guardian and ruler of that place. Governors, when they enter upon their employments, and twice a month, are obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their government, to go to that temple, and there to worſhip, falling down before the idol, and to offer to it ſacrifice of wine, fleſh, flowers, candles, and ſweets; and they ſwear before it, that they will govern uprightly and juſtly; and if they ſhould do the contrary, they ſubmit themſelves to the puniſhment the idol ſhall inflict on them, and aſk of him a rule and aſſiſtance that they may govern well. *Quære* 1. Whether Chriſtian governors may perform theſe things, or muſt quit their employments? 2. Whether they may be tolerated to do it for the preſent, in caſe they erect in the middle of the temple where the idols are, an eminency apart from the idol-altar, and place on it a croſs, or the picture of our Saviour not hid, but viſible to all the Gentiles; and proſtrate themſelves before it, and take their oath of fidelity, and make their offerings, either after a proteſtation of their faith, or without it, and direct their worſhip to the true GOD repreſented in the image of CHRIST; or at leaſt, whether the ſaid Chriſtian governors may worſhip the croſs, or image of CHRIST ſo placed in the temple on the aforeſaid days appointed by law, omitting genuflexions, proſtrations, and the offerings?

5. And foraſmuch as there is a court, or royal council of mathematicians, or aſtrologers, whoſe buſineſs it is, and chiefly the preſidents, every year to make, publiſh, ſubſcribe, and put his ſeal to an ephemeris or diary, in which many vain and ſuperſtitious things are contain'd, and fortunate days are ſet down; ſome for repairing to the idol-temples to offer up their prayers there, offer ſacrifices, to viſit the temples of their forefathers departed, to worſhip and honour them, and beg their aſſiſtance; others for marrying, for trying of cauſes, *Almanacks.*

NAVARRETTE. driving bargains, buying and ſelling and ſo forth. *Quære*, Whether it be lawful for any Chriſtian to be preſident, or a member of the ſaid council, to order the ſaid ephemeris or prediction, or any other affairs relating to that college, to command the printing or uſing of it, to ſet hand or ſeal to authorize it; or at leaſt to permit, conſent, and allow, that the preſident's ſubſcription and ſeal be put to the ſaid prediction or ephemeris, ſo contriv'd with thoſe ſuperſtitious obſervations, and irreligious rules, by the other counſellors, and ſo to be publiſh'd, ſubſcrib'd with his and the other names? And whether he be not rather oblig'd to refuſe the office of preſident, or a member of that council, tho' the king offer to preſs it upon him, and if he be in poſſeſſion, to reſign it, leſt he any way be concern'd in the ſuperſtitious practices above-mention'd, or ſeem by his ſeal to give them any authority?

unerals. 6. Whether it be lawful for prieſts and miniſters of the goſpel, or other Chriſtians, to be preſent among the Gentiles, and idol prieſts, at the funeral and ſolemn interment of Gentiles; or to follow the corps particularly of ſuch noblemen who during their life-time were friends, protectors and benefactors of the miniſters of the goſpel, and Chriſtians, or elſe are kindred and relations of ſome catholick or Chriſtian family, in regard that ſeveral ſuperſtitious rites are us'd and practis'd by the Gentiles and idol-prieſts attending ſuch funerals? And if the Chriſtians, or miniſters of the goſpel refuſe to be preſent, it may cauſe railing and enmity againſt the Chriſtians and prieſts of GOD.

7. Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians, or miniſters of the goſpel, either to expreſs their friendſhip; or on account of any dead perſon's dignity, worth or quality, or for any other reſpect, either towards the dead perſon, or his family, heirs or kindred, to ſet out meat and drink before their houſes, or in the road where the bier is to paſs, in caſe the antient cuſtom continue, which has been eſtabliſh'd by long practice, of ſetting out tables cover'd with meat, prepar'd by the Gentiles on the day of the burial, in the way to the tomb, whereas the Gentiles believe the ſouls of the dead take that meat as proviſion for their journey, and feed on it?

8. Whether poor Chriſtians, by profeſſion pipers, or the like, who live by their labour, may for the gain that is offer'd when call'd, or compell'd, play on their inſtruments at the funerals of Gentiles, carry the bier, or perform any other employment among the other ſuperſtitions, in the preſence of the Gentiles and idol-prieſts, who do ſeveral ſuperſtitious acts?

9. Whether Chriſtian artificers, ſuch as carpenters, maſons, or architects, or the like, who are freely hir'd for their pay; or being conſtrain'd by the magiſtrates, or moſt powerful men, may lawfully contribute with their labour towards the building, or reparing of idol-temples, or only about laying the foundations, making or mending the roofs, or cleanſing the walls and pavements, or clearing the altars, or opening and ſhutting the gates of temples, and ſuch like employments? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe ſome *Chineſe* Chriſtians have not yet a true vigour and fortitude of ſpirit in the Chriſtian religion they have embraced, and are terrify'd when any trouble, danger, or hardſhip threatens from the magiſtrates, or great ones, if they refuſe to obey their commands?

10. Laſtly, In caſe ſome acts may be tolerated, or lawful for Chriſtians making a proteſtation of their faith; *Quære*, How and when it ought to be made; whether before the Gentiles, before, after, or at the very time the ceremonies are acting? or whether it be ſufficient to make it before Chriſtians only, whether many or few? as to which it is deſir'd the number may be aſcertained, for the better and fairer proceeding in a matter of ſuch great moment.

We whoſe Names are under-written, being conſulted about the aforeſaid Doubts, having God's Honour before our Eyes, that we may provide for the Salvation of Souls, do judge the following Anſwers ſhould be given to each of the Queſtions propos'd.

1. THAT it is not lawful for the Chriſtians living among Gentiles to worſhip dead Gentiles, whom thoſe infidels honour as ſaints, with thoſe rites of exterior worſhip mention'd in the queſtion; neither with the Gentiles, nor elſewhere apart, without making a publick proteſtation of their faith; and thoſe that ſhall do it, will commit a heinous ſin, and idolatry.

2. As to the worſhip of *Confucius* before the tablet, call'd *The throne of the ſoul*, &c. We anſwer, That it is not lawful for Chriſtians, either in company of the infidels, or apart, to perform thoſe genuflexions, proſtrations, or other things mention'd in the queſtion, tho' the ſaid Chriſtians omit the prayers and ſupplications.

3. Concerning the tablets on which the Gentiles

Gentiles imagine the ſouls departed aſſiſt to receive offerings, *&c.* as is contain'd in the queſtion propos'd: We ſay it is unlawful for Chriſtians to keep the ſaid tablets, either in temples or their private houſes, either with that inſcription, *The throne, or ſeat of the ſoul*, or without it; and that it is alſo unlawful to worſhip them, either among the Gentiles, or apart, or to make any offering to them, even excluding the falſe belief of the ſoul's reſiding in them.

4. Concerning the temple of the idol CHING HOANG. In anſwer to the firſt part of the queſtion, we ſay, It is unlawful for governors, either upon taking poſſeſſion of their employments, or on any other account whatſoever, to worſhip that idol, or perform any part of what is contain'd in the queſtion propos'd, but are rather bound to quit their employment, than perform it. To the ſecond part of the queſtion we anſwer, That it is not lawful for any Chriſtians, even governors, to place a croſs, or image of CHRIST in the idol-temple, tho' apart from the idol-altar; and that nothing of what is propos'd in the queſtion can be tolerated, tho' the worſhip be directed to the true GOD, and image of CHRIST, as is propos'd.

5. As to the college of mathematicians, *&c.* We ſay it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to hold the place of preſident, or counſellor in it, if he is bound by his place to ſubſcribe, or put his ſeal to thoſe ſuperſtitious edicts, obſervations, or predictions, much leſs to publiſh them by his authority; but he is rather oblig'd to quit that poſt. Nor can he approve of, or have a hand in contriving them.

6. Touching the burial of the dead. If the Chriſtians do not join in the ſuperſtitious acts, but do it merely out of civil reſpect, it is lawful, otherwiſe it is not. NAVARETTE.

7. For the ſetting out of meat upon tables, as the dead body is carry'd, we ſay it is not lawful without making a publick proteſtation of their faith.

8. Concerning minſtrels and other acts uſually perform'd at funerals, with a mixture of ſuperſtitious practices, as in the queſtion: We think it unlawful to play on inſtruments after this manner, and to perform the other acts ſpoken of.

9. As to labour in building, repairing, or cleanſing of temples, and the reſt contain'd in the queſtion: We ſay, it is no way lawful for Chriſtians, nor to be tolerated upon any account or pretence whatſoever.

10. We ſay that in caſe a proteſtation of faith is to be made on account of any toleration, it muſt be in publick before the Gentiles and Chriſtians, who are preſent at that function ſo telerated. *November* the 27th 1669.

I *F. Laurence de Laurea* of the fryars minors, *Conſultor* of the holy inquiſition, *&c.* am of this opinion.

I *D. John Bona*, abbot of S. *Bernard*, hold the ſame.

It is here to be obſerv'd, that the ſecond doubt, and thoſe that follow, except the 6th and 7th, were ſolv'd many years ſince, in the ſame manner as they are here, by the miſſioners of the ſociety of JESUS, at a meeting they had in the province of NAN KING, as will appear in the ſecond book of the ſecond tome.

The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Roman *and Univerſal Inquiſition. Wedneſday* November *the thirteenth* 1669.

" IN the general congregation of the holy *Roman* and univerſal inquiſition held in the monaſtery of S. *Mary ſuper Minervam*, before the moſt eminent and moſt reverend lords cardinals, eſpecially deputed by the ſee apoſtolick general inquiſitors againſt heretical pravity over all the Chriſtian commonweal.

" The memorial preſented by F. *John Polanco*, of the order of preachers, and apoſtolick miſſioner in *China*, and other miſſioners of the ſame order, there labouring with him in preaching the goſpel, being read; in which he beſeeched the holy congregation would be pleas'd to declare, whether the precept and command be ſtill in force and vigour, under pain of actual excommunication incurr'd *ipſo facto*, to be abſolv'd only by his holineſs and the ſee apoſtolick, for obſerving and keeping of the anſwers and reſolutions of the 12th of *September* 1645 in the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, which at the requeſt of the ſame congregation were approv'd by pope *Innocent* the 10th of bleſſed memory. And whether all things are in practice to be carefully obſerv'd (according to what is deliver'd upon thoſe doubts) by all and every the miſſioners, of what order, rule or inſtitution ſoever, even of the ſociety of JESUS, who are or ſhall be in the kingdom of *China*; till ſuch time as his holineſs, or the holy ſee apoſtolick ſhall order the contrary; notwithſtanding another decree ſet forth by the ſacred congregation of the holy inquiſition,

NAVARETTE. "inquisition, *March* the 23d 1656, on "account of some questions propos'd by "the fathers missioners of the society of "JESUS in *China*, which were express'd "after another manner, and with different "circumstances. The most eminent fa- "thers declar'd, that the decree of the "holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, "pass'd the 12th of *September* 1645, ac- "cording to what is there made out in "the doubts, is in full force, and not in "the least invalidated by the decree of "the sacred congregation of the holy in- "quisition, pass'd the 23d day of *March* "1656, but ought to be fully observ'd "as it lies, according to the questions, "circumstances, and all things mention'd "in the said doubts. The decree of the "sacred congregation of the holy inquisi- "tion pass'd the 23d of *March* 1656, de- "clar'd it should be observ'd, according "to the questions, circumstances, and all "particulars mention'd in them.

"*Wednesday* the 20th of the aforesaid "month of *November*, 1669, the most il- "lustrious, and most reverend lord *Je- "rome Casanate*, a member of the holy in- "quisition, having made his report to "our most holy father *Clement* the 9th by "the divine providence pope, his holiness "approv'd of it.

F. *Martin Martinez* his decree being brought into *China*, some persons gave out, that all whatsoever was contain'd in the first decree was by this revok'd and made void, tho' they did not notify, or publish it in that mission. Which plainly appears to be false by what the sacred congregation of the universal inquisition at *Rome* declares in this place.

In the year 1673, by reason of new difficulties arising in the mission of *China*, the author of this book had recourse to *Rome*, and laid the following doubts before the holy congregation. The answer that was deliver'd to him runs thus. 1673.

Doubts of the Chineses *propos'd* Anno 1674 *by the F.* F. Dominick Navarette *of the order of Preachers, and Missioner in* China, *to the Sacred General Congregation of the Holy* Roman *and Universal Inquisition, and by its Authority transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F.* Laurence Brancata de Lauræa, *of the order of Friars Minors of* S. Francis, *Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the Publick Divines of the* Sapientia *at* Rome. *And to the most Reverend F.* Cajetan Miraballo, *of the Regular Clergy, and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition.*

Concerning the *Chinese* Magistrates or *Mandarines*, twenty five doubts.

Eclipse. 1. WHETHER *it be lawful for* mandarines, *when they have once embraced the catholick faith, to be present at the festival acclamations the* Chineses *are us'd to make with great noise and shouts to the sun and moon during the time of an eclipse?*

Answer to the first question. That it is not lawful.

I ask'd of ancient missioners, what allowance, or toleration might be given in this case; and they having given me no answer, I resolv'd to propose this and other doubts at *Rome*. In the 2d tome, I write all I have heard and understood concerning these doubts. In this place, I with much brevity touch upon what is most material; tho' in this particular, as more singular to *Europeans*, it is convenient I should dilate somewhat more. It is an inviolable custom in *China*, to send advice from court throughout the whole empire of the day and hour when any eclipse of the sun or moon is to happen. When the *mandarines* have notice of it, two or three days before it comes they paste up their orders in all publick places of cities and towns, to this effect: Such a day, at such an hour, there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, let all those whose duty it is come to perform and be present at the usual ceremonies, to deliver the planet from that trouble. At the time appointed the *mandarines*, other persons of note, and a great many *bonzes* meet; when the eclipse commences, they begin to make genuflexions, and prostrations, shout and hollow, beat upon basons; the *bonzes* pray, and all of them cry out in a hideous manner, till the eclipse is over: this they call rescuing the sun or moon from the trouble they are then in. This ceremony is of great antiquity in that kingdom. Their ritual, *tom.* 4. *p.* 13. makes mention of it, and ordains that the kings attended the emperor to assist, or succour the sun or moon in that distress; and to this purpose orders them to come with drums, and soldiers adorn'd with those colours, which answer to the four parts of the world. This is enough for the understanding of the doubt propos'd; and tho' it is a barbarous ceremony, let no man think strange that the *Chineses* should perform it, since it has been practis'd by *Europeans*, in the time of those great doctors of the church, *S.*

tions

Ambroſe and S. *Auguſtin. Spondanus* mentions it *Anno* 377. *n.* 5. S. *Ambroſe* ſays, *He abſolutely took away the acclamations that us'd to be made upon the eclipſe of the ſun.* S. Auguſtin *Serm.* 1. *Dom.* 10. *poſt Trin.* ſpeaks thus: *If you know any that ſhout, when the moon is darkned, admoniſh them of it, giving them to underſtand, that they commit a grievous ſin; for as much as they ſacrilegiouſly preſume to conceit that they can defend the moon from witchcraft, when by* GOD*'s command it is darkned at certain times.*

Thus the *European* and *Aſiatick* ceremony is condemn'd, and it appears to have been more criminal among Chriſtians than among Gentiles.

And if any man ſhall ſay (tho' I know not that any body has ſaid ſo) that the Chriſtian *mandarines*, as believing in nothing that is done there, may be preſent without any ſcruple of conſcience, to avoid ſome inconveniences that may follow their abſenting themſelves: I anſwer; *How ſhall it appear to thee, to us, or to the church, that they do not inwardly believe what they outwardly profeſs? What avails it not to believe inwardly, if they approve of the aforeſaid ſuperſtitions, by their outward preſence?*

Nor can the emperor's command excuſe them. S. *Ignatius* the martyr *ad Antioch.* ſaid: *We are to be obedient to* Cæſar *in thoſe things in which there is no danger of the ſoul.* And Tertul. *lib. de Idolol. c.* 15. *As far as to ſeparation from idolatry, and within the bounds of diſcipline.* Thus far at moſt extends obedience and ſubmiſſion. The ſubſtance of my propoſition conſiſts in what has been written, which is enough for the preſent.

2. *Whether the Chriſtian officers, or ſoldiers may lawfully be preſent at the proſtrations, genuflexions, or other ceremonies, wherewith at certain times the military men worſhip their great commander, whom they call* KI TO?

Ki To.

God of war.

Anſwer to the 2. That is not lawful.

I obſerve in another place, that the *Chineſe* ſoldiery have their god *Mars*, as other nations had. That they acknowledge in him *a true deity, or ſomething of a deity*, is plain matter of fact. When they have any military expedition in hand, the following ceremony is perform'd in the field. They cover a table with variety of meats, and dainties; over it they ſpread the ſtandard, or colours, then take it off, and the ſoldiers and officers kneel and proſtrate themſelves before it. Then the commander in chief repairs to the temple dedicated to him, whoſe ſoul they ſay is in the ſtandard; there he kneels and makes offerings, all to the end he may be ſucceſsful in war. This was made out to me in *China.* F. *John Garcia* an ancient miſſioner of my order told me, that he once ſaw a *Mahometan* captain refuſe to be preſent, when the ſaid ceremony was perform- NAVARETTE.
ed. F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* a *Franciſcan* told me, that the Chriſtian ſoldiers in the province of XAN TUNG went to it as frequently as the Gentiles. I propos'd the matter at *Rome* for the ſatisfaction of all perſons, and the more ſecurity in a thing of ſuch moment, not that I was ignorant of the truth.

3. *It often happens that the lawful kings being expel'd, tyrants intrude.* Quære, *Whether theſe be oblig'd before they are baptiz'd to depart from their rebellion, and peaceably to reſtore the kingdoms they have uſurp'd to the right owner?*

Anſwer to the 3. They are to be advis'd to reſtore what they have wrongfully taken; and if they promiſe ſo to do, baptiſm is not to be deny'd them.

4. *The* Chineſes *unanimouſly agree that the* Tartar *now reigning is a tyrant.* Quære, *Whether we may admit the ſoldiers and magiſtrates, who ſerve him for pay in civil and military employments, to baptiſm, and when baptiz'd adminiſter other ſacraments to them; and baptize the emperor himſelf, whilſt he wrongfully holds the kingdom?* Item, *what anſwer we are to give the* Chineſes, *and what advice concerning the government of the* Tartars, *when they aſk our opinion touching the ſaid* Tartar*'s right?*

Anſwer to the 4. Concerning the emperor, as in the third queſtion: As for thoſe that ſerve them, if they deſire to be baptiz'd, baptiſm muſt not be deny'd them on this account, if they promiſe, that when the prince aſks it they will give good and juſt advice; and ſo other ſacraments may be afterwards adminiſtred to them, if they are well diſpos'd.

In my controverſies I write all that was ſaid concerning theſe points, in the meetings we had at *Canton. Tertul. in Apolog. cap.* 39. ſays, *For as much as Chriſtians are never to take part with tyrants.*

Diſcourſing about baptizing the emperor of *China*, one of the company ſaid, I find no doubt in this particular. For *Conſtantine* tyrannically uſurp'd the empire, and yet S. *Silveſter* baptiz'd him: But hiſtorians tell us how far this is from truth, ſomething out of them I writ in the place already cited, and the reader may ſee *Ribodenegra* on the feaſt of S. *Silveſter.*

5. *Whether ſoldiers and officers marry'd in* France, *going over into* New France *may there marry again?*

Anſwer to the 5. If they can prove that they are free (that is, from their firſt wives by death) and that they have no other canonical impediments, they may marry catholicks. The proof muſt be legal.

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NAVARETTE. A certain miſſioner would have it, that *French* ſoldiers who were marry'd at home, might marry again when they went over into *New France*, and had not their wives along with them, by reaſon of the great danger of incontinency: this he ſaid the divines at *Paris* aſſerted, and had given it under their hands. Others with much reaſon condemn'd this doctrine, for according to it a *French* Chriſtian (and conſequently any other) leaving his wife in *France* might take another in *New France*, another in the iſland *Guadalupe*, if he went thither; another at *Martinico*, another at *Madagaſcar*, and another in *India*, becauſe in all parts there is danger of incontinency. Nor can I imagine the divines of *Paris* ever gave ſuch an opinion (as infallibly they never did) yet becauſe all the reaſons that can be urg'd againſt it, tho' very forcible and perſuaſive, cannot convince that party, it was requiſite to uſe other methods, as having recourſe to *Rome* to undeceive him.

6. *The* Chineſes *worſhip all the ſpirits, which they imagine to be employ'd in guarding of cities and kingdoms, in the ſingle idol*, CHING HOANG; *yet they confeſs they were real men, born and bred in that kingdom.* Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may lawfully give them the name of angel guardian?*

Ching Hoang.

Anſwer to the 6. That it is not lawful.

I have already taken notice, that the doubts propoſed at *Rome* concerning CHING HOANG, have been ſolv'd by the miſſioners of the ſociety, though there has been ſome controverſy about this point in *China*. But the reaſon why I gave in that the idols CHING HOANG, to whom ſome have given the name of guardian angels, were men, known to the *Chineſes* as ſuch, whoſe names, ſirnames, and native countries are notorious to all men, was, becauſe I had thoroughly examin'd into and made out the matter in that country; and if ſo, it is plain they can be no guardian angels. This is the method the *Franciſcans* and we *Dominicans* have taken; following the example of the fathers, *Hurtado*, *Julio*, *Aleni*, *Gouvea*, and other antient men of the ſociety.

7. *Whether* mandarines *upon preſſing neceſſities may conceal the true religion, and outwardly feign themſelves idolaters, tho' the reſt of the Chriſtians be ſcandaliz'd at theſe exterior ſhows?*

Anſwer to the 7. That they may not.

The holy congregation gave the ſame deciſion upon another occaſion, as F. *Eſcob* ſays in *ſum. fol.* 585. *n.* 68. but there was a reaſon for propoſing it over again.

8. *Whether the ſacrifices offer'd by the* Chineſes *to the idol* CHING HOANG, *be oppoſite to true Chriſtian religion?*

Anſwer to 8. That they are oppoſite.

It was ſaid a metaphyſician maintain'd the contrary, urging that the ſaid idol was inſtituted before the coming of GOD upon earth. Idolatry being a ſin againſt the law of nature, it is moſt certain, it was ever oppoſite to the law of GOD, which ever was and is one and the ſame, though in different ſtates: ſo that this and other ſins, which are ſo of themſelves and in their own nature, have a malice and deformity of their own, from which they can never be ſeparated, nor any way excus'd.

9. *Whether Chriſtian* mandarines *may among the Gentiles in outward ſhow fall down before the* Chineſe *idols, directing all thoſe ceremonies with an inward humiliation of their heart to the true* GOD, *and to a croſs placed on the idol altar?*

Anſwer to the 9. That they may not.

There is ſomebody that aſſerts the affirmative, urging the words of *Tertullian*, but not quoted fairly as they are in his works. What this author writ, is as follows: *If plainly call'd to the prieſthood, and ſacrifice, I will not go, becauſe it is the proper ſervice of the idol. Neither will I be concern'd in the like by my advice, or charge. If being call'd to the ſacrifice I am preſent, I ſhall partake in the idolatry; if any other cauſe obliges me to be with him that ſacrifices, I ſhall only be a ſpectator of the ſacrifice.* *Tertullian* only allows of the mere material preſence, and nothing more, which all men allow.

10. Item, *Whether they may, in the ſame place, perform the ſacrifices and prayers uſually offer'd for the good ſucceſs of the government, with other ceremonies according to the* Chineſe *ritual; provided they inwardly in their hearts deſpiſe the idol, and direct all theſe actions to the true* GOD?

Anſwer to the 10. That they may not.

Tho' it be performed in that manner, and with that intention, it cannot but be outward idolatry.

11. *Whether it may be permitted the* Japoneſes, *who are converted to the faith, to make thoſe bonfires the Gentiles every year uſe to make as a falſe commemoration of the ſouls of their friends departed, confounding the civil with many heatheniſh rites?* Dead.

Anſwer to the 11. That it may not be permitted.

Morales, pag. 291. inſtances this particular in theſe words. In *Japan* the Chriſtians are tolerated in the making of illuminations, or bonfires to rejoice the people, when the Gentiles keep that feaſt for the ſouls departed, and think they come to their houſes; tho' the *Japoneſes* mix heathen ceremonies among the political rites: and yet nevertheleſs their divines of *India* determin'd

determin'd, that the Chriſtians might perform both. I propos'd the point ſo at *Rome*, and the anſwer was in the negative.

12. *Whether the* mandarines *or magiſtrates may be lawfully admitted to baptiſm?* Item, *Whether* mandarines *once baptiz'd may lawfully accept of the ſaid employments; and whether the miſſioners may admit thoſe who have once accepted of ſuch dignity, to the ſacraments of the church?*

Anſwer to the 12. They cannot unleſs they quit thoſe employments.

I had brought my doubts to this head, but was not yet fully reſolv'd. I ſpoke with F. *Claudius Motet* of the ſociety; he told me plainly, the *mandarines* were incapable of holy baptiſm. F. *Staniſlaus Torrente* affirm'd the ſame. The principal reaſons are: 1. Becauſe by their place they are oblig'd to perform the ceremonies to the idol CHING HOANG, and when they enter upon their employment to beg his aid and aſſiſtance that they may govern well. 2. Becauſe in time of great drought, or too much rain, they repair to the temples of the idols to beg fair weather, or rain, or at leaſt to the mountains and valleys, and the idol LUNG VUANG who is the god of waters. 3. Becauſe they muſt attend upon the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and becauſe of the ceremonies they perform upon taking poſſeſſion of their employments, and at other times to *Confucius*. Theſe were the reaſons I gave, and had the anſwer as above. It ſhall be all ſpoke of at large in its place, and other reaſons alledg'd.

Lung Vuang.

13. *Whether Chriſtians who are maſters in publick ſchools, who are vulgarly call'd* HIO KUON, *may be lawfully admitted to the ſacraments, and whether they may lawfully accept of ſuch publick employments? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe it is the duty of theſe places to be preſent at all the ceremonies which are perform'd to* Confucius.

Anſw. to the 13. As was anſwer'd elſewhere, That if thoſe honours paid to *Confucius* are abſolutely political, they may be permitted; if religious, not.

The maſters who live in houſes within the univerſities are call'd *HIO KUON*, the ſcholars that are upon regiſter are ſubject to them. I propos'd the reaſon for the doubt, which I mention in my controverſies. By the anſwer given concerning the ceremonies perform'd to *Confucius*, it will appear, whether they are political or religious.

I muſt here take notice, that the military *mandarines* are free from the impediments propos'd in theſe two doubts and ſolutions; ſo that if they are under no others, they may well be admitted to baptiſm.

14. *Whether to avoid perſecution from the infidels, the* Chineſes *of the learned ſect are to be let alone in their ſimplicity, or their ignorance concerning the ſacrifices of* Confucius *and other ceremonies; or whether the miſſioners are not rather oblig'd to adviſe and inſtruct them, and to drive from their minds the darkneſs of ignorance by the doctrine of* CHRIST? NAVARETTE.

Anſwer to the 14. The miſſioners are oblig'd to teach the *Chineſes* the truth, and lay open their errors.

It will appear by the ſecond book of controverſies, what motive I had to put this queſtion, and who it was that writ the contrary to the anſwer given at *Rome*.

15. *Whether it be lawful to baptiſe* mandarines, *or others, unleſs they firſt turn their concubines out of doors?*

Anſwer to the 15. They cannot be baptiz'd, unleſs they turn out their concubines.

The miſſioners of *China* cannot deny but that ſome perſons have baptiz'd *Chineſes*, whilſt they had their concubines yet in the houſe; and that it may in ſome caſe be verify'd that they are expell'd *formaliter*, tho' not *materialiter*. I grant, and believe thoſe that are acquainted with the affairs of *China* will own as much to them it belongs to weigh the circumſtances duly.

I writ in another place, whether thoſe we call concubines in *China* are ſo in a ſtrict ſenſe; or whether we may give them the name of wives, and ſay the *Chineſes* have ſeveral wives, as the *Jews* had, or only one wife, and concubines? I ſaid before that it was likely GOD's diſpenſation to his people to have many wives extended to the Gentiles as well. For clearing this doubt, I add to what has been already ſaid, that in the firſt council of *Toledo*, *can.* 17. ſhe is call'd a concubine, *Who was taken to cohabit with a man, without a dower, and all other ſolemnities.* So *Gratianus* expounds it *C. is qui diſt.* 34. and it appears by S. *Auguſtin*, *lib. de bon. conjug.* whoſe authority the ſame *Gratianus* alledges *C. concub.* &c. *Soler* 32. *q.* 2. *Juſtinian* is of the ſame opinion, as may be ſeen in *Cabaſſucius*, *p.* 219. According to this rule, I ſay, that thoſe in *China*, tho' we give them the name of concubines, are in reality wives, and all the difference is in the ſolemnity us'd at the marriage of the firſt wife. *Wives.*

16. *It is eſtabliſh'd by a law publiſh'd at* PE KING, *that all perſons who paſs before an idol-temple on horſe-back, ſhall alight in honour and reſpect to it.* Quære, *Whether the miſſioners, or other Chriſtians, may with ſafety obey this law?*

Anſwer to the 16. That they cannot.

This caſe was put by one of thoſe that came from court to another reſiding at *Canton*, when we were confin'd there; the

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latter deſiring to know my opinion, I writ the beſt I underſtood to the point, proving it was not lawful for a catholick to alight from his horſe, as he paſt before ſuch a temple. *Tertull. de idol.* ſays that *All worſhip given to an idol is forbidden.* He did not approve of my judgment: for the more ſatisfaction I propos'd it at *Rome*, where I had the anſwer as above. What arguments paſt between us are brought in their place.

17. *Whether a heathen king or his miniſters, in hatred to the faith commanding the pulling down of churches, miſſioners, or other Chriſtians may obey ſuch a law?*

Anſwer to the 17. That they may not.

It ſeems, ſomething of this nature was taken notice of in two miſſioners, wherein they were govern'd by reaſons that were ſomething plauſible, the reſt did not approve of the action. Some were of opinion there lay an excommunication againſt it. It is well known, that we cannot in time of Perſecution deliver books, pictures, veſtments, *&c.* to Gentiles, nor diſcover thoſe that have them; tho' it coſt us our lives; and certainly it is a greater offence to throw down churches.

18. *Whether the* Chineſe *Chriſtians may pay reſpect to an idol, not as it is the falſe repreſentative of a deity, but as it is valu'd and much belov'd by a heathen, who is a friend?*

Anſwer to the 18. That they cannot.

This caſe was put to me; I anſwer'd in the negative, as I was anſwer'd at *Rome*, and gave the reaſons which are in the controverſies. He that put the caſe to me perſiſted in the contrary opinion, and I believe will do ſo ſtill. Among other reaſons I urg'd, one was, that exterior actions of honour and worſhip, and the like, are not abſtractive from formalities, as thoſe of the underſtanding are; and therefore tho' thoſe us'd to the idol were ſeparable, yet that did not appertain to exterior actions. Nor was it any thing to the purpoſe, tho' the idol was a precious thing my friend had a great eſteem for, becauſe even among Chriſtians ſuch an action would be look'd upon as very mean. Would it be proper, that in *Italy* where they place ſo great a value upon fine ſtatues, I ſhould bow or pay an honour to them to flatter the owner? The ſtatue, or idol has no relation to the owner, but to the thing repreſented; and if *a motion to an image is the ſame as to the thing imagin'd*, the corporal motion with which I worſhip the ſtatue muſt be of the ſame nature.

White elephant.

19. *When a white elephant is dead, which beaſt is by all perſons look'd upon as a preſage of good fortune, the multitude flocks together, and with them the falſe heathen prieſts, who, as the elephant's carcaſe is carried through the city with mournful pomp, when it paſſes before them kneel, and making a barbarous lamentation, worſhip its bones.* Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may lawfully be preſent at this funeral pomp, bearing the Gentiles company in thoſe ſame genuflexions?*

Anſwer to the 19. That they may not.

I have writ the hiſtory of the *white elephant*, ſo highly valu'd by the kings of *India*. It is well known that whilſt he lives he is ſerved with as much reſpect as the king himſelf, when dead he is buried with royal pomp. They carry the carcaſe in proceſſion, many idolatrous prieſts attend it; as it paſſes thro' the ſtreets all perſons there preſent kneel and touch the ground with their foreheads. The caſe is, whether catholick prieſts and other Chriſtians, who accidentally or deſignedly ſee that ſight, may lawfully make thoſe genuflexions among the Gentiles, and as they do them, or by themſelves, being in a place where no Gentile is.

I always held the negative, which I maintain'd the beſt I could againſt one, who obſtinately defended the contrary opinion, reducing it to a civil and political worſhip. Brute beaſts are incapable even of this ſort of worſhip, as S. *Thomas* teaches, 2. 2. *q. art.* So that no excellency appears in the object to claim this civil reſpect, much leſs any above it, as in all appearance, according to the circumſtances, that which the Gentiles pay ſeems to be.

20. *Whether in caſe the king expreſly commands all Chriſtians to attend the bier, and perform the funeral rites, and proſtrations, we may obey?*

Anſwer to the 20. As elſewhere, if there be any apoſtolical or ſuperſtitious acts in attending the bier, and the funeral, they may not; if they be only civil, they may.

The determination, whether that worſhip be civil or religious, is left to thoſe who are there, ſo that the difficulty is not fully ſolv'd. Though I am ſatisfied it is more than probable, that the worſhip on the part of the Gentiles is more than civil; for there is no doubt but that the whole kingdom's bewailing the death of the elephant, putting on mourning, a vaſt number of prieſts meeting at the funeral, and all people lamenting as it were ſome great loſs and diſaſter befallen the kingdom, muſt have ſomething of a great myſtery among thoſe Gentiles, eſpecially for as much as that beaſt is look'd upon as a preſage of happineſs and ſucceſs in thoſe countries, where they have not the light of the goſpel.

When this happen'd, the king did not command all perſons to come to worſhip the

the carcaſe of the elephant, but that all who were preſent as it paſt by ſhould pay him the honour and reſpect abovementioned. To ſave doubts, and cut off difficulties, what occaſion was there for prieſts and Chriſtians to go ſee that monſtrous ſolemnity? Were it not better to have ſpar'd that curioſity, to avoid an action never done in the church? In my controverſies I mention the inſtances that may be urg'd againſt me, and anſwer them.

Libation. 21. *Whether it be lawful for mandarines, or other Chriſtians before their feaſts to ſpill a little wine on the ground? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe the ſaid ceremony is preſcrib'd by the rituals under the denomination of a ſacrifice.*

Anſwer to the 21. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is of great antiquity in *China*, and is kept up to this day. For the better underſtanding of it, I here inſert what F. *Proſper Intorceta* writes in his *ſapientia ſincia, p.* 73. §. 4. tranſlating the *Chineſe* text into *Latin*. It ſpeaks of *Confucius*, and ſays, *Tho' he fed on the coarſer rice, yet pouring one part upon the ground, he ſacrificed to thoſe dead perſons, who in former ages had taught the manner of tilling the earth, dreſſing meat*, &c. *And this was the cuſtom of the antients in token of gratitude; and he perform'd theſe things with much gravity and reverence.* The commentator *CHANG KO LAO* expounds thus: Confucius *took his food, not to nouriſh the body, but to increaſe in virtue.* Other words yet plainer ſhall be ſet down in another place. Thus it appears that the ſhedding any part of meat or drink on the ground, is in *China* call'd a ſacrifice, and is no civil or political action.

22. *Whether we be oblig'd to take away the bills and ſcroles which are ſet up by order of the magiſtrates to defame our faith, againſt our houſes and churches, or to confirm the faith by a publick confeſſion of it before the magiſtrates?*

Anſwer to the 22. They are oblig'd to take them away; and if being accus'd before the judges they are examin'd to the matter of fact, they are oblig'd to make a profeſſion of the true faith.

The thing happen'd in *China* in the year
1665. 1665. it was argued, and there was no ſmall variety of opinions. The fathers *Grelon* and *Gaviani* of the ſociety, adher'd ſtiffly to the reſolution above written, I follow'd their ſentiment. Some years before F. *Francis Diaz* of my order, with his own hand tore the edicts ſet up at *FO NGAN* by order of a *mandarine* againſt our holy faith. True it is, he was moſt cruelly baſtinado'd for it, but exercis'd a great deal of patience under it; and tho' ſome body has condemn'd the action, I inſert it here as heroical and glorious. F. *John Baptiſt de Morales* and his companions had reſolv'd to do the ſame at *FO CHEU*, it was not their fault that it was not done. S. *Juſtin Martyr* in former ages did the ſame, and was cruelly tormented for it. This is grounded on the doctrine of S. *Thomas*, generally receiv'd by all men, 2. 2. *q.* 3. *art.* 2. where he ſays that when God's *honour and the good of our neighbour requires it, the outward confeſſion of faith becomes of precept.*

NAVARETTE.

23. *Whether when the infidels publiſh books and pamphlets reflecting on our faith, and falſely aſperſing the miſſioners, we are oblig'd by publick writings to defend the faith, and clear our ſelves from ſlanders; or whether we may give way to the prevailing party, and with timorous ſilence bear with our unjuſt ſlanderers?*

Anſwer to the 23. If there be no imminent danger of a ſharper perſecution, they may confute them by words and writing; if there be danger, let them bear for a while, and carry themſelves upon the negative.

I have writ ſome things concerning this point, which ſeems to make out more than is here determin'd; however, it is a plain caſe we are to ſtand by this reſolution. We know that formerly ſeveral perſons ſtood up, and writ apologies in defence of our holy faith; and *Spondanus, ann.* 172, 277, 278, & 301. tells it us of *Juſtinus*, *Miletus*, *Apollinaris*, and others; and it is certain they did as we ought to do.

24. *Whether when a tyrant commands miſſioners, or other Chriſtians to deliver up the books of the holy faith, as was done in the year* 1665, *it be lawful to deliver* 1665. *them?*

Anſwer to the 24. That it is not lawful.

This point was determin'd in the thirteenth *can.* of the council of *Arles*, where are theſe words, *It expells them from the clergy who ſhall deliver up ſacred books or veſſels to the Gentiles, or give in the names of the faithful.*

The martyrology on the 2d of *February* mentions ſeveral who ſuffer'd glorious martyrdom for refuſing to deliver up the holy books. And they who through fear of torments deliver'd them, *were look'd upon as publick traytors.*

In *November* alſo is celebrated the feaſt of S. *Valerianus*, who ſuffer'd for refuſing to deliver up the ſacred veſtments. Read the martyrology on the firſt of *February.*

25. *Whether Chriſtians may lawfully give pictures of ſaints to the infidels their friends?*

For

Navarette. *For on the one ſide, their affections are gain'd by thoſe pictures in which they very much delight, and the way is made eaſier for inſtructing them. But on the other ſide, they lying in the profound ſleep of gentility, experience has ſhewn that they do not honour them as pictures of ſaints, but as idols of the* Europeans.

Anſwer to the 25. If there be no danger of their abuſing them, they may, to the intent to ſecure peace with them, and allure them to the faith.

Doubts concerning the Worſhip given to Confucius.

1. *WHether F.* Martin Martinez *did fully and truly lay before the holy congregation the whole matter of fact, in relation to the ceremonies perform'd to* Confucius *by the learned?*

2. *Whether the decree of the holy congregation, as to the third queſtion propos'd by F.* Martinez, *be grounded on a very probable opinion, or on the propoſition made by the ſaid F.* Martinez?

3. *Whether the ſtructures dedicated to the Worſhip of* Confucius *be temples or not?*

Theſe three points were anſwer'd in another place.

The notes upon the decree granted in favour of F. *Martinez*, which were ſet down before, fit this place, as do other things I have in my controverſies. In relation to the third point, I muſt obſerve and declare in this place briefly, that all the dictionaries the fathers of the ſociety have writ in *China*, call that which is dedicated to *Confucius* a temple, as ſhall appear more plainly in the place above-mentioned, and it is properly expreſs'd by the *Chineſe* word MIAO. Obſerve further, that the difficulties there have been in theſe times concerning the philoſopher *Confucius*, tho' they were made known by the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* miſſioners, yet they were not the authors of them, as ſhall be made out in the ſecond book of controverſies, where thoſe are ſet down which were ſeveral years before among thoſe of the ſociety.

4. *Whether to kneel before the ſtatue of* Confucius, *or his tablet, to burn perfumes, light candles, and the like, be mere political worſhip?*

Anſwer to the 4. That theſe things are not lawful.

That is as much as to ſay, that theſe actions are not merely political.

5. *Whether the ceremony of chuſing beaſts to be offer'd to* Confucius, *be only political and civil?*

To the fifth no anſwer is given, becauſe the matter of fact does not appear.

I propos'd the matter of fact, to my thinking, as plain as poſſible could be, which made me admire at the anſwer. I will repeat it here briefly: The day before ſacrifice is offer'd to *Confucius*, they chuſe the beaſts thus; they pour hot wine into the ears of the ſwine (thoſe of the ſociety ſay it is a ſort of liquor like oil) if the ſwine moves its head, it is accepted of as fit for ſacrifice; if not, it is rejected. Other ancient Gentiles us'd ſuch like trials, as is mention'd in the ſecond tome. When the beaſt is accepted of, the *mandarin* makes it a low bow, and when kill'd another. Let any man judge whether this can be a civil political action.

Sacrifice to Confucius.

6. *Whether the offering of hogs-blood and briſtles to* Confucius, *be political? the ſame is aſk'd concerning the ceremony of burying the briſtles and blood above-mention'd.*

Anſwer to the 6. Be it as it will, it is not lawful.

When the ſwine are kill'd, they keep ſome of their hair, or briſtles and blood, which they offer the next day before *Confucius* his image, or tablet; and afterwards bury it very ſolemnly, as is more particularly ſet down in another place. Some contend this action is political; the fathers *Gouvea*, *Gaviniani*, and others, were of another opinion.

7. *Whether the ceremony upon a figure of a man made of ſtraw, which was inſtituted according to the ritual, to call upon the ſpirits that they may be preſent at the ſacrifices, be religious or political?*

Anſwer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is us'd in their offerings or ſacrifices they make to the dead. They lay under the tables there cover'd, a figure of a man, on which they pour a little wine. This is all explicated at large in the ſecond tome of controverſies; I can find no way to make it political.

8. *Whether the action of waſhing his hands, which is perform'd by the magiſtrate, as a preparatory to make the offerings to* Confucius, *be political or ceremonial?*

Anſwer to the 8. That it is not lawful.

It plainly appears, that the argument ſome people make uſe of, which is to ſay, that theſe actions are indifferent, and therefore may be tolerated, is of no force. To waſh hands, is in it ſelf indifferent; but in this caſe, and upon ſuch circumſtances, it becomes ceremonious and religious. The prieſts waſhing at the altar after the offertory, neither is, nor can be call'd a civil or political action, but ceremonious and very religious.

9. *Whether* Confucius *his tablet, which the* Chineſes *think to be the ſeat of the ſoul, be a thing appertaining to political worſhip?*

For

For they believe the airy ſpirit of Confucius *comes to it to receive the offerings.*

Anſwer to the 9. That is not lawful.

I find many miſſioners of *China* divided about this and other points. I took the doubt above propos'd from the diſpute that was ſome years ſince among the ſociety. The reſolution they then came to is the very ſame as that above-written: that the learned *Chineſes* believe the ſoul of their maſter comes to the tablets, is own'd by themſelves, and the characters on it fully expreſs as much. That ſome deny it, is rather the effect of their obſtinate will, than of reaſon or underſtanding.

10. *The magiſtrates offer to* Confucius *pieces of white ſilk, which after the offering they caſt into the fire, and with it a veſſel of wine, ſaying ſome collects.* Quære, *Whether theſe things belong to mere civil worſhip?*

Anſwer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

Among the other ceremonies they perform to this philoſopher twice a year, beſides other things they offer him nine pieces of white ſattin, every one with a collect, there may not be any more: After the offering they tie them to long ſtaves like pikes, and burn them. Some ſay it is done in token of rejoicing; and that as it is a political and civil action to offer them to perſons living ſo it may be to the ſtatue or tablet of *Confucius*.

11. *The magiſtrate with both hands twice lifts up on high ſome wine, which they call* bleſſed wine, *and then drinks it; in like manner he lifts up a portion of meat, which he receives from one attending, and offers it to* Confucius. *The offering being ended, ſome collects are read, which expreſs* Confucius *his preſence, and invite him to drink of the wine that is offer'd him; and the Gentiles believe they ſhall receive honour, advancement, and happineſs, as the conſequence of theſe offerings.* Quære, *Whether the aforeſaid offerings are in the nature of ſacrifice?*

Anſwer to the 11. That they are not lawful.

The main thing we deſire to know, is, Whether ſuch ceremonies be lawful or not? It ſignifies little to me, whether they may be reputed as ſacrifices, or not. But by reading the reaſons alledg'd in the ſecond tome, every man may decide what the conſequence of them is. In this propoſition I did not deviate a tittle from what I was told by learned Chriſtians, who are they that beſt underſtand theſe affairs; nor from what is writ in the ſecond book of the ſecond tome.

12. *Whether the ſtatue of* Confucius *be an idol, or falſe ſanctity be attributed to it by the* Chineſes?

Anſwer to the 12. It was ſaid in another place not to be lawful.

I could have wiſh'd the anſwer had been plainer, and ſuitable to the reaſons I propos'd for making the doubt; I bring them in the place above-mention'd. The fathers *Semedo*, *Kircher*, and other grave men, all of the ſociety of JESUS, are for me, whoſe opinion agrees with the ſentiments of our fathers and the *Franciſcans*. NAVARETTE.

13. *Whether the ceremony of accompanying the ſpirit of* Confucius *be civil and political?*

Anſwer to the 13. That the matter of fact does not appear.

Among the ceremonies the *Chineſes* perform to their maſter, and forefathers departed, there is bringing down of ſpirits, diſmiſſing and receiving, others call it accompanying of them; be it as it will all is bad, it is ſet down in the ſecond tome.

14. *Whether the table ſet up before the ſtatue or tablet of* Confucius *be an altar?*

Anſwer to the 14. That it is not lawful.

According to the queſtion this implies, that it is not lawful to place a table before the ſtatue or tablet of *Confucius*, as the *Chineſes* uſe it, with candleſticks, antependium, and other formalities, nothing differing from the idol-altars.

15. *Whether the ceremony of chuſing a day for making of the ſaid offerings, can be reckon'd a mere act of civil and political worſhip?*

Anſwer to the 15. If the worſhip be religious, neither is it nor the choice lawful.

The offerings and other actions explained in the foregoing queſtions, are adjudg'd a religious, not a civil worſhip; therefore it is ſo often repeated, *That it is not lawful:* conſequently it muſt be ſo to chuſe a day to perform any of thoſe acts. It is not as in our parts; days are fix'd for ſeveral ſorts of buſineſs that occurs, or for bull-feaſts, rejoicings, or undertaking a journey, *&c.* wherein regard is had to ſome corporal conveniences, as the people being more at leiſure, leſs likelihood of rain, a more temperate ſeaſon, *&c.* It is far otherwiſe in *China*, they obſerve whether days be lucky or unlucky; whether they ſhall ſucceed to day, or miſcarry to morrow. That nation believes in groſs errors, and therefore we all look upon theſe choices as ſuperſtitious, they uſing generally lots in them. And this not only to chuſe days, but to find a fortunate hour for what they are to do.

16. *Suppoſing the books of* Confucius *and the learn'd ſect contain many, and thoſe viſible errors;* Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may undertake the employment of maſters, and teach, expound, and maintain ſuch falſe doctrines? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe if they do ſo, they approve of thoſe doctrines, and ſpread abroad their errors. On the other ſide, if this be forbid them, ſeveral who have no other livelihood will doubtleſs leave our religion.*

NAVARETTE.

Answer to the 16. That they may not. The fathers of the society some years since argu'd this point: He that decided it, supposes *Confucius* and his sect are full of many errors. The reasons of making a doubt on both sides were sufficiently laid open; they are explain'd in what has been writ, and yet the resolution was in the negative. All will be made plainer in the second tome.

17. *Supposing the aforemention'd errors*; Quære, *Whether Christians may lawfully enter upon examinations? For very often errors against faith are propos'd in them, which those who are to be examin'd, are oblig'd to justify, commend, explain, and maintain, in so much that it is not lawful for any man to vary one jot from the doctrine of classick authors; but the forbidding of this will certainly be the shutting up the way of salvation to many of them.*

Answer to the 17. That they cannot enter upon those examinations, unless they do it with a design to oppose false doctrines.

I was always at a stand about these two points; but being young in the mission, I div'd into the matter, and observ'd what others did. Afterwards finding them controverted by the fathers of the society, my doubt increas'd. Hitherto it was look'd upon as a great inconveniency to hinder the learned from performing the ceremonies to their master and philosopher; that which follows upon this resolution, if not greater, is at least more universal, as affecting many more. The inconveniences are already mention'd, and notwithstanding them, the aforesaid resolution was given. I don't question but it will surprize some in *China*, but it will not appear so strange to those who have read the arguments that past among those of the society upon this
1628. and other points in the year 1628. What they decreed is set down in the second tome. I have ever declar'd, that if an action be bad in it self, it neither is, nor can be justify'd on account of the inconveniences that may ensue of not practising it. Read *Cajetan* in iii. *ad Rom.* where he handles this point acutely.

18. *Whether the wine and flesh offer'd to* Confucius, *are to be reputed as idol offerings?*

Answer to the 8. The matter of fact does not appear; if the offering be a sacrifice, it is unlawful, and the thing offer'd an idol-offering.

The said offerings have been condemn'd above as unlawful, tho' it be not decided whether they are sacrifices. In the treatise of the missioners of the society, they are allow'd as sacrifices; and it seems to be sufficiently made out by the reasons I urg'd in a particular treatise on this subject. The *Chinese* dictionaries made by the *Europeans*, agree in the same.

19. *Supposing that* Confucius *never own'd a* GOD, *nor angels, nor the immortality of the soul, nor any reward or punishment after this life*; Quære, *Whether Christians being ask'd by infidels concerning their salvation, and state in the other world, may, or ought to affirm that they obtain'd life everlasting? For we have not the least ground to say so, and to answer the contrary, may cause many inconveniences.*

Answer to the 19. Upon that supposition it cannot be affirm'd that *Confucius* is sav'd.

Much to this purpose is said in the second tome. There has been variety of opinions concerning the supposition, even among those of the society, and they are afoot to this day: There is not the least difficulty in the resolution given to me and others, who are very certain that man never had any knowledge of GOD. Others may pry further into the matter, to resolve what answer they shall give. The answer which has been often given, is with the rest in the place above-mention'd.

20. *Whether it be lawful to maintain that* Confucius *out did* Solomon *in morals?*

Answer to the 20. It does not become a Christian to make such comparisons, and give such judgment.

In the second tome I mention, how a missioner was guilty of this failing; whereas others agree that this philosopher was not equal to *Seneca*, *Cicero*, or other ancient *Europeans*. Such expressions cannot be oppos'd, but by laying them before those that have power to decide them. There is no better way to stop the mouths of talkers. Read S. *Jerome in* iii. *ad Ephes. Chrysost. Hom.* 15. *in Gen.* and S. *Greg. in* 1 *Reg.* i. *Corn. à Lap. in Proem. ad Pent. vid. Sylveir. Tom.* 2. *c.* 4. *in Luc. q.* 2. *&* 6. *pag.* 376. *n.* 20.

21. *The missioners of the society have an order for their mission, which expresly forbids them by any means to affirm, that our holy law agrees with the sect of* Confucius *in the whole, or in any part: the holy congregation may, if it pleases, order the same upon this point. For such an order is very material for the honour of the evangelical law.*

Answer to the 21. All missioners are oblig'd to say the same concerning the law of *Confucius*, that was prescrib'd the *Jesuits*, as is instanced by the holy congregation.

F. *John Balat* upon several occasions acquainted me with this order, and in my presence stop'd the mouths of some impertinent persons with it; but he did not inform me whether it came from the holy congregation. Since it did, there is no doubt but it obliges all persons, and that more strictly than if it came from some particular

particular ſuperior. Certainly he that mov'd for it, gave very good reaſons for what he did. And ſince no application has been made to recal it, there is all the reaſon in the world it ſhould be obſerv'd, and that we all obſerve it. NAVARETTE.

Eight Doubts concerning the Sacraments.

1. *WHether the form of baptiſm in the* Chineſe *language be valid; it is thus,* NGO SI VL, *or* NI IN FU, KIE ZU, KIE XING XIN MING CHE. *Many deny it, and urge, that the* Chineſes *do not know either a true ſpirit, or true ſanctity; nor do the words* XING XIN *in their firſt inſtitution ſignify the holy Ghoſt: Nor is the unity of eſſence, power, or virtue expres'd.*

Anſwer to the 1. No other anſwer can be given, but that they muſt uſe a form, or words that expreſs the action of baptizing, and the Unity of eſſence, together with the Trinity of perſons; or elſe uſe the *Latin* words as in the weſtern-church.

We had a great diſputation upon this ſubject at *Canton.* The greater part were of opinion it was valid: I and ſome others oppos'd it as much as poſſible, and could not be ſatisfy'd in a point of ſuch great conſequence. I ſent advice to thoſe of my order who were abſconded, never to make uſe of that form, or ſuffer it to be us'd by the Chriſtians. If it be valid, I do not queſtion but that which authors reject out of *Cajetan* is much more ſo. Some time after I ſaw it rejected, and declar'd invalid in a treatiſe of the fathers of the ſociety. In the ſecond tome I ſet down the arguments us'd on both ſides. And tho' I declar'd the principal ſubſtance of it at *Rome,* being it depends on a ſtrange language whereof they have no knowledge, they do not think convenient to reſolve according to it, when there is but one by, who underſtands it.

2. *Whether it be convenient to add to the form of baptiſm the* Chineſe *Chriſtians commonly uſe,* viz. NGO SI VL, *&c. the word* IE, *that the word* MING *which ſignifies the name, may be confin'd to the ſingular number? For ſo and no otherwiſe is the unity of eſſence or virtue ſignify'd,*

Anſwer to the 2. as to the firſt.

It is an eſſential point in baptiſm to expreſs the unity of eſſence, as was ſaid to the firſt doubt. In all the form ſet down about it, there is no word or particle to confine the word MING to the ſingular number; and of it ſelf, and as it there ſtands, it ſerves indifferently for the ſingular or plural; but rather for the latter in this place, becauſe three perſons go before. In *Latin* and *Spaniſh* we place *In the name* before the perſons, and the *Chineſes* according to their grammar place it at laſt. The more I have ſtudy'd this buſineſs, the greater the difficulty appears. Thoſe of my order add the aforeſaid word.

Item, *Whether abſolutely ſpeaking it be lawful to baptize the children of infidels, hereticks and apoſtates, leaving them under the care of their parents? The miſſioners vary, and ſo do authors; but the council of* Toledo *ſpeaking of the* Jews, *gives it in the negative. The infidels hearing converts ſay, that baptiſm delivers from the devil, and is a wholeſome medicine to this and other purpoſes, they beg their ſick or poſſeſs'd children may be baptized.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful to baptize them upon the aforeſaid motives?*

Anſwer. It is not lawful to baptize them, if they are to be left after baptiſm in the power of infidels.

Anſwer to the other part. That it is not lawful to baptize upon thoſe motives alone.

I have ſeen both caſes, and variety of opinions among the miſſioners. The council of *Toledo* 4. *c.* 59. *& refertur cap. Judæor.* 16 *quæſt.* 1. ſpeaks thus; *That the children of* Jews *which are baptized, be ſeparated from the company of their parents, leſt they be led by them into error and prevarication.* The ſame reaſon ſtands good in the caſe of Gentiles and hereticks. The reſolution ſet down, is the doctrine of maſter *Bannez* upon the ſubject of baptiſm, and others. Some moderns, and among them *Diana,* ſpeak otherwiſe as to the children of hereticks. Read *Leander tract.* 2. *de bapt. diſp.* 5. *quæſt.* 8.

Authors ſpeak variouſly as to the ſecond caſe. Our moſt reverend *Paſſerinus* has it *in terminis,* and reſolves as above. In the ſecond tome I ſpeak enough to the purpoſe.

3. *The miſſioners are unanimouſly of opinion, that it is very expedient, for avoiding the calumnies of the Gentiles, to give females at womens eſtate the ſacramentals with a pencil, and not with the finger. However it is deſir'd to know the will of our moſt holy* LORD.

Anſwer to the 3. It was anſwer'd elſewhere, that the common practice of the church is to be obſerv'd.

I ſuppoſe it may be done as was propos'd, and that this opinion is general among doctors, therefore I was perſuaded the anſwer would have been favourable. But they always taking care, and that with good reaſon, not to open a way to depart from the general uſe and practice of the church, they did not conſent to what I de-

Navarette. I desir'd, tho' in *China* we all agreed to it. And if they will not dispense with a ceremony so easily to be dispensed with in appearance, how should they dispense with not administring of the sacramentals?

4. *Whether on account of any one singular case it be lawful absolutely and universally to abstain from administring the oil of* catechumens *to females at womens estate? For it seems to be against the decree of the holy congregation.*

Answer to the 4. That it is not lawful.

In the second tome I set down all that was alledg'd in the disputation at *Canton* upon this point.

5. *The holy congregation may be pleas'd to order, that all missioners administer the sacrament of baptism in the same form.*

Answer to the 5. It was order'd before, that all should observe uniformity in holy rites.

There has been no small variety in this particular, as shall appear in its place.

6. *His holiness's pleasure is also desir'd, for the bishops using some sort of instruments in administring confirmation, to anoint women grown with the holy chrism, and to give the stroke on the cheek. His pleasure is likewise desir'd for omitting the anointing of feet in administring extreme unction to women.*

Answer to the 6. It has been answer'd before, that the custom of the church is to be observ'd in administring these sacraments.

It is plain the point concerning confirmation is more difficult than what was propos'd, *num.* 3. for grave authors say, it is an essential part of this sacrament, that the bishop lay on the chrism with his own fingers. And according to this opinion, the pope cannot dispense for doing it with any other instrument. There is another opinion that holds the contrary.

As to the second part the difficulty was less, since all the doctors agree with S. *Thomas*, that the anointing of the feet is no essential part of that sacrament. Nevertheless it is not allow'd for the reason above assign'd. *Baronius* says, *The Church is most tenacious of antiquity.* It will not allow any to depart from its antient and universal custom. We think in *China* it is commendable zeal that moves us to attempt these and the like things, to make the access to our religion the more easie and pleasing; and I don't doubt but at *Rome* their zeal is as great and as hot as ours, and yet we see they oppose our opinions. These resolutions by order of the holy congregation were laid before the cardinals *Bona* and *Casanate*, of whose learning, zeal, and virtue, none can make any question no more than of the most reverend fathers consultors who sign'd them. We writ to *Manila* upon this very subject, and the most R. F. F. *Francis de Paula*, then the second time provincial of our province, commissary of the inquisition, and bishop elect of *New Caceres*, answer'd us, That we must not omit the anointing of the feet; and in case we could not do it, we should forbear administring the sacrament. The answer seem'd to us rigid, and I find it was agreeable to the resolution at *Rome*.

The following case is part of that which went before.

Marriage. 6. *The* Chineses *when they marry are wont to kneel to heaven and earth, to repair to the idol-temples, where many of them place the images of their ancestors departed, or else their tablets, and kneel to them.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful to tolerate the aforesaid ceremonies, or connive at them, leaving the Christians in their ignorance, or simplicity.*

Answer to the 6. Concerning marriages, and the superstitions us'd at them, the answer is, they are not lawful.

This point is handled in the second book of the second tome.

Convert women. 7. *Experience teaches that of a hundred women which are gain'd to the church, whilst they are marry'd to heathen husbands, at least fourscore fall back. But for maid-servants who appear good Christians whilst they are under the yoke of servitude, when married to infidels, not one of them perseveres; what remedy can the missioners find against such misfortunes?*

Ans. to the 7. The remedy is, and most absolutely necessary, that the faithful do not marry infidels, because the marriage is not valid; other remedies are to be ask'd of God.

F. *Francis Brancato* had much experience of the first part, he said not twenty in a hundred persever'd. Of the second I know not how it has been found in other parts, but in ours we are sure no woman slave ever continu'd a Christian after she was marry'd to an infidel. Read *Oleast. in Deut.* vii. ℣. 1. *ad mores. Diana* writes, such marriages were tolerated in those countries, because there were hopes the infidel husband would be converted by the Christian wife, or *è contra*; he was little vers'd in these affairs. The reason is, because the missioners cannot hinder it. In the resolution above those marriages are declar'd void, by reason of the *impedimentum dirimens* there is in them; and the same impediment lasting as long as they live together, it is in effect living in fornication, and consequently either the husband or wife that is a Christian cannot be absolv'd till they part. There is no doubt but this will give great trouble to the missioners, and those Christians who are so marry'd. As long as positive church-laws were not publish'd, this

this might be conniv'd at, but at preſent it cannot; therefore recourſe muſt be had to God: we muſt govern our ſelves as we are directed, and not rely on our own knowledge, fancy and opinion. Thus ſhall we go on ſafely; and tho' we imagine we ſhall advance little this way, perhaps we may prevail the more, and God whoſe cauſe it is may favour, protect and aſſiſt us. And tho' there be fewer Chriſtians, a few good are better than a great many bad ones. Our *Nider* in his treatiſe *de Reform. Relig.* ſpeaks of an emperor who was us'd to ſay, he had rather have ten good horſes in his ſtable than an hundred bad ones; and he was in the right. F. *Adrian Grelon* urg'd this very ſame in a meeting at *Canton*, let us look for the grain and leave the chaff.

Divorce. 8. *There is no ſmall variety of opinions among the miſſioners concerning the marriages of thoſe countries, whether they are valid or not; as for the* Chineſe *marriages ſome hold the affirmative, ſome the negative. The philoſopher* Confucius *aſſign'd five impediments which diſſolve matrimony, to be obſerv'd by his ſchool.* 1. *If a woman be talkative.* 2. *If ſhe fall into the leproſy.* 3. *If ſhe be barren.* 4. *If ſhe happen to ſteal from her husband.* 5. *If ſhe prove diſobedient to her father and mother-in-law. Upon any of theſe accounts a man has full liberty to diſſolve the marriage, and the woman has leave to marry another.* Quære, *Whether the aforeſaid impediments do any way prejudice the indiſſolubility of matrimony?* NAVARETTE.

Anſwer to the 8. Thoſe impediments mention'd do not diſſolve matrimony.

We had ſeveral diſputes at *Canton* concerning theſe points. In the ſecond tome I ſet down what both parties alledg'd. F. *M. Ferre* argues, Whether the marriages of *Tunquin* be valid, or not, and largely proves the affirmative. I do not queſtion but it is a favourable opinion for miſſioners, if they will follow it. The greateſt difficulty lies in this, whether if the matter of fact be propos'd as in reality it is, and as I can teſtify in this particular by what I have heard, I then judge it to be as the aforeſaid author writes. The great opinion all men have of his extraordinary knowledge, makes his doctrine the more practicable, as do the reaſons he gives for his opinion, and the anſwers to all arguments that can be urg'd againſt him.

Twenty five Doubts concerning the Worſhip the Chineſes *give to their Dead.*

1. *WHether other miſſioners are to ſtick to the information given into the holy congregation by F.* Martin Martinez *touching the buſineſs of the dead here propos'd, and are oblig'd to obey the decree granted him by the ſaid holy congregation? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe it was diſapprov'd by very grave fathers of the ſociety.*

Anſwer to the 1. It has been anſwer'd before, and miſſioners are to act according to the reſolutions of the holy congregation.

In the ſecond tome I give an account, how F. *Martinez* his propoſitions were diſlik'd by the fathers *John Adamus*, *Antony de Gouvea*, and *Ignatius d'Acoſta*, the ancienteſt and graveſt miſſioners of theſe times; nor did F. *Emanuel George* approve of it. For theſe four I have it of my own knowledge, and gueſs the ſame of others. The reflections above on theſe propoſitions, clear this point.

Dead. 2. *The* Chineſe *rituals ordain, That when any perſon dies another takes his garment, and ſtanding on the top of the houſe towards the north with the dead body's garment calls the ſoul three times. He is to call towards heaven, then towards earth, and laſtly through the middle region; which done folding up the dead perſon's garment, he goes down towards the ſouth, and ſtretching it out upon the body they thus expect the return of the ſoul and reſurrection of the body three days. If the perſon was taken away by a violent death, the ſame ceremonies are perform'd without the city.* Quære, *Whether the aforeſaid ceremonies may be tolerated in Chriſtians, for the comfort of their relations?*

Anſwer to the 2. That it is not lawful.

I thought no man would have ſpoken a good word for this ceremony, which is ſtill practis'd in *China*, becauſe it plainly appears of it ſelf to be bad. Since I found ſome contend it is only civil and political. What has been ſaid about it is mention'd in its proper place.

3. *When the body is laid into the tomb,* *Funerals.* *the* Chineſes *are wont to put wheat, rice, and other ſorts of grain, as alſo gold, ſilver and jewels, according to the quality of the party deceas'd, into his mouth. And gathering the parings of the nails into little bags, together with the ſciſſars that cut them off, they place them in the four corners of the coffin.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful to allow theſe things to Chriſtians, and to connive at their ſimplicity?*

For theſe things ſeem to be done, that the dead may make uſe of what is bury'd with them, which appears by that, before the Tartars *put out the edict for cutting off the hair, they were wont to put the hair and a comb into the coffin, which they do not now ſince they don't wear long hair.*

Anſwer to the 3. That the miſſioners are oblig'd to make known thoſe errors to

Navarette. such as are converted, and to admoniſh them to leave them.

It is eaſy to gueſs that a nation ſo full of ſuperſtitions, and ſo remote from the light of the goſpel, muſt at every ſtep ſtumble and fall. What has been mention'd can no way be excus'd from being a vain cuſtom. We do not ſpeak here of the ceremony which abundance of *Chineſes* uſe, of putting a piece of money into the mouth of the dead perſon, which is to ſerve the ſoul as a *Viaticum* into *India*; no man doubts but this is plainly ſuperſtitious.

4. *Whether it may be allow'd Chriſtians to place a corporeal repreſentation of the ſoul near the dead body, to ſecure and protect it?*

Soul. *Anſwer to the* 4. That it is not lawful.

The *Chineſe* ritual directs, when any perſon dies, to make of pieces of ſilk the image and repreſentation of the ſoul, with its face, eyes, and other limbs, in the reſemblance of a child in ſwadling bands, as they are uſually dreſs'd in *Spain*. They place it near to the dead body, to cheriſh and protect it. The cut of it is in the ritual. It is plain, this is contrary to the law of God.

Condolance. 5. *Concerning the* Chineſe TIAO, *in* Spaniſh *call'd* Peſame, *in* Engliſh *condoling*; Quære, *Whether it may be tolerated in Chriſtians? The reaſon of making the doubt is, becauſe the* Chineſe *ritual ordains, that the aforeſaid ceremonies of condoling are to be perform'd before the bed on which the image of the ſoul lies, and they offer candles and perfumes to that figure or image; which not having been propos'd in the year* 1645, *therefore now the deciſion of the holy congregation is deſir'd.*

Anſwer to the 5. As elſewhere in the negative.

There has been no little diſagreement about this particular in *China*. True it is, I never ſaw the caſe ſet down by any miſſioner, ſo formally as I propos'd it; but the holy congregation forbid it without all that, much more when all the particulars above are expreſs'd. F. *Antony Gouvea* ſeveral times told me, he did not like it; and if what the ritual ſays, whence I took the propoſition, be obſerv'd, I believe no man will like it.

6. *It is the cuſtom of the* Chineſes *at every thirty foot the bier is carry'd, to ſcatter a certain quantity of ruddy earth.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to do it, foraſmuch as it ſeems to tend to no good end?*

Anſwer to the 6. That it is not lawful.

At every thirty foot or thereabouts, as the bier paſſes, they throw down a baſket of ruddy clay: I own I am not ſatisfy'd of the end or deſign of it, but it appears this action can have no good meaning. The graver ſort uſe it. I muſt obſerve that all that is ſaid in this place belongs to the learned ſect.

7. Quære, *Whether F.* Martinez *his propoſition*, viz. *The* Chineſes *attribute no divinity to their ſouls departed, they neither aſk, nor hope any thing of them, be tolerable? Foraſmuch as the graveſt miſſioners, and almoſt all that are now in* China, *maintain the contrary; and F.* Martinez *himſelf affirm'd the contrary in* China.

Anſwer to the 7. As was anſwer'd elſewhere, that it is not lawful.

I could have wiſh'd the ſolution of this doubt had been plain, I writ much about it in the ſecond tome. F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* a *Franciſcan* writ enough againſt the propoſition. The ſame may be gather'd from the writings of the fathers *Matthew Riccius*, *Julius Aleni*, and *Pantoja*; the fathers *Acoſta* and *Fabre* are of the ſame opinion in expreſs terms, and F. *John Balat* aſſur'd me the ſame of the reſt. F. *Alvaro Semedo* publiſh'd it in print, *page.* 125 of his *Chineſe* empire, and 119. F. *Gouvea* writes the ſame in his manuſcript hiſtory, which has had the approbation of the fathers *Acunna* the viſitor, *Amaya* the vice-provincial, and *Canavari* a very ancient miſſioner; it is in *chap.* vi. *fol.* 26. In the meetings thoſe of the ſociety had in the years 28 and 44, they conclude upon the ſame. So does F. *Intorceta* in his *Sapientia Sinica*, *pag.* 39. The infidels maintain it, Chriſtians own it, and F. *Martinez* himſelf confeſs'd in *China* that it was true for three hundred years laſt paſt. He propoſed the contrary at *Rome*, and methinks ought to have expreſs'd what has been ſaid, tho' he had not thought it to be ſo from the original inſtitution of the *Chineſes*. It ſhall be explain'd at large in the place above mention'd.

8. *Whether it be lawful to leave the Chriſtians who ſacrifice to their dead and to* Confucius, *in their ignorance and ſimplicity, and to connive at theſe their ſacrifices? For the* Chineſes *are wont to chuſe certain days to perform the aforeſaid ſacrifices, and to conſult heaven, whether the day ſo choſen be fit for thoſe ceremonies.*

Anſwer to the 8. That they are oblig'd to admoniſh them of the aforeſaid errors.

I uſe the word ſacrifices, becauſe in my opinion, and of others, they are really ſuch, and becauſe all the miſſioners of the ſociety call them ſo in their writings, and among others it may be ſeen in F. *Intorceta*'s *ſapientia Sinica*. And it is not likely, or credible that ſo many learned men, and ſo well vers'd in the language and books of the *Chineſes*, ſhould not have div'd into the

the ſenſe of the words, and had the ſenſe to diſtinguiſh betwixt an offering and a ſacrifice. A further account is given of it in its place.

9. *Whether the* Chineſes *previous three days faſt, and abſtaining from the marriage-bed for ſeven days, to diſpoſe them for the aforeſaid ſacrifices, be a political preparatory cleanſing, or rather religious, and may be lawfully allow'd the Chriſtians?*

Anſwer to the 9. That the aforeſaid preparation is unlawful.

I could never conceive theſe were political and civil acts, whereas the end to which they are directed is not ſuch; whether it be a ſacrifice in the ſtricteſt, or in the largeſt ſenſe, but no honourable offering. For it is a receiv'd maxim, that actions take their denomination from the end they tend to, concerning which ſee S. *Thom.* 1. 2. *q.* 18. *art.* 2. and 4.

Dead. 10. *Whether that treble crying out in the nature of ſighing may be allow'd the Chriſtians? The* Chineſe *ritual directs, that as they go into the temples of the dead, ſome perſons cry out three times after the nature of ſighing, to awake the ſouls that dwell within with the noiſe.*

Anſwer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is not perform'd every time they go into thoſe temples, but at ſuch time as other ceremonies are to be perform'd there. It is to the purpoſe, whether the voice be in the nature of a ſigh, hoarſe, or after any other material manner. Read *à Lapide* in vi. *Bar.* ℣. 31.

11. *Whether the ceremonies and worſhip perform'd by the* Chineſes *to the dead be real ſacrifices? whereas nothing ſeems to be wanting to make them ſo: As alſo becauſe they are call'd by the* Chineſes KUNG JANG *as the worſhip of the idols is call'd.*

Anſwer to the 11. That they are unlawful.

I ſaid above, it ſignified little to us whether they are ſacrifices or not, the matter is to know whether thoſe ceremonies are lawful. The reaſon of putting the queſtion whether they are true ſacrifices was taken from cardinal *Lugo*, who teaches that ſacrifice is equally ſo call'd, whether true or idolatrous, and that the latter is alſo truly ſo on account of the reality of the ſign. As *Vaſquez* and others, taking it from S. *Thomas*, ſay that, *Adoration is equally ſo call'd, whether it be that of the true Deity, or idolatrous.* This point is handled at large in the ſecond tome often mention'd.

Temples. 12. *Whether the houſes of the dead be temples, or halls? The aforeſaid houſes have three ſeveral names,* SCU TANG, MIAO, *and* NI; *all which, according to the* Chineſe *books, the common way of talking, the ceremonies perform'd in them, and the end for which they are erected, belong to temples, not to halls?* NAVARETTE.

Anſwer to the 12. No anſwer can be given, becauſe the matter of fact is not plainly made out.

The proofs I brought were in themſelves very ſufficient: but the recalling of the decree granted to F. *Martinez*, depending on this point, it was thought neceſſary there ſhould have been ſomebody who was well vers'd in the *Chineſe* language to ſpeak for him. F. *Martin Martinez* was the firſt of all the miſſioners that ever were in *China*, who invented the name of halls for the aforeſaid ſtructures; and ſo it appears by all the dictionaries the fathers of the ſociety had put out in *China*: the fathers *Alvaro Semedo* and *Intorceta*, which laſt writ after F. *Martinez* had made his propoſition, unanimouſly call them temples. They plainly are made out to be ſo by the *Chineſe* books, by their ſhape and form, being in all reſpects equal to the idol temples. The uſe and end they are built for is well known, which is no other than to perform ceremonies to and worſhip their dead, to petition and pray to them. In ſhort, they are no dwelling places or habitation for living people, nor built to that purpoſe; have pictures, and altars with candleſticks, and other ornaments; and many of them have a bell: the *Chineſes* look upon them as temples, what matter is it if others call them halls? H. O. B. This being a material point, and upon which much variance has been, it was requiſite to inſert in the ſecond tome all that was ſaid to it at *Canton*, or writ upon the ſubject.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to be preſent in the aforeſaid places, together with the infidels, at the prayers, ſacrifices and other ceremonies, not giving an inward conſent, but only in outward preſence, directing all thoſe things in their mind to* GOD, *which the others direct to their dead?*

Anſwer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* and I enquir'd concerning this point of ſome Chriſtians, and particularly of one whoſe name was *Paul*, and another call'd *CHANG Mark*, a Batchelor; who told us, it was an eſtabliſh'd cuſtom in *China* to pray to their progenitors, deceas'd emperors, and *Confucius* the philoſopher; and that they and other Chriſtians were preſent at it, as well as the infidels; only with this difference, that when the prayers were read directed to the dead, they as Chriſtians directed them in their intention to GOD. Other matters to this purpoſe are handled in the ſecond tome.

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14. *Whether the tablets of the dead are abſolutely to be call'd ſuperſtitious?*

Anſwer to the 14. That they are ſuperſtitious.

This is a very material point in that miſſion. At firſt they call'd them little boards, *Tablets.* or tablets; they ought to call them tabernacles, as in effect they are. One of them was carried to *Rome*, the moſt eminent lords cardinals of the holy congregation ſaw it; the letters and myſteries contain'd in the form, figure, length, breadth and depth, were explicated to them, with other particulars neceſſary towards their making a judgment of them. They have been condemn'd three times. F. *Antony de Gouvea* us'd to tell me he did not like the letters that were in thoſe tabernacles. Brother *Antony Fernandez*, temporal coadjutor to the ſociety, a *Chineſe* by birth, and other Chriſtians, aſſur'd me it was very common in that kingdom to believe that the ſouls of the dead come to thoſe boards, and reſide in them. The ſame appears by the *Chineſe* books, and the two meetings of the ſociety above-mention'd. All ſhall be ſet down in the place above-written.

Souls. 15. *Whether Chriſtians, laying aſide the errors concerning the ſteam of the meat feeding the ſouls of the dead, and of their reſiding in thoſe boards, may lawfully pay the other ceremonious worſhip to the boards, and offer meat before them?*

Anſwer to the 15. That it is not lawful.

Theſe two points were diſcuſs'd in the two meetings aforeſaid; and they agree, that the *Chineſes* imagine the ſouls feed upon the ſteam and ſmell of the meat they offer before the boards, or tablets.

Sacrifice. 16. *At ſepulchers the* Chineſes *offer ſacrifice to the peculiar ſpirits of thoſe places, to whom they alſo return thanks for the benefits they have beſtow'd on the dead bodies, and pray that they will always aſſiſt them. Which being given for granted:* Quære, *Whether F.* Martinez *ought to have expreſs'd this ceremony in his propoſition?* Item, *Whether Chriſtians omitting the aforeſaid ceremony, may lawfully perform the reſt? For their ritual commanding the obſervation of all theſe ceremonies, the* Chineſes *ſeeing ſome of them perform'd by the Chriſtians, will believe they obſerve all the reſt.*

Anſwer to the 16. That the faithful cannot join in thoſe ſuperſtitions.

This point has been handled in the reflections upon F. *Martinez*'s propoſitions. More ſhall be ſaid in another place.

17. *The* Chineſe *ritual allows ſons lawfully begotten to offer ſacrifice to the dead, which it abſolutely forbids the illegitimate.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to take upon them and perform this office and employment?*

Anſwer to the 17. That it is not lawful.

Since even the ſons of concubines, who, according to what has been ſaid above, cannot be altogether call'd illegitimate, are excluded from thoſe offerings as incapable and irregular, it is a viſible conſequence, that what is there offer'd is not an indifferent oblation to the living and dead, as ſome would make it, becauſe no perſon is incapable or excluded from offering meat or other things to the living; therefore it is moſt certain there is ſomething more peculiar and myſterious in this action, as there is in erecting temples to the dead, which all perſons may not do: and it is moſt undoubted, that all perſons whatſoever may build as many houſes, habitations, and halls as they pleaſe, there being no determinate number for them, as there is for temples, which the emperor himſelf cannot exceed or increaſe, whereas he is under no confinement as to palaces and halls. Theſe reaſons were ever of great force with me as to what has been ſaid; others ſhall be alledg'd in due time in confirmation of this ſubject.

Ceremonies to the dead. 18. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to give an account before the boards or tablets, in the temples of their departed anceſtors, of their marriages or contracts, to offer meat with the uſual genuflexions, ſhedding wine upon the image of a man made of ſtraw?* Item, *Whether it be lawful to perform the ſame ceremony, and burn perfumes when they undertake any buſineſs, enter upon employments, go abroad, and return home?*

Anſwer to the 18. That it is not lawful.

I ſpoke of ſome ceremonies the *Chineſes* uſe at their marriages in the ſecond book of this volume. As for the reſt that concern the *Chineſe* nation, I was always of opinion the Holy Ghoſt ſpoke to it, *Wiſd.* xiii. where he ſays, "Then maketh he "prayer for his goods, for his wife and "children, and is not aſham'd to ſpeak "to that which hath no life. For health, "he called upon that which is weak; for "life, prayeth to that which is dead; for "aid, humbly beſeecheth that which hath "leaſt means to help; and for a good "journey, he aſketh of that which cannot "ſet a foot forwards: And for gaining "and getting, and for good ſucceſs of his "hands, aſketh ability to do of him that "is moſt unable to do any thing.

19. *When the ſtructure of the temple of the dead is finiſh'd, the crevices that remain are to be fill'd up with the blood of beaſts, according to the great* Chineſe *ritual, which is, it ſays, to worſhip the habitation of ſpirits.* Quære, *Whether Chriſtians may lawfully perform the aforeſaid ceremony?*

Anſwer

Anſwer to the 19. That it cannot be lawfully done or practis'd.

It is a plain caſe, this ceremony is not perform'd in *China* in halls, or other dwelling-places.

20. *Whether it be lawful to celebrate publick obſequies with the maſs for heathens, who dy'd in their infidelity, for the comfort of Chriſtians, tho' the ſacrifice of the maſs be not applied for the infidels departed?* Item, *Whether it be lawful to ſay maſſes for the dead, that* GOD *may eaſe their pains?*

Anſwer to the 20. That it is not lawful.

A miſſioner practis'd the firſt part, as he himſelf publickly own'd to all the reſt of us that were there aſſembled together, but only he approv'd of it: the ſame perſon maintain'd the ſecond. What was urg'd about it on both ſides, is ſet down in the ſecond tome. As to the ſecond part, ſee S. *Thom. in* 4. *d.* 45. *q.* 2. *art.* 2. and *Suarez de vit. Chriſt. d.* 43. *ſect.* 3. *& tom.* 4. *in* 3 *part. M. S. Thom.* 2. 2. *q.* 83. *d.* 27. *art.* 6. and *Lugo de incarn. diſp.* 5. *ſect.* 5. *num.* 108.

21. *Whether Gentiles who do not live over-looſely, but in ſome meaſure modeſtly, be puniſh'd with eternal ſufferings? ſome miſſioners defend the negative.*

Anſwer to the 21. Thoſe who teach that ſuch Gentiles are not puniſh'd with everlaſting pains, contradict the goſpel.

Methinks this may ſuffice to ſtop their mouths. What was ſaid on this ſubject ſhall be ſet down. Some ſay, that if any one dy'd in only original and venial ſin, he would be damn'd, much more thoſe we have ſpoken of. Read *Wiſd.* xiii.

22. *Whether there be a diſtinct place to be aſſign'd in the other world for the ſouls of the aforeſaid Gentiles, beſides hell, purgatory, and* Limbus? *Some maintain it.*

Anſwer to the 22. The queſtion is impertinent, and the aſſertion falſe, which ſays there is any other places beſides thoſe nam'd in holy writ.

Some mens extravagant opinions, force the aſking of impertinet queſtions; but there being no other way to reduce them to the right way, this muſt be follow'd. Three or four who defended the propoſition next before it, maintain'd this too. On the one ſide, they excluded thoſe ſouls from the hell of the damn'd; they could find no means to bring them into purgatory, or *limbus*, much leſs into heaven, where they own'd they could not be; wherefore they had no way left but to find or aſſign another place. It ſhall be further explain'd in the controverſies. See the divines in 4. *d.* 45. where they aſſign only four places; and S. *Thom.* 2. 2. *q.* 83. *d.* 27. *art.* 6.

23. *Whether it may without judging raſhly be affirm'd of an infidel notoriouſly wicked, who hangs himſelf, that he is damn'd? Some deny it, on account that* GOD *at the laſt moment of life might enlighten his underſtanding, and give him ſuch grace, that being converted, he might make an act of contrition.* NAVARETTE.

Anſwer to the 23. Miſſioners are not to argue about theſe poſſibilities, but are oblig'd to teach, that infidels who do not receive baptiſm, either actually, or in their wiſhes, are damn'd, much more if they kill themſelves.

Much was ſaid to this point, and the two foregoing caſes were ſet down on account of this.

24. *Whether infidels who tranſgreſs the laws of nature, deſerve eternal puniſhment? Some deny it, alledging they are excus'd from ſuch grievous pains by their not knowing* GOD, *and the law-maker.*

Anſwer to the 24. That they are damn'd.

Here the argument began, whether the ſins of the infidels, tho' againſt the laws of nature, are to be look'd upon only in a civil, and not in a theological ſenſe, with other particulars, which I ſhall mention in due time; it is enough now to give a hint of them.

25. *It is expreſs in the three catechiſms printed in the* Chineſe *language, by the miſſioners of the three religious orders, That the law-giver of the idolatrous ſect* FOE *by name, was damn'd. In the time of the perſecution, ſome of the counſellors of the court of rites examining certain miſſioners as to this ſaying; they anſwer'd, It was not to be underſtood ſo abſolutely, but conditionally,* viz. *If he did not know* GOD, *and keep his commandments.* Quære, *Whether the anſwer was good and proper? For books do not ſpeak conditionally, but abſolutely. Beſides, the faithful and others, by theſe conditional expreſſions, will judge we flinch for fear.*

Anſwer to the 25. If it is notorious that he was the law-giver of that ſect, and equally notorious that he had not the knowledge of GOD, it is to be anſwer'd, That he was damn'd.

There are ſome who, upon pretence of charity, deny it can be abſolutely affirm'd, that this or that man was damn'd, whether he dy'd a heretick or infidel; they preſently alledge that GOD might aſſiſt them at the laſt moment of their life, and move their hearts to true ſorrow and contrition. And conſequently they maintain, it can only be affirm'd of *Judas*, and the reſt the ſcripture makes appear were damn'd, becauſe this truth is there reveal'd: But that it cannot be ſaid of *Arius, Calvin, Luther*, and others. Yet we certainly know that one is ſet down in the *Roman*

NAVARRETTE. martyrology as a martyr, who was ſlain at *Damaſcus* by the *Mahometans*, for ſaying that *Mahomet* was in hell, notwithſtanding he had the knowledge of GOD. How much Foe. better may it be ſaid of FOE, who liv'd ſeven hundred years before the coming of CHRIST, there being not the leaſt ſign that he had any knowledge of GOD; and having been the founder of a ſect, which has ſent twenty times more ſouls to hell than that of *Mahomet* has done? I ſpoke of this ſectary and his ſect in the ſecond book.

Four Doubts concerning Faſts.

Faſts. 1. *ALL the ancient and modern miſſioners, except two or three, agree in this particular, that the ſuperſtitious obſervers of the* Chineſe *faſts are not to be admitted to baptiſm, unleſs they firſt actually break thoſe faſts. Whereupon the holy congregation is entreated to enjoin this practice by their poſitive command, that the miniſters of the goſpel may act uniformly in a matter of great conſequence, if otherwiſe carried.*

Anſwer to the 1. All the ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles in relation to faſting, which are laid before thoſe that are to be baptiz'd, muſt abſolutely be abrogated.

Much was ſaid and writ to this point; among others the fathers *Balat* and *Grelon* writ two very learned treatiſes, which I was mightily pleas'd with. The ſubſtance of them I will inſert in the ſecond tome.

2. *Whether thoſe who keep theſe ſuperſtitious faſts may continue them for fear of the devil, and of the miſchiefs he can do them?*

Anſwer to the 2. That they are not to be kept or obſerv'd.

Thoſe above-nam'd writ to this point, and exhorted me to do the ſame. One was poſitive in defending the contrary to the reſolution above. The principal matter he had to ſay was, GOD's judgments are ſecret and inſcrutable; his Divine Majeſty may permit the devil to puniſh a *Chineſe* for having left the ſuperſtitious faſts, wherewith before he honoured this common enemy; why then may not this *Chineſe*, after receiving baptiſm, continue his faſts, to free himſelf from the harms and miſchiefs the devil does him? Thus much, as delivering ones ſelf from the miſchiefs and harms the devil may do, is good *ex parte objecti*; and conſequently it is ſo to continue the faſts. The reaſon I alledge againſt it is this, making uſe of the ſame antecedent, then may he for the ſame cauſe and motive continue the adoration of the idols he ador'd before baptiſm. The parity holds good all along, without the leaſt ſhadow of diſparity in my opinion. It ſhall be all made out.

3. *His holineſs is intreated, that as his moſt holy predeceſſors diſpens'd with the* Weſt-Indies *about faſting, ſo his holineſs will be pleas'd to grant the ſame liberty to the* Chineſe *Chriſtians, not only from faſting, but from abſtinence from fleſh. Many are of opinion that it is not convenient, and there are motives enough to perſuade the doing of it.*

Anſwer to the 3. As for abſtinence from faſting, and other particulars of the poſitive eccleſiaſtical law, an anſwer was given in the year 1656.

I aſk'd more than that, the reſolution there given ſeem'd ſomewhat dark to thoſe of the ſociety, and therefore they took up with the reſolution in the year 1646. In my time we made uſe of a deciſion of *Innocent* the tenth; ſome made a doubt of it, and therefore I deſir'd this point ſhould be further explain'd.

Birth-days 4. *His holineſs may be pleas'd to diſpenſe, that the Chriſtian* Chineſes *may not be oblig'd to faſt upon their birth-days (which all of them keep with great ſolemnity) if they ſhould fall out on faſting-days.*

Anſwer to the 4. as to the third.

I have already mention'd the moſt univerſal cuſtom of *China*, for all men to celebrate their birthdays with the greateſt ſolemnity they poſſibly can. Every one of theſe days to the *Chineſes* is a mighty feſtival; the kindred, friends, and acquaintance meet, and together with the family, celebrate the maſter of the houſe's nativity, and the main diverſion is feaſting. I was of opinion if their birth-days fell in *Lent*, on eves or fridays, there was occaſion enough for diſpenſing, not only with the faſt, but even with the abſtinence from fleſh, eſpecially ſince there is ſuch a diſpenſation for the eve of their new year, and the two days following, tho' they fall upon *Aſh-wedneſday*, or a friday in *Lent*, as ſometimes it happens.

Sixteen Doubts relating to the ſame miſſion.

1. *WHether the anſwers of the holy congregation to the queſtions propos'd*
1645. *in the year* 1645, *may be ſaid to have been given without hearing the parties concern'd?*

2. *Whether it may be ſaid, that the holy*
1656. *congregation, when in the year* 1656, *it judg'd that the ceremonies of* Confucius *then ſpecify'd, might be allow'd the Chriſtian* Chineſes, *gave that judgment, ſuppoſing ſome of them to be bad?*

The two firſt queſtions were ſufficiently anſwer'd in the years 1645, and 1656.

I deſir'd a fuller anſwer, but it was not given me; they are govern'd at *Rome* by more elevated cauſes, and I do not queſtion but they are juſt and righteous, tho' neither I nor ſome others comprehend them; but it becomes us always, and is our duty to reſpect and honour their commands with the greateſt ſubmiſſion and obedience, and to execute them. There are ſome men who let fly, without ever conſidering what they are to ſay, contrary to the advice the Holy Ghoſt gives us in this particular. To maintain that the aforeſaid decree, and anſwers annexed to it, were given without having heard the parties concern'd, is downright condemning his holineſs, and the holy congregation, as corrupt judges and perſons, who know not how to decree what is convenient. What judge is there, tho' he be but a country bailiff, but knows that judgment cannot be given againſt a party not heard? Thoſe queſtions were propos'd, without mentioning any perſon whatſoever that held a contrary opinion, as a man would propoſe a doubt or a caſe of conſcience, in which no body is concern'd but he that propoſes or aſks.

As for *Confucius*'s ceremonies, ſome are of opinion they are good, politically; others, that they are bad. Theſe laſt ſaid, the holy congregation did not approve of them, becauſe an approbation muſt be of a good thing; but that it tolerated them tho' bad, as the civil government tolerates leud women. And to expreſs thus much, the words of the decree are, *They may be tolerated.* The moſt eminent lord cardinal *Ottoboni*, when I diſcours'd his eminency upon this point, plainly told me this was never the intention of the holy congregation; and he being a member of it, and having been ſo when that decree paſs'd, could not but underſtand the whole affair. And though it were ſo, how could we abſolve the *Chineſes* who perform'd thoſe evil ceremonies unleſs they forſook them, and if they had no purpoſe to amend? The government's toleration of lewd women, tho' it remits the penalty due according to the laws of the kingdom to their crimes, yet it takes not off the guilt, nor does it authorize confeſſors to abſolve them whilſt they continue in that bad ſtate of life. The caſe is the ſame. NAVARETTE.

3. *What cenſure that propoſition deſerves, which aſſerts, that all popes have not the authority of declaring which are the forms of ſacraments?*

Anſwer to the 3. They who maintain it are to be impeach'd by name, that they may be puniſh'd.

A miſſioner publickly ſpoke what is contain'd in the propoſition; the reaſon he gave for it was ſet down before; I lik'd it very ill. The moſt eminent lord cardinal *Bona* condemn'd it, and the reaſon given for it very much.

4. *Whether it may be ſaid, that the church does not yet define the myſtery of the immaculate conception, only becauſe it fears leſt the fathers preachers ſhould not ſubmit?*

Anſwer to the 4. That ſuch trifling matters do not concern the miſſion.

The anſwer is very good; it is odd they ſhould in *China*, and in time of perſecution, think to govern all the world. They threw this in my diſh; and tho' it be meritorious to ſuppreſs and wink at perſonal defects, it is deteſtable to bear with thoſe which are ſo great a blemiſh to the whole order, eſpecially when it has ſo many poſitive acts in matter of obedience, even to bare orders of the ſee apoſtolick. It were eaſy to mention ſome in this place, and inſtance many more.

5. This concerns *Confucius*, and has been ſet down already.

6. *Suppoſing that the infidel* Chineſes *aſk aſſiſtance of their emperors departed, and of their forefathers who died in infidelity; whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to perform ſuch ceremonies with them, directing the intention of their petitions to* GOD? *Dead.*

Anſwer to the 6. It was anſwer'd before, that it is not lawful.

7. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to honour the images of their anceſtors departed, who died in infidelity, with perfumes and lighted candles?*

Anſwer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

This worſhip is religious, not political, whatſoever others may ſay of it. Read cardinal *Lugo de incarn. diſp.* 37. *ſect.* 2. *num.* 21.

8. *Suppoſing it be the opinion of the* Chineſe *infidels, that the ſpirits or airy ſouls of the*

NAVARETTE. *the dead are refreſh'd with the ſteam of eatables offer'd, and that their poſterity living fare the better for it: Whether nevertheleſs it be lawful for Chriſtians to make ſuch feaſts for their dead?*

Anſwer to the 8. It is not lawful.

Which is to be underſtood, tho' the Chriſtians do not believe that error. Theſe points are handled in the ſecond book of the ſecond tome.

9. *Suppoſing it to be the opinion of the* Chineſe *infidels, that many felicities accrue to poſterity, by chuſing a place for a tomb according to the ritual of the learned ſect; Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to chuſe a burying-place according to the ſaid ritual?*

Anſwer to the 9. That it is not lawful upon that motive.

In its place I ſet down the ceremony the learned uſe upon this account, which tho' it be very different from thoſe of other ſectaries, yet they will always have it, that the good fortune of their poſterity proceeds from the good ſituation of the tomb.

10. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to faſt in honour of their emperors departed, or other notable men, or of their anceſtors?*

Anſwer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

Faſting was never a political action.

11. *Whether youths, who faſt in honour of their mothers, that they may reſtore the blood loſt at their birth, may be admitted to baptiſm, as long as they refuſe to forbear that faſt?*

Anſwer to the 11. That they cannot be admitted to baptiſm, till they lay aſide all ſuperſtitions.

12. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians either of their own accord, or when commanded, to build idol-temples, or rebuild thoſe that are deſtroy'd? The ſame is aſk'd concerning the little vaulted chapels or boxes of idols.*

Anſw. to the 12. That it is not lawful.

F. *Julius Aleni* ſet down this deciſion ſome years ago in a book of confeſſion he printed in the *Chineſe* character, but all miſſioners do not conſent to it. And I find F. *Morales* holds the contrary in his treatiſes, *lib.* II. *cap.* vi. §. 3. *num.* 10. *pag. mihi* 290. his words are theſe: A Chriſtian printer or carver, who has a picture or ſtatue of an idol beſpoke, does not ſin in painting or carving, and delivering it to him he knows deſires it to commit idolatry if he cannot without conſiderable prejudice to himſelf avoid doing of it. He quotes F. *Hurtado*, to corroborate his opinion. But his brethren in *China* would not agree to it by any means, when this point was argu'd, but condemn'd the opinion, one only excepted, who always lov'd to be ſingular. *Morales* adds, and ſays the ſame for thoſe who upon the like occaſion build idol-temples, *Jews* ſynagogues, or *Mahomitan* moſques. F. *Gabriel Vaſquez* gave the ſame reſolution, when aſk'd by our F. general *Claudius*, on account of *Japan*, on the 4th of *April* 1595; and the fathers *Azor*, *Michael Vaſquez*, and *Mucius de Angelis* aſſerted it at *Rome* in the general congregation of the univerſal inquiſition in *Palat. App.* on mount *Quirinalis*, before our moſt holy lord *Clem.* viii. on the ſecond of *June* 1602. Had I known what has been here ſet down, when I was at *Rome*, there is no doubt but I had propos'd it as a reaſon of making the doubt. I had before read ſomething concerning the matter, but not having thoſe treatiſes at hand, rather than omit it, I propos'd the queſtion abſolutely; and it is ſtrange, that ſome months paſſing before the anſwer was given me, and thoſe miniſters being ſo well vers'd in the reſolutions that have been given at that court, they ſhould make no mention of this, which is ſo much in favour of the miſſioners, who deſire theſe affairs may be delay'd as much as poſſible. I alſo obſerve that F. *Morales*, tho' he ſets down what thoſe grave fathers affirm'd before his holineſs, yet he does not tell us, whether that opinion was approv'd of there or not, and that alters the caſe very much. In ſhort, ſince I aſk'd how we ought to proceed, and what we ought to do in *China*, we will act according to the anſwer given me, as long as we have no other orders, and others may do as they think beſt. The ſentence of S. *Thomas* and his ſcholars 2. 2. *quæſt.* 169. is well known. 1602.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to contribute to the building or repairing of idol-temples?*

Anſwer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

It cannot be deny'd but that he who contributes to the building of an idol-temple, is acceſſary at a greater diſtance to the ſin of idolatry, than he that makes the idol, or builds the temple, and conſequently if it is not lawful to contribute *à fortiori* it muſt be own'd to be unlawful to make idols and build temples. By which it appears how far they are at *Rome* from juſtifying the making of idols, and building their temples. F. *Morales* writes much to the contrary, but the reſolution mention'd ſuffices to ſecure us from erring.

14. *Whether miſſioners or other Chriſtians are oblig'd to give alms, unleſs in caſe of extreme neceſſity, to idol-prieſts, who will not work?*

Anſwer to the 14. If it be given for mercy ſake, it is lawful.

I own I was the rigideſt in this point, when we diſputed it: Firſt becauſe alms is not to be given to thoſe who want thro' lazineſs, and becauſe they will not work.

It

It is the doctrine of *Soto*, and many more quoted and follow'd by *Leander tr. 5. de Eleemoſina diſp. 5. q. 4.* Secondly, tho' alms are to be given to wicked men and infidels, yet it muſt not be when they are cheriſh'd in their ſins by the benefit; and to give it to *bonzo's* ſeems to encourage them the further in their helliſh ſtate. Thirdly, tho' we are to give alms to enemies, as CHRIST commands *Matt.* v. yet it muſt not be in caſe *That were the means to ſupport thoſe enemies in their malice againſt us, and would make them more able to oppreſs us.* Fourthly, becauſe even in caſe of extreme neceſſity alms are not to be given to the enemies of the commonweal. Read *Leander q.* 6, 7, & 8. why then ſhould it be given to *bonzo's* who are mortal enemies of CHRIST's commonwealth? What are theſe but ſoldiers of hell, who continually have their weapons in their hands to make war upon the church and its members, and can never make peace or truce with them? We are bound to ſtand by what is reſolv'd.

15. *Whether a chalice that is bleſs'd and remains whole, is to be thought to have loſt its bleſſing or conſecration, becauſe it was only put to a profane uſe by hereticks, for inſtance to drink out of it at table?*

Anſwer to the 15. That it remains accurſed.

That the reader may be ſatisfy'd in this particular, I will here ſet down the matter of fact. The *Dutch* in *India* do by the chalices they have robb'd the churches of, as king *Belſhazzar* did by the holy veſſels *Nebuchadnezzar* had carry'd from *Jeruſalem*, Dan. v. 3, 4. only with this difference, that the *Dutch* every year commit the ſacrilege that king did but once, becauſe it has not pleas'd GOD to puniſh them, as he did him.

Their cuſtom, or rather ſacrilegious abuſe is, that at great feaſts, or when they celebrate the anniverſary of taking ſuch towns, they place the chalices on the ſideboards, and make uſe of them to drink healths about. It happen'd at *Jacatra* that two prieſts and a lay-man, a good Chriſtian, whom I know very well, were invited. They drank in one of the chalices to the elder of the prieſts, who without regarding or making the leaſt ſcruple drank out of it. The other prieſt, as I remember, told me he roſe from table, abhorring what he had ſeen his companion do. The lay-man was in a great diſorder and ſcandaliz'd; I cannot be poſitive, whether he roſe too. When afterwards they repreſented the heinouſneſs of the action to that prieſt, he us'd to anſwer, That thoſe chalices had loſt their conſecration, as being profan'd by hereticks. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, which did not pleaſe all men, the action was ill look'd upon, and much talk'd of. Diſcourſing on this ſubject at *Madagaſcar*, with the lord biſhop of *Hiopolis*, he told me; To ſhew what great difference there is betwixt the actions of men, your reverence muſt underſtand that the ſame year the *Dutch* took *Cochin*, they carry'd ſome chalices and other holy things to *Suratte*, where they made a plentiful feaſt. Among the gueſts was an *Engliſhman* of great note, they gave him a chalice to drink out of, and he refus'd it, ſaying before all the company, Tho' I am not of the *Roman* religion, yet this and other veſſels there were dedicated to the ſervice of our GOD, and this is enough to make me have a reſpect for them, and not to preſume to drink out of them; Gentlemen, you muſt excuſe me, for I cannot comply with you in this particular. I was aſtoniſh'd when I heard it. Granting that chalice was profan'd by hereticks, and had loſt its conſecration, yet he who drank out of it did ill, becauſe of the ſcandal that follow'd, and becauſe the hereticks might reflect on it. And ſince he went upon that ground, he ought to have declar'd it, and made it out before he drank to prevent what follow'd, and has been related; as alſo becauſe of the famous maxim in the canon law, *Semel. 51. de Reg. Jur. in 6. ibid. What is once dedicated to* GOD *muſt not be any more turn'd to human uſes.* He acted contrary to this rule.

In relation to the anſwer given obſerve that the word *execrare* (tranſlated by me in the anſwer *accurſed)* according to *Silv. verb. calic. §. 2. Serr. 3. p. q. 83. pag. mihi* 625. and others, ſignify to loſe the conſecration, and that *it requires to be conſecrated anew*, ſo that *the aforeſaid chalice loſes the firſt conſecration it receiv'd*; as when the cup breaks off from the foot, according to the common opinion of authors. Whence it follows that prieſt was in the right, in ſaying that chalice was not then conſecrated.

What authors uſually ſay, is of no ſmall force againſt this, *viz.* that *a thing once conſecrated loſes not its conſecration as long as it remains whole and the ſame.* So ſays, S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *Quæſt.* 88. *art.* 11. *in corp.* & 3. *part. Quæſt.* 83. *art.* 3. *ad* 3. See the ſame S. *Thom.* 2. 2. *Quæſt.* 88. *art.* 19. *in confirm. ult. arg. Serra* quoted above, and *Leand. tract. 5. par. 5. diſp. 2. Quæſt.* 42. where he has theſe words, *conſecration is indelible, whilſt the thing it ſelf and* ſuppoſitum *remains.* He quotes S. *Antonine, Silveſter Paludanus*, and others.

But the caſe here ſpoken of being ſo ſingular, there muſt be ſomething more in it. That it requires ſome bleſſing or cere-

NAVARRETTE. mony, as a church that is polluted, ſeems to be plain. Read *Leander, part* 2. *tract.* 8. *diſp.* 3. *Quæſt.* 4. *& Quæſt.* 31.

16. *Whether it does not ſeem convenient that the holy congregation command all miſſioners in* China *to abſtain from building ſumptuous churches, from wearing coſtly apparel, and making great preſents without neceſſity; in regard theſe things are inſupportable to ſome miſſioners, and gave occaſion for the perſecution?*

To the 16*th.* nothing is to be anſwer'd.

I and many more thought it requiſite to aſſign ſome limitation in the matters propos'd. Something ſhall be ſaid upon the ſubject in its place. Several opinions have been in *China* concerning the ſilk garments, many miſſioners wear. The ancient ones blame the younger; theſe juſtify them, and defend they are very convenient in that miſſion. The fathers *Gouvea, Acoſti, Labelli,* and *Torrente* abhor them, and F. *Balat* much deteſts the preſents that have been given without any benefit to the church. F. *Augeri* and others look upon it as moſt certain, that the clothing and buildings contributed much towards the perſecution that was rais'd. The ſame happened in *Japan.* But what F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* moſt lamented, and I am concern'd at, is, that if the preſents go on, neither the two religious orders, nor any others that ſhall go thither will we able to ſupport that cuſtom and practice, whereupon they will be oblig'd to withdraw, unleſs it ſhould pleaſe GOD to order ſome other means. His holy will be done.

Twenty other ſpecial Difficulties.

1. *WHETHER among the myſteries propos'd to* catechumens *to believe, it is lawful or convenient to add, that the bleſſed Virgin was conceiv'd without original ſin?*

2. *Whether it be lawful in new miſſions to write concerning the ſaid myſtery in ſuch manner, that converts may believe the affirmative is abſolutely defin'd as catholick faith?*

Anſwer to theſe two doubts. That the conſtitutions of *Sixtus* the fourth, *Paul* the fifth, *Gregory* the fifteenth, and *Alexander* the ſeventh, are to be read and obſerv'd.

I would not have meddled with theſe points, had not others taken notice of them in *China,* it is a duty to obey apoſtolical conſtitutions. The firſt caſe is printed in the *Chineſe* language.

3. *Whether it be convenient to give out among converts that the bleſſed Virgin plainly beheld the divine eſſence from the firſt moment of her conception, and ſo continued thro' the whole courſe of her life, as is unanimouſly believ'd of* CHRIST *our* LORD?

Anſwer to the 3. The miſſioners are to forbear ſuch uſeleſs arguments.

This is a very good anſwer. I knew him who firſt ſet that ſaying afoot, and how it took root among ſome perſons; the occaſion was very inconſiderable for a matter of ſuch moment, nor was the wiſdom or authority of the author ſufficient to give it any reputation. No body lik'd it in *China,* and it being no way neceſſary for the ſalvation of the *Chineſes,* it is a uſeleſs argument for them. Nay did thoſe Chriſtians, or others put the queſtion, we ought to anſwer, not to what they propos'd, but to the purpoſe that moſt concern'd them to know, after the example of CHRIST. One aſk'd him, *Luc.* XV. LORD *are there but few ſav'd?* He anſwered, *Do you ſtrive to get in at the narrow gate.* LORD, that is not the queſtion, anſwer directly to what is aſk'd. S. *Cyril* in *Catena Aurea*; *But it muſt be ſaid, that it was the cuſtom of our* SAVIOUR, *not to anſwer thoſe that aſk'd according to their mind, when they aſk'd uſeleſs queſtions, but with regard to what was beneficial to the hearers. But what benefit were it to the hearers to know whether many or few are ſav'd? But it was more neceſſary to know the means thro' which a man may attain ſalvation.* This ſame I ſay as to the propoſition.

4. *Whether invincible ignorance may be allow'd in the converts touching ſelf-murder? Some maintain the affirmative, but we are perſuaded it cannot be ſo in it ſelf and regularly, becauſe before baptiſm they are ſufficiently inſtructed in the commandments.*

Anſwer to the 4. That they are bound to teach them the truth, that they may lay aſide errors.

In the year 1665 it happen'd at the court of PE KING, that a Chriſtian, as ſoon as he had confeſs'd and communicated, went home and hang'd himſelf, and was bury'd like other Chriſtians. Upon this the doubt here propos'd was ſtarted, and ſeveral opinions were given: mine always was, that ſuch ignorance could not be allow'd of; firſt becauſe this ſin is ſpecify'd in the catechiſm printed there, and in the next place, becauſe if in *China* there cannot be invincible ignorance allow'd in caſe of killing another, much leſs can it be for killing ones ſelf. Nor is that nation, or others in thoſe parts, ſo void of ſenſe, as to follow the errors other barbarous people do, as to the law of nature. 1665.

Our

Our *Capicuque* maſter of the ſacred palace does not allow this ignorance in any man, as I ſhall ſhew in another place. See S. *Thomas* 2. 2. *q.* 64. *art.* 5. and his diſciples.

5. *Whether it be lawful for converts to hear maſs cover'd, and to receive the communion in the ſame manner? The greater and ancienter number of miſſioners anſwer in the affirmative, according to the ancient and general practice among them all, except here and there one, which is grounded on the diſpenſation granted to miſſioners by* Paul *the fifth to ſay maſs cover'd becauſe in that country it is a ſign of reſpect.*

Anſwer to the 5. That the decrees of popes are to be obſerv'd, where there are any, as is alledg'd in the caſe propos'd.

This queſtion was ſtarted by ſome few, after it had been many years practis'd without oppoſition. I writ a treatiſe ſomewhat copious upon the ſubject, which pleas'd all that were of my opinion; ſomething ſhall be brought out of it in the ſecond tome. One of the reaſons I urg'd was, that ſince we prieſts ſay maſs in *China* cover'd, and *Paul* the fifth diſpens'd with it in regard to the way of paying reſpect and civility in that kingdom, which is oppoſite to ours in this particular, for the ſame reaſon, and *a fortiori*, the ſame ought to be underſtood of the natives. For to do the contrary look'd prepoſterous, that the *European* ſhould worſhip GOD with the *Chineſe* ceremony, which in the church is irreverence; and that the *Chineſe* ſhould worſhip him with the *European* ceremony, which to them and their kingdom is a great diſreſpect.

6. *Whether miſſioners being aſk'd by a tyrant whether they will ſtay in his kingdom, upon promiſe made that they will not diffuſe the goſpel, may lawfully conſent, promiſe, and accept of ſuch a condition? The miſſioners no way agreed about deciding this caſe, when it preſs'd upon them.*

Anſwer to the 6. That they cannot make ſuch a promiſe.

Tho' this took not effect, yet we were all perſuaded it would, ſo that we argu'd long about it, without agreeing in any point. On the one hand the Chriſtians lamented, for if we anſwer'd in the negative, they were for ever depriv'd of prieſts, and their tears were very moving. Therefore a conſiderable number of us miſſioners were of opinion it was lawful to make ſuch a promiſe, and that it was no evil or ſcandalous condition which was requir'd of us. Every man writ down his ſentiments, but when we thought the trial was at hand, all were left at liberty to make their minds known. Something of what was writ upon the ſubject ſhall be inſerted in its place. See S. *Thom.* 2. 2. *quæſt* 88. *d.* 29. *art.* 7. NAVARETTE.

7. *Whether it be lawful for miſſioners, or other Chriſtians without neceſſity to go to the idol temples, and to ſay the office there kneeling, even where they may be ſeen by the faithful and infidels? Some maintain it.*

Anſwer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

F. *Morales* writes ſomething to this purpoſe, and F. *Gouvea* told me it might very well be done. Others diſlike it, and I thought it fit to put the queſtion, that one falſe antecedent may not produce other conſequences. I writ upon the ſubject, as ſhall appear in another place.

8. *Whether any could attain to life everlaſting, without the knowledge of* GOD *the ſupernatural being, and without the knowledge of the immortality of our ſoul, and of reward and puniſhment after this life? Some maintain the affirmative, ſpeaking both of the Jews and Gentiles.*

Anſwer to the 8. That the affirmative can neither be defended, nor taught.

The fathers *Fabre* and *Coplet* were guilty of this weakneſs, there was noiſe enough about it. The fathers *Balat*, *Grelon*, and I poſitively maintain'd the contrary, and brought reaſons enough for it, which ſhall be inſerted in the ſecond tome. See S. *Thom.* 2. 2. *q.* 1. *diſp.* 4. *art.* 1. *Ferre*, *Serra*, *Leander*, and others.

9. *Whether the* Friars Minors, *and* Dominicans *may and ought to follow ſome opinions, which they think improbable becauſe others affirm they may be put in practice, and that they have ſufficient reaſons for them? For it ſeems too hard to follow the footſteps of others blindfold.*

Anſwer to the 9. That no man can act contrary to his conſcience in a known improbability.

In the ſecond tome I write what has been done in this caſe. Nevertheleſs I am of opinion, that if all thoſe in *China* agree in one point, we of my order may lay aſide any ſcruple and follow them, practiſing the ſame; but it is ſufficient ground not to be thought to act raſhly, but prudently, when many go on in the ſame method unanimouſly, after having conſider'd, weigh'd, and conferr'd about the matter. True it is I am of opinion, it is more than probable, we ſhall not come to this paſs.

10. *Whether all thoſe, who are directly concern'd in the baniſhment of doctor* Brindeau, *an apoſtolick miſſioner from the city* Macao, *incur'd the cenſure laid upon thoſe that hinder miſſioners, by his holineſs* Urban *the eighth in his bull paſs'd in the year* 1633? *The affirmative ſeems to be true.*

Anſwer to the 10. No anſwer can be given, the party is not heard.

The matter of fact and all circumſtances

NAVARETTE. ſtances are ſet done, as may be ſeen in its place.

11. *Whether they who within the miſſion drive miſſioners from one province to another, incur the aforeſaid cenſure? For ſuch perſons truly hinder miſſioners in their buſineſs and duty.*

Anſwer to the 11. That the words of the decree are to be maturely conſider'd, in order to give an anſwer upon any fact.

Some particular canon laws, alledg'd by authors in the like caſes, ſuit with this point.

12. *Whether he who directly or indirectly endeavours to turn miſſioners out of their miſſions, tho' it does not take effect, incurs the aforeſaid cenſure? For tho' it does not take effect, they are in appearance, and actually obſtructors, eſpecially becauſe by troubling and moleſting them, they are the immediate cauſe that they cannot conveniently perform the duty they have in hand.*

Anſwer to the 12. As to the laſt.

In like caſes like judgment, *cap.* 2. *de tranſ. Epiſc.* It is well known that in theſe caſes regard muſt be had to the intention of the law-maker, and to the motive he had for making ſuch a law. From theſe principles we muſt deſcend to particular caſes, and conſider whether they are comprehended under it, or not.

13. *Whether it be lawful for regulars mendicants, eſpecially miſſioners, and others who by the pope's particular order exerciſe the function of curates in* India, *to take upon them to be godfathers in the ſacraments of baptiſm and confirmation? Some authors defend the affirmative, and whereas ſpiritual advantages may accrue from their undertaking it, it is moſt humbly prayed that his holineſs will diſpenſe in this caſe.*

Anſwer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

The affirmative is frequently enough to be found among modern divines, you may ſee *Leander tract.* 2. *de Baptiſm. diſp.* 7. *q.* 16. tho' our *Serra* does not follow it 3. *p. q.* 67. *art.* 6. only in caſe there be no lay perſon to be had, and with his ſuperiors leave. *Quintaduennas* has writ upon the ſubject. There was within theſe few years a great conteſt on this account in the kingdom of *Siam*, and a *French* biſhop who reſided there highly condemn'd this opinion, wherein I was always of opinion he exceeded. He might very well refuſe to admit of the religious man as godfather, without condemning *Quintaduennas* for allowing and teaching that opinion. It is no new thing to ſay, that when any thing is forbid the monks in the canon law, the mendicants are not taken under the denomination of monks, their circumſtances being different from thoſe of the others. Much leſs ought it to be underſtood of miſſioners, and other regulars who perform the function of curates. The reſolution given has ſettled the buſineſs for the future,

14. *Whether any miſſioners of the kingdom of* Cochinchina *had the power to diſpenſe with a convert to marry two ſiſters ſucceſſively?* (obſerve that they were his own ſiſters.) Marriage.

Anſwer to the 14. No anſwer can be given without hearing the miſſioners, who affirm they have this authority, but without it they cannot.

The greateſt difficulty is, whether this matter be capable of a diſpenſation or no. The caſe was argued at *Madrid* in the reign of K. *Philip* the ſecond, our maſter *Orellana* and others maintain'd the negative. The lord *Arauja in ſtat. Eccleſ.* follows this opinion, and ſufficiently makes it out, againſt *Baſilius* who quotes *Leander* for the contrary opinion, and others. The reſolution here mention'd makes out the contrary. More ſhall be ſaid in another place. Allowing it to be capable of a diſpenſation, it might be a ſufficient motive to grant it, if the king of *Siam* and the queen his ſiſter were converted to our holy faith; but certainly it is too much to make uſe of it for a *Japoneſe* ſhopkeeper, and two ſiſters ſucceſſively. I mention'd in another place that *Corn. a Lap.* follows *Orellana*'s opinion.

15. *Whether it be lawful for miſſioners to carry warlike ammunition into countries of infidels, upon pretence of opening, or keeping open the way to plant or diffuſe the word of* GOD? *For ſuch infidels, tho' during ſome time they ſhew the Chriſtians ſome tokens of friendſhip, yet they ſoon turn tail, as preſent experience has taught.*

Anſwer to the 15. That it is not lawful.

16. *Whether Chriſtian merchants may lawfully do the ſame upon pretence of ſecuring their trade? The bull* de cœna Domini *againſt thoſe that do ſo was publickly read in the city* Macao *ſome years ſince.*

Anſwer to the 16. That it is not lawful.

Something is writ concerning both caſes in the ſecond tome.

17. *Whether any miſſioners had any particular privilege not to make the* Chineſe *converts acquainted with the duty of obſerving the poſitive eccleſiaſtical precepts?*

Anſwer to the 17. This was anſwer'd in the years 1645, and 1656.

F. *Morales* writ upon this ſubject, he quotes the fathers *Hurtado* and *Emanuel Diaz*, who affirm'd it, tho' they own, they cannot tell what pope it was that granted it.

18. *Whether it be lawful for churchmen, or ſeculars, to caſt great guns in countries of infidels, and to teach them thoſe arts, and to be*

be ingineers for raiſing of forts, and other works?

Anſwer to the 18. Church-men may not concern themſelves in ſuch affairs.

I expected the anſwer in relation to ſecular, who follow this buſineſs in thoſe parts; and methinks it may be made out of that which was given to the ſixteenth doubt.

19. *Whether a Confeſſor may lawfully allow penitents half confeſſions, upon pretence that all may gain the jubilee, which they could not do, if they were to confeſs entirely, becauſe the time of the jubilee is not ſufficient to hear all out? Somebody there is that maintain the affirmative. Yet when there are ſeveral other confeſſors upon the ſpot, to whom the penitents may have recourſe, it ſeems, that confeſſions are dock'd unreaſonably.*

Anſwer to the 19. That it cannot be done upon any account.

Ever ſince in the year 1659 I read this opinion at *Macaſar* I miſlik'd it, and much more the practice of it which has follow'd in ſome parts, where there was plenty of confeſſors; and I am ſatisfy'd that all who have heard of this opinion, are of my mind.

20. *An oath among the* Chineſes *is taken, as follows, according to their ritual. Firſt, they dig a ſquare pit in the ground, over which they ſlaughter a beaſt, and cut off its left ear, which they lay in a diſh with jewels; in another they have the blood adorn'd in the ſame manner: they write the oath upon a paper with that blood, and anoint their lips: having read the paper, the beaſt is thrown into the pit, and the paper being laid on its back is cover'd with the earth.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful for Chriſtians to obſerve this form of ſwearing, or be preſent when this ceremony is perform'd?*

Anſwer to the 20. That it is not lawful.

We whoſe names are underwritten, to whom the ſolution of theſe doubts was committed by the ſacred congregation of the holy inquiſition, thought fit to return the anſwers above mention'd. *April* the 22d, 1674.

I F. *Laurence de Laurea* of the order of friars minors, conſultor and qualificator of the holy inquiſition, ſign'd with my own hand.

I *Cajetan Miroballas* of the regular clergy, qualificator of the holy inquiſition, ſign'd with my own hand.

I had ſome more doubts to propoſe, but forbore, becauſe I would not be too troubleſome to thoſe moſt reverend fathers, and becauſe I was my ſelf indiſpoſed: I ſet them down in the ſecond tome, where I have ſet down what doctors have ſaid upon them. We have light to follow, and a plain way to tread with ſafety, which I do not doubt is the ſame to others. NAVARETTE.

21. On account of what was ſaid in the eighth doubt concerning the ſacraments, I have one thing to obſerve, not unlike what happen'd about the ſame time in *Europe*. The ſame influence of the ſtars it is likely prevail'd in both places. There are certain books in *China* call'd KIA IU, that is, *family diſcourſes*, or *houſhold doctrine*. There are ſix volumes, I read them all; *Confucius* the philoſopher was the author of them, and his name is in the title page The learned ſect, and their ſchool, agree they are his; the ſaid books are quoted in the works of that ſect, and particularly in the great philoſophy. Nothwithſtanding all this, and that *Confucius* has been above theſe two thouſand years quietly poſſeſs'd of the title of author of theſe books, in my time a few miſſioners took in hand poſitively to maintain they were no work of his. Is it poſſible there ſhould be a ſtranger undertaking in the world? That *Europeans* ſhould go into *China* to argue that *Confucius* is not the author of thoſe books, unjuſtly outing him of a poſſeſſion he has enjoy'd ſo many years, without any better authority than that they find in them ſome doctrine oppoſite to what has been practis'd of late years? Hereticks deny the books of *Macchabees* are canonical, becauſe they oppoſe their tenets, without any other reaſon. Others for the ſame reaſon deny S. *Thomas* the honour of great part of his works, and ſo in time they may deny what S. *Auguſtin* and others writ. *Truth is at this time ſo odious, that it finds not hearers, but perſecutors,* ſaid *Hugo in Joan.* viii. ℣. 40.

I muſt alſo obſerve, that ſome call that of the learned in *China* a political ſect; and I doubt not but it is ſo, as that of the *Phariſees* was. *Cajetan ad Philip.* iii. ſays thus, *For it was the principal political ſect among the* Jews; *I ſay political, to diſtinguiſh it from that of the* Eſſeans, *becauſe that was not political, as being without matrimony like monks.* Even ſo is the learned ſect of *China* political. But this does not take away its being religious, as the fathers *Matthew Riccius, Longobardo, Gouvea,* and others plainly declare.

22. Laſtly, I obſerve that *Oleaſter* in *Gen.* vii. argues, whether there are any creatures *unclean by the law or dictates of nature?* He defines and proves there are none, and ſays, *But it is very ſtrange,* we ſee ſome birds and beaſts which no body will eat to this day, as the aſs, horſe, camel, lion, and others. And among birds we ſee no body eats the kite, nor other birds of prey, nor the jackdaw, nor the pie, nor others. *Againſt eating of which al-*

Navarette. *moſt all of us have a certain abhorrence, as it were natural.* To reſolve this point, I ſay it is requiſite to know ſeveral nations. In *Spain* we abhor aſſes, dogs, horſe-fleſh, *&c.* conſequently they do ſo in other countries; that is no good inference. I have ſaid before, that throughout all *China* aſ-
Food. ſes-fleſh is valu'd more than any other, tho' there are capons, partridges, and excellent pheaſants; dogs-fleſh is the next in eſteem, horſe-fleſh is extraordinary good, and I always lik'd wild mice. In the *Philippine* iſlands bats are good meat, jackdaws are eaten in other parts: in ſhort, God created them all for man, and they are all good; ſo ſays *Gen. chap.* ix. and S. *Paul* confirms it, *Rom.* xiv. See S. *Thomas*, *lect.* 3. The uncleanneſs of the law, mention'd *Levit.* xi. is of another nature. Read alſo S. *Paul ad Tim.* i. and S. *Thomas*, *lect.* 1. *All creatures are good, and none to be rejected*, &c.

Oleaſter treats of this ſubject again on *chap.* ix. ℣. 3. where he has theſe words; *I can by no means grant that* Noah *was allow'd to eat all living creatures, or all that move*, viz. *that it ſhould be lawful to him to eat ſnakes, moles, mice, and the like.* I ſaid before it was requiſite to ſee much of the world to ſolve ſuch doubts. On the ſeventh chapter above-quoted, he places the camel among the unclean beaſts, and we ſee it is not ſo to the *Tartars* who have enter'd *China*. In this ninth chapter he names the mice, and I know they are eaten in *China*, and not only the wild ones bred in fields, but thoſe that breed in houſes, though I would never eat of theſe laſt. He alſo excludes ſnakes; the *iguana*, which in *new Spain* and the *Philippine* iſlands is a dainty diſh, is certainly a ſpecies of a ſerpent or ſnake. The crocodile is alſo a very deform'd and frightful ſerpent, yet the *Indians* eat it. Snakes are eaten in *China*; and ſo the toad I ſaid in another place is call'd XE'IU, which is uglier to look at than our toads, is an excellent bit in that country, and fit for a prince, I ate it ſeveral times. As for ſhell-fiſh, I have ſeen and eaten many very loathſome to look at. Since ſo many things which *Europeans* abhor are eaten in thoſe parts, what may we not believe is eaten in *Africk* among the Blacks, and in other countries through the world? The ſame I ſay in regard of ſeveral ſorts of grain which they eat there, with ſuch herbs as no man in theſe parts would eat. Beſides, how many are there among us, who could not endure to eat ſnails or frogs, and yet in other parts they are valu'd? In *China* a pond of frogs is worth double the price of any other fiſh whatſoever.

To the Biſhops and Vicars apoſtolick in the eaſtern parts, the confirmation and amplification of the Conſtitution of Urban VIII. *concerning the liberty of going into thoſe parts any other way than by* Portugal.

Clement X. *Pope.*

" *AD futuram rei memoriam.* The du-
" ty of the paſtoral function hea-
" ven has beſtow'd upon us, requires that
" we endeavour to alter thoſe things which
" were providently ordain'd by the popes
" our predeceſſors, according to the exi-
" gencies of times, as we ſhall judge in
" our Lord convenient for the propaga-
" tion of the faith, and ſalvation of ſouls;
" if we diſcover that the circumſtances of
" things being chang'd, they are an obſtruc-
" tion to the end they were piouſly deſign'd.
" It is long ſince pope *Clement* the eighth,
" of bleſſed memory, our predeceſſor, by
" certain letters of his granted, among
" other things, to all and every the ma-
" ſters and generals of the *Mendicant* or-
" ders, then being and to come, that as
" neceſſity requir'd they might ſend over
" any religious men of their order, who
" were perſons of known piety and learn-
" ing, and whom they ſhould judge fit in
" our Lord for the office and employ-
" ment of preaching the goſpel, teach-
" ing the Chriſtian doctrine, adminiſtring
" the ſacraments, and performing other
" eccleſiaſtical functions, through *Portu-*
" *gal* only, and thence by ſea into *India*,
" and the city *Goa*, and to the ſuperiors
" of orders reſiding in thoſe parts; and
" that as well thoſe who ſhould be ſent
" over as other religious men of the a-
" foreſaid orders reſiding in *India*, and
" choſen and approved for this employ-
" ment by their maſters, miniſters, gene-
" rals, or other ſuperiors, might repair
" as well to *Japan*, as to the other neigh-
" bouring and adjacent iſlands, countries,
" and provinces of *China*, the next king-
" doms, the continent and *India*. And of
" later times pope *Paul* the fifth, our pre-
" deceſſor, alſo underſtanding it was found
" by experience, that the prohibition a-
" gainſt going over to *India* and the city
" *Goa*, by any other way than thro' *Por-*
" *tugal*, had neither produc'd the fruit
" that was hop'd for, nor been any way
" advantageous to the propagation of the
" catholick faith; he therefore deſiring to
" provide that ſo great a work of God,

" all

" all obſtacles being remov'd, might be
" freely perform'd; did alſo grant by let-
" ters of his to all and every the maſters,
" miniſters, priors-generals, and all other
" heads of *Mendicant* orders, by what
" name ſoever diſtinguiſh'd, for the time
" being and to come, that as neceſſity re-
" quir'd they might ſend over to *Japan*,
" and the adjacent and neighbouring iſ-
" lands, provinces and regions aforeſaid,
" and to the ſuperiors reſiding in thoſe
" parts, any religious men of their or-
" der, of known piety and learning, whom
" they ſhould judge in our LORD fit and
" proper for the aforeſaid duties and func-
" tions, by any other way beſides *Portu-*
" *gal*; ſtill the form of the ſaid predeceſſor
" *Clement*, in other particulars being ob-
" ſerv'd in all and to all points, and not
" otherwiſe. In like manner our prede-
" ceſſor pope *Urban* the eighth of bleſſed
" memory, conſidering it appear'd by
" many years experience, that the direc-
" tions given in thoſe letters were not
" ſufficient, and that they wanted ſome
" amendment, that the holy goſpel of
" CHRIST might be more ſucceſsfully and
" eaſily preach'd and propagated in the a-
" foreſaid iſlands and regions; after ma-
" ture deliberation had with the cardinals
" of the holy *Roman* church, who have the
" charge of propagating the faith through-
" out the world, adhering to the letters
" of the aforeſaid *Paul* his predeceſſor, he
" gave and granted apoſtolical authority
" to all the maſters, miniſters, priors-ge-
" nerals, or other heads of *Mendicant* or-
" ders, by what name ſoever diſtinguiſh'd,
" and even of the ſociety of JESUS then
" being and to come, that when they ſhould
" think convenient they might freely and
" lawfully ſend by other ways beſides *Por-*
" *tugal*, any religious men of their orders,
" or inſtitute whom they ſhould judge fit
" for miſſions by their age, life, manners,
" and learning, to the aforeſaid iſlands,
" provinces, regions, and kingdoms of
" *Eaſt-India*; obſerving the form of the
" ſaid letters of his predeceſſor *Clement* as
" to other points, in all and to all parti-
" culars. And he alſo, *ipſo facto*, ex-
" communicated all perſons whatſoever,
" who ſhould obſtruct clergy and religious
" men, of what order or inſtitute ſoever,
" as well *Mendicants*, as the ſociety of JE-
" SUS, and the lay-brothers of the religi-
" ous, to be ſent as aforeſaid, from com-
" ing freely to the abovemention'd iſlands,
" provinces, regions and kingdoms. And
" he ordain'd many other things, as is ex-
" preſs'd more at large in the ſaid *Urban*
" our predeceſſor's letters upon this mat-
" ter, and in this like form of brief *Fe-*
1633. " *bruary* 23, 1633. The tenor whereof,
" as alſo the tenor of the aforeſaid letters NAVA-
" of our predeceſſors *Clement* and *Paul*, RETTE.
" we will have to be taken as if fully and
" ſufficiently expreſs'd and inſerted in theſe
" our letters. But whereas our venerable
" brothers the biſhops and vicars apoſto-
" lick, deputed by apoſtolick authority,
" and reſiding in the eaſtern parts, have
" caus'd it to be made known to us, that
" to take their way through *Portugal* to the
" *Eaſt-Indies* and *China* is no leſs difficult
" to them, and to their ſecular clergy ſent,
" and to be ſent into thoſe parts, than to
" the religious perſons aforeſaid, and ut-
" terly uſeleſs to the propagation of the
" goſpel, and that there are other ways
" much eaſier and ſhorter; and have there-
" fore caus'd us to be humbly intreated,
" that we would be pleas'd in our apoſto-
" lick goodneſs, to provide for them op-
" portunely in the aforeſaid particulars,
" and diſpenſe as follows. We therefore
" being willing to grant a ſpecial favour
" to the biſhops and vicars apoſtolick,
" and by theſe preſents abſolving every
" their perſons from any eccleſiaſtical ſen-
" tence, cenſure, or pains of excommu-
" nication, ſuſpenſion and interdict de-
" nounced *ipſo facto*, or by any man upon
" any occaſion or cauſe, if they have in-
" curr'd any ſuch, and deem'd them ab-
" ſolv'd; and being favourably inclin'd
" to grant ſuch requeſts, by the ſpecial
" advice of the congregation of our vene-
" rable brethren the cardinals of the holy
" *Roman* church appointed over the affairs
" of propagating the faith, do by theſe
" preſents, and apoſtolick authority, con-
" firm, approve, and renew the aforeſaid
" letters of our predeceſſor *Urban:* and
" we do extend and enlarge the ſame let-
" ters to the ſaid biſhops and vicars apo-
" ſtolick, and alſo to ſecular prieſts and
" laymen, as well thoſe already ſent, as
" to be ſent hereafter into *China*, *Cochin-*
" *china*, *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other places,
" iſlands, provinces, regions and kingdoms
" of *India*, and other eaſtern parts; ſo
" that they, and any of them, may freely
" and lawfully go thither any other way
" whatſoever they ſhall think fit, beſides
" the way of *Portugal*, and ſhall no way
" be oblig'd to paſs through *Portugal*, or
" to take ſhipping there; in other things
" ſtill obſerving the form, authority and
" tenor of the aforeſaid predeceſſors of
" *Clement*. And we do actually, without
" further denouncing, accordingly excom-
" municate any eccleſiaſtick and religious
" men, of any order or inſtitute, as well
" not *Mendicants*, as *Mendicants*, even of
" the ſociety of JESUS, and ſeculars, who
" any way whatſoever obſtruct the going
" of biſhops and vicars apoſtolick, as

NAVARETTE. " alſo of ſecular prieſts and laymen, as " well thoſe already ſent, as thoſe to be " ſent hereafter into *China*, *Cochinchina*, " *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other places, iſlands, " provinces, regions, and kingdoms of " *India*, and other eaſtern parts. Decree- " ing the ſaid letters ſhall remain and con- " tinue in full force and vigour, and have " their full and entire effect; and that " thoſe whom it does, or may at any time " concern, do in all reſpects give full ſub- " miſſion to them, and do reſpectively " obſerve them punctually and inviolably, " and that ſo it ought to be defin'd and " adjug'd by any ordinary judges and de- " legates whatſoever, even the judges of " cauſes in the apoſtolick palace, and " any others, whatſoever preheminence " or authority they do or may exerciſe, " any power or authority of judging or in- " terpreting otherwiſe being taken from " them, and every of them; and that it " ſhall be void and of no effect, if any per- " ſon ſhall attempt any thing to the con- " trary of what is here mention'd, upon " any authority, knowingly or ignorantly. " Therefore we command all and every " the patriarchs, archbiſhops, biſhops, and " other prelates of churches and places, " even of regulars, throughout all the " world, that they cauſe theſe letters to " be inviolably obſerv'd by all perſons in " their reſpective provinces, cities, dio- " ceſſes, chapters and juriſdictions; and " cauſe them to be ſolemnly publiſh'd, as " often as they ſhall be requir'd ſo to do " by the aforeſaid biſhops and vicars apo- " ſtolick; as alſo by ſecular prieſts and " laymen, as well thoſe already ſent, as " that ſhall be ſent as before, or any of " them: notwithſtanding the apoſtolick " conſtitutions and ordinations, and all " thoſe things, and every of them, which " the aforeſaid our predeceſſor, in his a- " foreſaid letters, would have to be no " obſtruction, and all things elſe whatſo- " ever to the contrary. But our will is, " that the ſame credit be given in all pla- " ces to the copies of theſe letters, even " tho' they be printed; or when ſubſcrib'd " by ſome publick notary, and ſeal'd by " any perſon conſtituted in an eccleſiaſtical " dignity, as would be given to theſe pre- " ſents if they were produced and ſhewn.

" Given at *Rome* at *S. Mary Major*, un- " der the *Fiſher*'s ſeal, on the 23d of " *December* 1673. in the fourth year " of our papacy.

LAUS DEO.

THE

TRAVELS

OF

Martin Baumgarten,

A Nobleman of *GERMANY*.

THROUGH

Egypt, *Arabia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*.

In THREE BOOKS.

Giving an Account of the Situation, Nature, Monuments, and Ruins of thoſe Countries; and of the Iſlands, Cities and Temples therein; of their Manners and Cuſtoms; of the Riſe, Increaſe, and Actions of ſome foreign Princes: And of the Properties of ſeveral animals, with other uſeful things.

To which is prefix'd,

The LIFE of the Author.

The LIFE of

Martin a Baumgarten,

IN

Braitenbach, &c. Knight.

BAUMGARTEN

THIS ſaid *Martin* was born in the year of our Lord 1473. on *Novemb.* 11th, the very day conſecrated to the memory of that biſhop whoſe name he receiv'd, in the town of *Kopfſtain* or *Kueſſtein*, which *Maximilian* the firſt emperor of that name by a powerful hand took from the dukedom of *Bavaria*, and added to the country of *Tyrol*, about the year 1604. His father *John* was a man of great power and wealth; of twelve children which through the divine bleſſing he had by his noble conſort *Elizabeth Soiterine à Winda*, this *Martin* was the third, whoſe education both for learning and manners, he took care ſhould be ſuitable to his noble birth.

When he advanc'd from childhood, and left the ſchools, he applied himſelf to military diſcipline and affairs of war, being equally the darling of the *Muſes*, and a ſtout champion of *Mars*.

Having compleated the 26th year of his age, and being diſpoſed to enter into the ſtate of wedlock, he was married to *Benigna* a very choice lady of honourable birth, and a liberal fortune, being the daughter of that valiant knight *Chriſtopher Schellers à Gartenau*. The ſolemnity was conſummated in the treaſure-houſe of *Burckhuſium* on the 7th of *September*, *anno* 1499, in the preſence and by the advice of the following perſons of quality, viz. *Janus Ebron à Wildenberg* knight, *James* and *William Haunſper*, *Sigiſmund ab Apfenthal*, *Mark Hohenfelder*, *Janus ab Offenhaim*, *Peter à Baumgarten* a noble lawyer, *George* a privy counſellor to the duke of *Bavaria*, *Woluſgangus* and *Janus* of *Baumgarten*, *George à Kemmatau*, and *Janus Trenbeccius*.

This wife he enjoy'd ſix years, and had by her one ſon whoſe name was *John*, and two daughters, *Anna* and *Margaret*; all which died very young, and were ſoon followed by their ſorrowful mother, who was alſo ſnatcht from him by an untimely death, *Novemb.* 17. *anno* 1505.

Occaſion of his Pilgrimage.

Being thus deprived of his lady and her children, and thereby ſo overwhelm'd with grief that his own life ſeem'd burdenſome to him, he began to think of ſome diverſion to paſs away the tedioufneſs of his time: And according to the ſuperſtition of that age, he reſolved to pay a viſit to *Jeruſalem* our LORD's ſepulchre, *Mount Sinai*, &c. and what he had vowed he quickly performed with great labour and expence; taking along with him one *Vincent* a prieſt, and *Gregory* his ſervant, whoſe ſirnames I have not been able as yet hitherto to learn.

In this long and tedious journey he himſelf kept a diary in the *German* tongue of all remarkables ſeen, obſerved or heard by him each day. Which notes of his were ſomething difficult to read, but (which gives relief in this difficulty) his ſervant *Gregory* alſo kept a diary of the ſame things in *Latin* as well as he could, and as the learning of the age permitted. From theſe two diaries I have compoſed the following hiſtory in the form and method it is now publiſh'd in the *Latin* tongue (which I have alſo tranſlated into the *Teutonick*, which may alſo ſhortly perhaps ſee the light) at the deſire, and by the encouragement of the noble heirs of the deceaſed *Chriſtopher-Philip a Baumgarten*, who was the ſon of *Martin* by a ſecond venter.

Being return'd from his pilgrimage, he took for his ſecond wife *Apollonia*, a virgin, daughter to that generous and valiant gentleman *Thomas* earl of *Liechtenſtain*, to whom he was married *Jan.* 9. 1510. at *Kueſſtein*, and had by her eight ſons, viz. *Francis*, *Bartholomew*, *Woluſgangus*, *Martin-Philip*, *Chriſtopher-Philip*, *Janus-Philip*, *David* and *Paulus Degenhardus*. And three daughters, viz. *Katherine*, *Barbara* and *Elizabeth*.

One of this number, viz. *Chriſtopher-Philip*, lived to the 70th year of his age, and then died in the palatinate of *Wiſen*,

at

at the houſe of his ſon-in-law, on *May* 17, *anno* 1593. having obtained an immortal fame for his piety, conſtancy and beneficence, and left behind him ſix daughters, who were all joined in marriage to ſeveral noble perſonages. One of them having lately loſt her huſband *Morenavius* of *Tyrol*, is now a widow.

He embraces the reformation.

About the year 1520. when by the miniſtry of Dr. *Martin Luther*, an inſtrument choſen of GOD, the heavenly doctrine began to be recover'd to its former purity; this noble knight, after diligent reading, meditation and prayer, by the conduct of the divine Spirit, alſo acknowledged the truth of the goſpel, which having embrac'd with his whole heart, he confeſt both by word and writing, and alſo with very great faithfulneſs inſtructed his children in the ſame, which procur'd him the hatred of many, and expoſed him to very great afflictions; againſt which ſtorm of temptation he was often encouraged by the conſolatory letters of *Luther*, the originals of which are in my hands.

And how great a progreſs he made in the evangelical truth; yea, how great not only a Chriſtian but divine he became (tho' not ſo by profeſſion) in reſpect of his faith, writings and practice, will appear to the wiſe and impartial reader, by peruſing ſome of his weighty epiſtles, which if GOD permit ſhall be annexed, together with the beforeſaid conſolatory letters of Dr. *Luther*, to the funeral oration on his ſon *Chriſtopher-Philip*; in which you may obſerve his ardent and pious zeal, his great and unſhaken mind, his large reading and accurate judgment; and in ſhort, the reader will there find abundant matter both for his admiration and inſtruction.

And furthermore he himſelf hath given an account of the courſe and actions of his own life, in the following epiſtle written by him to a certain counſellor in the emperor's court, upon the occaſion of his being circumvented by the calumnies and envy of ſome malignant perſons.

SIR,

I *Intreat your worſhip as ſoon as poſſible to recommend me to* M. Salamancus, *that he may lay open before the moſt illuſtrious prince* Ferdinand *our emperor the following articles: And thereby let him know what kind of perſon I am, and what I have done for the advantage of the houſe of* Auſtria. *I alſo deſire that you would make the moſt diligent enquiry on all hands concerning my life and actions, how much I have labour'd, and what progreſs I have made in the minerals, and how much further I ſhould yet hope by* GOD's *help to promote the intereſt of our moſt illuſtrious prince, if he will vouchſafe to protect me, that I may not be ſubverted by mine enemies, but may be ſuffered to go on in my begun undertaking.* BAUMGARTEN

I. *I am dignified with the noble order of knighthood, being firſt made a knight in my peregrination to the holy ſepulchre of our* LORD, *and to St.* Katharine, *anno* 1507. *And afterwards created the ſecond time a knight by his imperial majeſty* Maximilian, *anno* 1508.

II. *My father brought great profit to* DD. A. *often lending them large ſums of money in their neceſſity without any intereſt. Alſo in the mineral affairs,* viz. *in ſilver, copper,* &c. *to the greater profit of the princes than our own, as is now very manifeſt.*

III. *My father at the inſtance and pleaſure of the emperor* Maximilian *paid for* A. D. C. *to the aforeſaid* Maximilian *thirty two thouſand* Florins, *of the value of more than fifty thouſand* Crowns *of gold, whence we his heirs have ſuffer'd ſo great damage. The truth of which you may learn in* Schwatz, *and in other places.*

IV. *Notwithſtanding which I have indefatigably labour'd in the minerals,* viz. *in* Ratenburg *above twenty eight years, in* Luentz *above twelve years, in* Schwatz *I was thirteen years ago; ſo far once by the fraud of others impoſed on, as that I ſold all my ſhares, but about four years ſince I procur'd others which I am yet in the improvement of. And thus in theſe three places I ſpent of my own proper goods above thirty thouſand* Florins. *For tho' all this time the profits revolving into the prince's treaſure amount to more than thirty thouſand* Florins *a year, yet ſtill no profits came into my hands, as your worſhip knows.*

V. *In the wars with the* Bavarians *eighteen years ago, I loſt in this city, and in the works without the city, of my proper goods above eight thouſand* Florins, *which ſhews I have not been ſparing of my own intereſt.*

VI. *Twelve years ago, at the command and pleaſure of the emperor* Maximilian, *I went in arms to* Luentz *with horſes and carriages, and remain'd there half a year at my own charge, where alſo in the mean while I recover'd the minerals, and diligently laboured therein; and yet to this day I have never receiv'd a penny for my great and manifold labours.*

VII. *I have been now for three years violently moleſted by my creditors, who lent me ſome ſmall ſums of money upon my works in the ſilver and copper, out of which I could not in a competent time pay them according to our*

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our agreement; and therefore, tho' all would be well paid at laſt, they not only are unpeaceable towards me themſelves, but alſo by their inſidious practice alienate the minds of others from helping me, where-ever I have made applications for money to ſatisfy them, and to compleat the work in which I am engaged for the profit of the Auſtrian *family, as well as my own. All which they do for no other reaſon, but becauſe they ſee me by great labours and diligence to have ſo far ſucceeded as to make many fair diſcoveries in the minerals, which,* God *willing, will bring not only great profit and honour to my ſelf, but alſo to the whole houſe of* Auſtria; *in which they would fain fruſtrate me, and get the work now it is almoſt compleated into their own hands.*

Wherefore, from the conſideration of all the aforeſaid acts both of my ſelf and of my parents and anceſtors, I encourage my ſelf in a good hope and confidence that our illuſtrious prince Ferdinand *will (as being much fam'd for his eſteem of truth and equity) ſo protect me, that the aforemention'd inſidious practices may not prevail againſt me, but that under the covert of his favour I may continue in the proſecution of that in which I have made ſo great an advance. If upon the whole I have not hitherto, I hope I ſhall for the future deſerve this illuſtrious favour, provided I am reliev'd in theſe matters. Farewel.*

Martin a Baumgarten.

This pious, honourable and magnanimous knight died in the true acknowledgment, ardent invocation, and conſtant confeſſion of Jesus Christ, *anno Domini* 1535. in the 62d year of his age, when he had fought a good fight, and kept the faith undefiled, together with a pure conſcience, at *Kueffſtein*, and was there interr'd in the chapel belonging to the family of the *Baumgartens*, where he expects a joyful reſurrection of his body, renovated into a ſtate of immortality, in the glorious day of the reſtitution of all things. Which as to him, ſo to us, and all the truly faithful who love the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, he of his infinite mercy grant, who is the triune, holy, juſt, true, eternal God, bleſſed for evermore. *Amen.* *His death.*

THE

THE

TRAVELS

OF

Martin Baumgarten.

BOOK I.

Giving an Account of Ægypt *and* Arabia.

CHAP. I.

He goes from Kuefſtein *in* Germany *to* Venice: *A Commendation of that Place.*

IN the year of CHRIST 1507. in the month of *April*, I *Martin Baumgarten*, having invok'd the divine aſſiſtance and conduct, ſet out from home, accompany'd by *Vincentius* a prieſt, and one ſervant nam'd *George*. We took our way to *Venice*, a city the moſt celebrated and worthy a traveller's obſervation in the world; riſing up as 'twere, out of the ſea, and abounding in all things, tho' it naturally produces nothing for the ſervice of man. Whatever can be ſaid in its praiſe falls ſhort of its deſert. There we found a great many perſons come from ſeveral parts, with the ſame reſolution of travelling that we had; who going aboard a ſhip that lay ready for them, ſet ſail ſoon after our arrival. We ſtaid there a month, judging it worth while to conſider that place not in a hurry, but leiſurely and deliberately: In which time we took a diſtinct view of the magnificent churches, monuments, gardens, and generally all that was remarkable; and provided our ſelves with every thing neceſſary for our intended voyage. BAUMGARTEN

CHAP. II.

Their Departure from Venice, *and firſt Storm at Sea.*

ON the 25th of *July*, we agreed with the maſter of a ſhip, had our cabbin aſſign'd us, and the day appointed for ſetting ſail; which being come, and the wind ſerving, the ſeamen ſtrove who ſhould be firſt aboard, the merchants brought their goods, and the veſſel had quickly all her lading; mean time we put our ſelves and baggage into a lighter, and got aboard as they were haling up the ſails and getting out of the harbour. Preſently ſprung a briſk gale, the ſails were all fill'd, the ſhip flew before the wind, and both city and harbour diſappear'd.

But in a little time the wind chop'd about, blew a ſtorm, and forced us back to the place where we had weigh'd anchor, notwithſtanding our utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. The mariners in great conſternation ſet up a hideous cry, and fearing the ſhip would be driven aground, took in their ſails, plied their oars, and encouraging one another, tugg'd ſtoutly to keep her up againſt the wind. To hear the outcrys of the ſeamen, and ſee them beat their breaſts, was more dreadful to us than the danger it ſelf. Having brought her to an anchor, we were miſerably toſt, and the rolling did not ſuffer us to ſleep or take any refreſhment all that night. This was a hard beginning of our voyge, but ſupporting our ſelves with hopes of the divine protection, we took courage to undergo this and greater calamities if they ſhould happen.

CHAP. III.

For ſome Days the Winds prove inconſtant; they arrive at Rovigno *in* Iſtria.

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ON the 26th of *July*, about ſun-riſing, the wind ſlacken'd, and we would willingly have ſet ſail; but there being a calm, we choſe to row, and made no great way. But not long after, a briſk and favourable gale blowing, all gave a ſhout, thrice the trumpet ſounded, thrice we pray'd; and making all the ſail we could, went joyfully away before the wind.

And with full ſail we plow'd the ocean's back.

About noon the wind chang'd, and prov'd croſs, which oblig'd us to furl our ſails, and drop from the prow an anchor; ſo all that time and the following night we were toſs'd, ſometimes under, ſometimes above the raging billows; and having undergone the like hardſhip all the 27th and 28th days, with much ado on the 29th we came before *Rovigno*, a town in *Iſtria*, ſubject to the republick of *Venice*. There we came to an anchor, and went into the town; and after we had refreſh'd our ſelves, and bought ſome proviſions, went aboard again, But the wind blowing hard, we thought it not ſafe to rely upon one anchor, and therefore dropt another that was greater, and were forc'd to ride there three days with great uneaſineſs. Rovigno.

CHAP. IV.

They enter Pola, *their ſtay there. The catching of the Fiſhes call'd* Tonini. Tongobardin, *who return'd from* Venice, *overtakes them while they ſtay at* Pola.

ON the 2d day of *Auguſt*, there blew a ſmall but favourable gale, which brought us into the harbour * *Pola* on the third day. At that time this town was the metropolis of *Iſtria*, and a very fine and delightful place. It is ſaid to have been firſt inhabited by the *Colchi*, and afterwards made a *Roman* colony, as the remains of a large amphitheatre, and many other monuments of antiquity ſeem to confirm. Having therefore fix'd our ſhip in that large and ſafe harbour, we went aſhore, took lodgings, and ſtayed there ſix days, partly to buy proviſions, and partly to wait the arrival of another galley.

* *Call'd* Pietas Julia *by* Pliny.

Catching of the Tonnins.

In the mean time we had occaſion to be diverted with ſeeing the catching of a certain ſort of large and ſtrong fiſh, with a big head and little ſharp tail, which they call *Tonini*. The manner of catching them is this: In the months of *Auguſt* and *September* they uſe to go up and down in companies, and to play together on the coaſt. As ſoon as they are got within the mouth of the harbour, and notice of it given to the people of the town by certain boys who are placed in the tops of trees for that purpoſe; they all ruſh out to this fiſhing, as if it were to engage an enemy: Some in boats, laying nets to prevent their eſcape: Others ſtanding on the ſhore, arm'd with ſharp pointed ſpears, ready to attack theſe fiſhes as ſoon as they ſhould be forced aſhore by the nets and the ſhouting of the people. Then the moſt vigorous and nimble of the young men leaping in naked among the fiſhes, attack them with their ſpears and hooks; and ſometimes it happens that before they can catch them, while they are endeavouring to bring them aſhore, they are pull'd into the water by the ſtrength of thoſe creatures in their own element. But the poor fiſhes while they are endeavouring to make their eſcape with the dart ſticking in their backs, and the wounds they have received, ſo ſoon as they come where the boats are placed in circle, find all means of eſcaping cut off, by the nets laid there for that end; and being ſtruck at alſo by thoſe that are in the boats, run mad and enraged to the ſhore, and expoſe themſelves to the mercileſs ſtrokes of the fiſhers: but finding no quarter there, tumble up and down in rage and deſpair among the young men's feet, till by their own ſtruggling, and the repeated blows of the fiſhers, they are at length overcome and thrown aſhore, where freſh companies of the weaker ſort attack them anew with ſtones and clubs, and put an end to their lives. Theſe fiſhes are ſo ſtrong, that as long as they can but keep their tails under water, the ſtrongeſt man is hardly able to overcome them. That day there were ſix and fifty catch'd, the next day a hundred, and at laſt a hundred thirty two. The number of the fiſhes that were catch'd was ſo great, that they ſerved all the town, and almoſt fill'd our galley at a ſmall charge; and having ſalted them, we had as many as ſerv'd till we came to *Alexandria*.

On the 10th of *Auguſt* the other galley arriv'd, having on board *Tongobardin*, the ſultan of *Egypt*'s embaſſador to the republick of *Venice*; who had no ſooner landed, but he

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was honourably receiv'd by the governor of the city, who gave him a moſt ſplendid entertainment. Without the city there is an ancient tree, whoſe branches ſpread very wide, and at whoſe root there is a pleaſant ſpring, inceſſantly ſending forth freſh ſupplies of wholeſome water. Under the ſpacious ſhade of this tree there were ſeats placed, cover'd with ſilk, and a table furniſh'd with great variety of curious diſhes, and a numerous train of ſervants ſtood by to ſerve the gueſts. There *Tongobardin* having taken his ſeat, I and my company, and ſome *Venetian* merchants who had been invited, ſat down; and while we were eating, drank heartily of that cool ſpring, the weather then being very hot. But by the exceſſive eating of green grapes, both I and ſeveral other of the gueſts contracted a violent fever; which however we cur'd by faſting three days together. BAUMGARTEN *An entertainment with* Tongobardin.

CHAP. V.

Their departure from Pola. *A ſecond Danger at Sea.*

ON the 11th day we came out of the harbour of *Pola*; but by reaſon our ſhip's crew was not compleat, we were forc'd to drop anchor, and ſtay off the town till the captain's clerk, who went aſhore to *Pola* to make up the juſt number of our ſeamen, return'd: About ſun-ſet there aroſe a ſtorm, and it blew ſo hard that we durſt not weigh, but were forc'd to lie there tumbling up and down all next day.

On the 13th we weigh'd anchor, the wind ſtanding fair, and had very good ſailing all that and the following night, ſo that we had now loſt all ſight of land, and could ſee nothing but air and water. But the wind beginning to blow very hard, the waves began to ſwell, and a horrible darkneſs cover'd the face of the ſea: And the ſtorm and waves did ſo increaſe, that our galley was oftentimes under water; and the things that were lying on the deck were ſome of them waſh'd off into the ſea, and others (the hatches by chance being up) thrown down into the hold, where we, in great fear, were expecting the laſt minute of our life. But the ſtorm ceas'd, and that night and the next day, with a fair and moderate gale, we cut the ſurface of the *Adriatick* ſea; the ſea being ſometimes calm, ſometimes boiſterous during the reſt of our voyage. *Second Danger at Sea.*

CHAP. VI.

The Captain of the Galley muſters his Soldiers. The other Galley that was in company breaks her yards.

ON the 16th the wind ſtanding fair, we had *Raguſa*, a free and conſiderable city in *Dalmatia*, on the left hand; and on the right, but at a great diſtance, *Apulia* and the mountain *Gargano*. On the day following the captain of our galley muſter'd all his ſoldiers, aſſigning to all his archers, gunners, *&c.* their poſts; and withal incouraging them to acquit themſelves bravely if there ſhould be occaſion. They were all drawn up on the fore-deck, and turning about towards the ſtern, gave notable proofs of their ſtrength and ſkill. Some of 'em with great art and dexterity manag'd the ſtrong bow and arrows; others with no leſs ſtrength and agility, by brandiſhing their drawn ſwords, and ſhaking their ſhields, ſometimes advancing, ſometimes retiring, ſhew'd how manfully they could fight if there were occaſion for it: Some with long ſpears practiſing their ſtrokes on all hands, as if they had already engaged the enemy. This muſter being over, and the captain having applauded their ſtrength and ſkill, he beſtow'd on every one of them a certain quantity of wine and victuals. In the mean time our companion-galley, while ſhe was at ſome diſtance from us, in tacking about broke her yards; which oblig'd us to furl our ſails and ſtay for her night and day, till ſhe ſhould mend her yards and come up to us.

CHAP. VII.

Ceraunia, Epirus. *The* Cimeritæ, *and their Victory over the* Turks.

ON the 18th day, the wind being fair for us, we diſcover'd *Ceraunia*, or *il Monte di Chimera*, at a great diſtance ahead of us. *Ceraunia* are high mountains in *Epirus*, which are ſaid to have that name from their being often ſtruck, as *Strabo* aſſerts, with thunder, and about which the *Adriatick* ſea ends, and the *Ioni-* Ceraunia.

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an begins. The ſea betwixt theſe mountains and *Italy* is ſo narrow, that *Æneas*, whoſe adventures *Virgil* deſcribes, ſail'd it over in half a night's time.

Epirus. Cimeritæ.

Moreover *Epirus* is alſo call'd *Arthon*, and the inhabitants of *Ceraunia*, *Cimeritæ*. They are Chriſtians, living after the manner of the *Greeks*, and a free people, independent of the *Venetians* and all others; and ſecure againſt the attempts of the *Turks*, their formidable neighbour, who being maſter of almoſt all *Epirus*, and thinking it ſhameful to have his conqueſts ſtopt by an inconſiderable handful of poor people, invaded them laſt month with an army of five thouſand men, who were every one of them cut off; as we were firſt inform'd by a ſmall ſhip of theirs that we met, and had the report afterwards confirmed by the whole people of *Corcyra*.

Victory over the Turks.

CHAP. VIII.

A Deſcription of Corcyra, *or* Corfu, *the Town and Iſland. Something concerning* Cephalonia.

ON the 19th day, with a ſmall gale of wind, we came in ſight of *Corfu*; and it blowing a little freſher, next day we came within a ſmall diſtance from it. We met a galley belonging to *Corfu*, which was cruiſing on that coaſt to clear it of *Turkiſh* pirates. She no ſooner diſcover'd us to be friends, than ſhe put out her colours, and joyfully welcom'd us by ſounding a trumpet three times: and leaving *Botronto*, a town belonging to the *Turks* on the left, piloted us into the very harbour. In the evening we went aſhore into that *Grecian* town, where we refreſh'd ourſelves plentifully both with food and ſleep. On the one and twentieth day we view'd the town, the caſtles, and what was remarkable in the neighbourhood. This iſland is ſituated in the *Ionian* ſea, not far from the *Adriatick*, and is a hundred and twenty miles in compaſs; anciently inhabited by the *Phæaces*, and govern'd by king *Alcinous*, but is now ſubject to the republick of *Venice*. On the eaſt and ſouth it is a plain and very delightful country, cover'd with vines, and ſeveral other kinds of trees, and lies but a little way off *Epirus*. Moreover a part of the city (which is likewiſe call'd *Corfu*) is enclos'd with a ſtrong wall, and defended by two caſtles, which make it terrible to an enemy. That evening, after we had bought us ſome proviſions, we went aboard again to encounter new hardſhips at ſea. We joyfully ſet ſail, and cut the frothy ſea before a favourable wind. On the 23d day, the ſame wind continuing, we loſt ſight of *Cephalonia*, which is an iſland ſituated in the *Ionian* ſea, according to *Pliny*, *lib.* IV. *nat. hiſt.* It was ſome time call'd *Melæna*; and, as *Homer* ſhews thro' all his *Odyſſ.* was under the juriſdiction of *Ulyſſes:* now it is ſubject to the *Venetians*, who not long ago took it from the *Turks*, but at the expence of a great deal of blood.

See Pliny, lib. IV. c. 1.

Corfu.

Cephalonia.

Melæna.

CHAP. IX.

Peloponneſus, *or the* Morea, *deſcrib'd. Alſo the Towns in it.*

ON the 24th day we arriv'd at the *Morea:* it is a *peninſula*, and one of the nobleſt countries in the world, ſituated between the *Ægean* and *Ionian* ſea. Its ancient name *Peloponneſus* ſeems to be the contraction of *Pelopis inſula*, and its circuit is computed to be five hundred and ſixty three miles. *Peloponneſus*, according to *Herodot. lib.* I. was its more ancient name, and it was afterwards call'd *Danaa*, then *Achaia*, and now *Morea*. That part of it which is call'd *Laconia*, was formerly call'd *Oebalia*, in which is *Lacedæmon*, otherwiſe call'd *Sparta*, the very eye of *Greece*. That neck of land that joins the *Morea* to the continent, is call'd the *Iſthmus*, and is five miles broad. Upon it ſtood *Corinth*, famous for its riches, and its being a *Roman* colony, but much more ſo afterwards for its deſtruction; the top of its high caſtle, call'd *Acrocorinthon*, affording a charming proſpect to both ſeas. Here it was that the *Grecian* princes, fearing their formidable neighbour the *Turk*, drew a wall from ſea to ſea, and by that means ſeparated the *Peloponneſus* from the reſt of *Greece*, calling the wall *Hexamilon*. But *Amurath* emperor of the *Turks*, either while the *Grecians* were careleſs, or ſtruck with conſternation, levell'd it with the ground. The *Morea* is likewiſe call'd *Cherſoneſus*, as if one ſhould ſay *terra inſula*, a *country that is almoſt an iſland*; for unleſs it were join'd with a little *iſthmus* to the continent, it might be call'd an iſland. On the 25th day, the wind ſtanding fair, we ſail'd by *Lepanto* a city of the *Morea*, and came in ſight of *Modona*, which, they ſay, was formerly an archbiſhop's ſeat; but the *Turks* taking it from the *Venetians*, after a moſt bloody battel, it miſerably degenerated into the *Turkiſh* cuſtoms and manners.

Peloponneſus.

Laconia.

Sparta.

Iſthmus.

Corinth.

Acrocorinthon.

Peucerus, lib. V. c. 1r 195.

Lepanto.

Modona.

CHAP. X.

Deſcription of the Iſland Cythera, *or* Cerigo. *Their groundleſs fear.*

Cerigo. ON the 26th day we ſail'd by the iſland of *Cerigo*, antiently call'd *Cythera*, which is reckon'd the laſt of the *Cyclades*, and by *Laertius* call'd the iſland of *Laconia:* it is about five miles from *Maleæ Promontorium*, now *il Capo di Malio*; and the ſtraits there make ſailing very difficult and dangerous. It was at firſt call'd *Porphyris*, but on the account of the famous temple of *Venus* that was there, it was call'd afterwards *Cythera*. It was in this temple, as the ſtory goes, that *Paris* raviſh'd *Helena*, and thereby occaſion'd the *Trojan* war.

That day, in the evening, a ſmall gale of wind blowing, one of our men from the top of the main-maſt cried out, that there were four ſail of ſhips making up to us. At this we were alarm'd, and all came upon deck; orders were given to arms, which we immediately obey'd, believing they were *Turks*. Some carried burdens of ſtones up to the topmaſt-head; ſome made ready their guns, others ſhut up the evening port, becauſe it would have been eaſy to board the galley at that place, and the reſt were employ'd in ordering and making ready every thing for a battel; and the hurry and confuſion of their preparations made their fear the greater. But the captain, and the reſt of the noble *Venetians*, who were more uſed to the ſoftneſs of pleaſures than the hardſhips and terror of war, betray'd moſt fear, for their knees ſtruck one againſt another, and their blood grew all chill in a moment. But ſo ſoon as theſe ſhips drew nigh, they put out their colours, and ſounded their trumpets; we knew them for friends, and did the ſame, which chang'd our fear and deſpair into a ſudden joy, and inſpir'd new life and courage into theſe almoſt lifeleſs gentlemen. Drawing nearer they came cloſe up to us, and ſurrounded us, lowering their ſails. The chief men of them went into a boat, and came on board us, to know what news from their native country; and to enquire whether we had met with any pirates by the way. They told us that three days before they had engag'd with two *French* ſhips, whom they had beat, but let them go upon their parole never to fall on any more *Venetian* veſſels. After ſome diſcourſe on ſuch matters, we made them eat and drink, and ſo they went aboard their ſhips again. We went on in our voyage with a gentle gale, which towards night began to blow freſher; and with the light of the day we alſo loſt ſight of the land. BAUMGARTEN

CHAP. XI.

Crete: *They viſit* Gnoſſus *in that Iſland. Deſcription of the* Labyrinth, *Deſcription of* Crete, *and the Promontory call'd* Samonium.

Crete. ON the 27th, a freſh gale blowing from the weſt, we began to deſcry at a great diſtance the lofty hills of *Crete*; our companions gave a ſhout, and welcom'd the ſight of that iſland and *Gnoſſus*.

Bonaza, *what.* On the 28th, we came near to the town of *Candy*, but had ſuch a calm (which the ſeamen call'd *bonaza*) that it was the third hour of the night before we could touch *Candia*; and by reaſon the night was very dark, and there were no ſtars to be ſeen, and becauſe we were afraid of the narrowneſs of the entry into the harbour, we ply'd our oars, and at laſt with great difficulty and danger we got in; and having furl'd our ſails, we came to an anchor.

Gnoſſus *or* Candia. On the 29th we went aſhoar to the town of *Gnoſſus*, now call'd *Candia*, as is alſo the whole iſland, and went into the houſe appointed for travellers; which had been built and endow'd by a certain duke of *Burgundy*, who had ſometime travelled thoſe parts, and had founded this houſe for the accommodation of travellers. There we ſtaid. This is that *Gnoſſus*, antiently, as *Diodor. Siculus* relates, inhabited by the *Titans*, afterwards the kingdom of *Minos*, having the advantage of an excellent harbour, and adorn'd with ſeveral ſtately towers, and now ſubject to the *Venetians*. Within ſight of the town, towards the ſouth there is a hill, which the people of this country call *Jupiter's Hill*; becauſe there are ſome remains of the ſepulchre of *Jupiter*, with his name engraven on it, as the inhabitants ſhewed us. Jupiter's *hill.*

About the middle of the iſland, is *Ida* the higheſt hill in all the iſland, and famous for being the place where *Jupiter* was nurs'd: At the foot of this hill is to be ſeen the famous *labyrinth*, where the *Minotaur* was kept, and an intricate priſon built of huge ſtones, full of windings and turnings, where thoſe who would endeavour to get out, go perpetually round without advancing, and after a great deal of labour are *Mount* Ida. Cretan labyrinth.

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juſt as near their purpoſe as when they began. There is only one way to go into it; but within there are innumerable paſſages, which are now ſhut up to prevent the danger thoſe might fall into who might have the curioſity to ſee it. The greater part of it is decay'd and ruin'd. Of all the four *labyrinths*, *viz.* thoſe in *Egypt*, *Crete*, *Lemnos*, and *Cluſium*, this in *Crete* was the moſt famous, and moſt celebrated by *Greek* and *Latin* poets. It was made by *Dædalus*, an ingenious artificer, as *Ovid* relates in his eighth book of *Metamor.*

This iſland produces wine and honey in great abundance. It was firſt, for the temperateneſs of the air, call'd *Aeria*, afterwards *Macaroneſon*, that is, the *bleſſed iſland*; *Names of the iſland.* then *Hecatopolas* for its hundred cities; after that *Creta*, from a certain king, and now *Candia*, from its whiteneſs. *Ariſtotle* ſpeaking of this iſland, *lib.* II. *polit.* ſays, nature ſeems to have deſign'd this iſland for the miſtreſs of *Greece*, being commodiouſly ſituated, and riſing at a due height above the ſea. *Servius* ſays, it is not agreed in what ſea it lies, for it has the *Lybian* on the ſouth, the *Ægean* on the north, the *Icarian* on the eaſt, and the *Ionian* on the weſt. Navigation is ſaid to have been firſt invented here, and from the inhabitants ſkill in that art, came the proverb, * *Cretenſis neſcit mare.* *Solinus* ſays of this iſland, that it abounds with wild goats, but has no harts; that foxes, wolves, and ſuch like hurtful creatures are never to be ſeen in it. The favourable influence of the ſun makes the vines large and high, and the trees yield their fruit in great abundance. There are no owls hatched in *Crete*, and if they are brought they quickly die. But the excellency and fruitfulneſs of the ſoil emaſculates the inhabitants; and that ſaying of the apoſtle, which he borrow'd from *Epimenides*, holds true ſtill, *The* Cretans *are always liars, evil beaſts, ſlow bellies.* Moreover, on the eaſt ſide of this iſland is the *Promontorium Samonium*, commonly call'd *Cape Salomon*: and in the twenty ſeventh chapter of the *Acts*, theſe words are to be ſeen, *Becauſe the wind ſuffer'd us not, we ſail'd hard by* Candia, *near* Salmone, &c. On the weſt ſide of the iſland is the promontory *Criomethopon*, which ſignifies the *forehead of a ram.* Of all that multitude of cities, there are only ſeven now remaining, *viz.* *Candia*, *Canea*, *Giſſamo*, *Retimo*, *Towns of Candy.* *Yerapitro*, *Sittia*, and *Archadia*; in the firſt of which an archbiſhop reſides, in the laſt a biſhop. The villages are ſaid to be in number fourteen hundred. Criomethopon.

* *Said of thoſe who pretend ignorance of a thing they underſtand very well.*

CHAP. XII.

Their third Danger at Sea. Deſcription of the iſland Carpathus, *or* Scarpanto.

HAVING during our ſtay at *Crete* provided our ſelves with neceſſaries for our voyage, on the 2d of *September* the weather being good and the wind ſtanding fair, we left the harbour and put out to Standia. ſea; and ſailing cloſe by the iſland *Standia*, which was on our left hand, we no ſooner Sittia. came to be off of *Sittia*, a city of *Crete*, but the wind began to change, and *Æolus* ſo ſported himſelf with us, that ſometimes we thought it adviſable to put into the harbour, ſometimes to put out to ſea; at laſt we reſolv'd upon the latter, and after we had ſail'd about ſeven leagues, were forced back, and had well nigh been ſplit upon *Standia*, had not all hands gone to work, and us'd their utmoſt endeavour.

We had the like bad luck on the third, fourth, and fifth days, and at laſt with great difficulty came as far as *Capo Salomon*, and on the ſixth left *Crete* behind us.

On the ſeventh we ſail'd by ſeveral iſlands, particularly *Scarpanto*, antiently call'd *Carpathus.* This iſland, according to *Pompo-* Carpathus. *nius*, *lib.* II. is ſituated between *Egypt* and *Rhodes*, and was the kingdom of *Proteus.* As *Pliny* relates, it gave name to the *Carpathian* ſea, and it belongs now to the ſtate of *Venice.*

On the eighth day, while we were ſailing with a gentle gale, and the wearied ſeamen were ſecurely diverting themſelves with their innocent plays and dancing, and in their holiday clothes, there came on a ſudden ſuch a whirlwind as cover'd the galley with water, and had almoſt drown'd ſome of us; but while they were crying out, and endeavouring to get clear *A hurri-* of it, it preſently vaniſh'd as if it had roſe *can.* only to fright them. After that we had the wind and weather ſo favourable, that we made more way that day than ever we had done before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

They come in sight of Alexandria. *Danger in the Harbour. The Ambassador* Tongobardin *is honourably receiv'd. Their farewel to the Sea for some time.*

ON the ninth day about noon the watch call'd out that he discover'd *Alexandria* ahead of us. We were transported with the joyful news, hoping that now we were at the end of a toilsome and dangerous voyage, and express'd our joy by offering up our thankful acknowledgments to GOD.

Pharos. In the evening we arrived at *Alexandria*, and coming up to the tower call'd *Pharos*, which is both a guard and an ornament to the harbour, we lower'd all our sails (as is usual) to testify our duty to the *Sultan*, and then enter'd our much desir'd haven. *Gamali*, admiral of the *Turkish* fleet, had arriv'd there a little before us, and having put the *Turkish* ambassador to the *Sultan* ashore, had come to an anchor in the middle of the harbour. We coming in with a pretty fresh gale, ran foul of his ships; upon which, the *Turks* thinking we had done it designedly, presently got to arms, and with a great shout stood ready to charge us. But understanding by our doleful cries what the matter was, and also fearing the laws and privileges of the harbour, they thought it advisable to let us alone. With very much ado we got clear of them, and came to an anchor. But we slept little or none all that night; for the *Turks* disturb'd us by the confus'd noise of such musical instruments and voices as they had, demanding a like return from us, and insulting us while we tamely held our peace.

Tongobardin's *reception at* Alexandria. On the tenth day about sun-rising, *Tongobardin*, the *Sultan*'s embassador, whom we had brought along with us from *Venice*, went ashoar. The whole youth in the town came flocking about him to see and pay their humble respects to him. The chief BAUMman of the city attended with a vast croud GARTEN of *Mamalucks*, all well mounted, and a great many people making a most disagreeable and confus'd noise with their drums and other instruments, such as they had, receiv'd him very magnificently; and the *Venetian* consul, who is the protector of and judge between the subjects of that republick in those parts, having richly adorn'd a great number of boats with streamers, trumpets, &c. attended the embassador ashore, to the great wonder and admiration of the *Barbarians*. And besides, all the ships that were in the harbour paid their compliment to *Tongobardin*, by firing an infinite number of guns, and fill'd the air with the din, fire, and smoak of them, and the shouting of their men.

On the eleventh day we went into the *Venetian* inn, and took leave of the sea for some time; and because by our habit we look'd liker merchants than strangers, we had free liberty to come in and go out there when we would. And besides, we had brought very little money along with us, having taken bills of exchange from *Venice*, otherwise we must have paid a considerable custom; for the *Saracens* make a very narrow search. However we sav'd a great part of what we did bring, by hiding it in pork, which they abominate above all things. In the mean time, by the help of a *Venetian* guide, we view'd the most remarkable places in the city, where we observ'd a great many things worth relating, which I shall insert after I have given an account of the origin of the city. *Hiding of money.*

CHAP. XIV.

Description of Alexandria, *the* Pyramid *there. The Christian Churches. The learned Men of old. Traffick, Usefulness of Pigeons. The Harbour. Profit by Filberd-nuts and Chesnuts.* Tongobardin's *Villany.*

Alexandria. ALEXANDRIA, the greatest city in *Egypt*, was built by *Alexander* the great three hundred and twenty years before the birth of JESUS CHRIST, on the coast of the *Egyptian* sea, and in that part of *Africk* that lies near the mouth of the *Nile*, which some call the **Canopean*, others the †*Heraclean*. This city, as it was founded by *Alexander*, so it bears his name, and contains his tomb; which *Julius Cæsar* is said to have paid his devotion at. It is surrounded by a vast desert, and harbourless shoar, by rivers and woody fens. The succeeding kings, as *Diod. Siculus* relates, did largely contribute towards the encrease of this city by the donations they gave, and the ornaments they bestow'd upon it; so that at length, according to some, it became

* *From* Canopus *and* † Heraclea, *two cities in that country.*

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became the moſt glorious city in the world. Its length, as *Joſephus* relates, was thirty furlongs: it is all hollow under ground, and has aqueducts from the *Nile* to many of the private houſes, through which the water is carried in to them; which ſettles and grows clear in a few minutes, and is made uſe of by the maſters of families and their children and ſervants: for that which is fetch'd from the *Nile* is ſo full of ſlime and mud, that it brings a great many diſeaſes on thoſe that drink it; but the poorer ſort are fain to make uſe of it, becauſe there is not one publick fountain in all the city. At this time it looks very glorious without; the walls as they are of a large compaſs, ſo they are well built, firm and high, and the turrets upon them are numerous; but within, inſtead of a city, there's nothing to be ſeen but a prodigious heap of ſtones. 'Tis rare to ſee a continued ſtreet, but there are wide courts and yards, a few houſes intire. Where *Alexander*'s palace ſtood formerly, there is now an obeliſk erected, of ſolid red marble, eleven hands ſquare at bottom, of a wonderful height, ending in a ſharp top; and all over, from top to bottom, full of figures of living creatures, and other things, which plainly ſhews that the *Egyptians* of old made uſe of ſuch inſtead of letters.

Aqueducts. *Form of the city.* *Obeliſk.*

Chriſtian churches.

There are ſome who ſay that that obeliſk in *Rome* at S. *Peter*'s in which *Julius Cæſar*'s bones are kept, ſtood of old near to this of which I am now ſpeaking; but this far exceeds that both in height and thickneſs.

Chriſtian churches.

There are to be ſeen ſtill at *Alexandria* ſeveral Chriſtian churches, among the reſt that of S. *Saba*, poſſeſſed by the *Greeks*. And in another place that of S. *Mark*, who is ſaid to have been the firſt that ever preach'd the goſpel in thoſe parts. And there they ſhew you a font, in which they ſay, that apoſtle baptiz'd. Behind the altar of that church are to be ſeen ancient manuſcripts, containing the works of *Athanaſius*, *Cyrillus*, *Irenæus*, and ſeveral others, all rotten and moth-eaten, and ſome of them almoſt quite burnt. Anciently in this city many eminent ſcholars and divines flouriſh'd, as *Philo Judæus*, who wrote ſeveral very uſeful things; *Origen* the presbyter, *Athanaſius* that famous and ſtedfaſt biſhop of this place; *Dydimus*, *Theophilus*, *Johannes*, *Eleymona*, and many others, whom it would be tedious to mention. And here flouriſh'd the *ſeventy interpreters* in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. In our days one may ſee here great quantities of ſeveral ſorts of goods brought from moſt places of the world. Here the *Venetian* merchants have two warehouſes, fill'd with great variety of goods, over which the conſul, who is a man of great authority, preſides. The *Genoeſes* alſo, and the *Turks* and *Scythians*, who have alſo now learn'd to finger gold, have their ſeveral warehouſes, which the *Moors* take care to ſhut every night. There are alſo within the walls two artificial hills rais'd ſo high, that from the top of them one may ſee ſhips at a great diſtance: and they tell alſo, that upon occaſion they can ſend letters from *Alexandria* to *Cairo* by pigeons, to whom they tye them, and whom they breed up for that purpoſe.

Pigeons.

This tho' I did not ſee my ſelf, yet I had good reaſon to believe, being credibly inform'd of it; and beſides, as *Pliny* relates, at the ſiege of *Mutina*, *Brutus* tyed a letter to a pigeon's foot, and by that means convey'd it to the conſul's camp. Without the walls of the city is to be ſeen *Pompey*'s pillar, ſixty cubits high, under which, they ſay, his head lies. So much for the city. As to the harbour, it is ſo contrived, that even in the time of peace it is not eaſy to get into it; for the entry to it is not only ſtrait, but alſo crooked, by reaſon of ſeveral rocks and ſtones that lye hid under the water. The left ſide of it is enclos'd by artificial moles; on the right, the iſland *Pharos*, upon which there is a tower and a fort, bearing that name. Which tower was anciently reckon'd one of the ſeven wonders of the world, it being ſo prodigiouſly high that ſailors could ſee the light that was on the top of it at the diſtance of, or near forty miles, and by it ſteer their courſe to land. The harbour within is very ſafe, and about three miles and a half in compaſs; into which all ſorts of merchandiſe that that country wants are brought from other parts of the world, and from whence into thoſe, and all that it can ſpare of its own product is exported.

J. Lipſ. *Saturn. Serm. l. 2. c. 6.* *Pompey's pillars.* *Harbour.* Strabo *l.* 15. Mela *l.* 2. Plin. *l.* 2. *c.* 85.

While we were one day at a feaſt with the merchants, among other things a certain *Venetian* told us, That in one year by a ſhips loading of filbert-nuts from *Apulia*, he could gain ten thouſand crowns; and that by ſending one ſhip loaden with cheſnuts, every year to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, he could make twelve thouſand crowns. And the reaſon was becauſe the *Moors*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other of the *Mahometan* religion uſed that ſort of fruit very much; for altho' they have excellent fruits of their own, and great variety of them, yet they ſoon ſpoil; and therefore what they do not conſume in the ſummer-time, they export into other countries: and all winter, eſpecially during their * faſting month, they live on theſe foreign nuts, of which their country produces none, and which being carry'd into other countries, do not eaſily

Filberts. * January.

ſpoil

ſpoil for a long time; nor are they deſtroyed by vermin, as with us.

In the mean time we provided our ſelves with all things neceſſary for our journey; and being recommended to *Tongobardin* a *Mamaluck*, and having frequent opportunity of converſing familiarly with him, we made him a preſent of fifty of thoſe pieces of gold, which they call *ſepaphs*, that under his favour and protection we might travel the more ſecurely. This money was no more than what he had long expected from us; for he was always very acceſſible and affable to us, and oftentimes aſſur'd us of all the ſervice that lay in his power. But no ſooner had he got our gold in his pocket, the hopes of which had made him ſo courteous, than he began to ſlight and look down upon us; while we in the mean time, conſidering we were ſtrangers, ſeemed to take all in very good part. BAUM-GARTEN. *Tongobardin's knavery.*

CHAP. XV.

They ſet out and arrive at Roſſeto. *Deſcription of the* Nile *and* Egypt.

ON the 22d of *September*, betimes in the morning, we mounted our mules, in company with ſome *Italian* merchants, having a *Mamaluck* for our guide, and ſet out for *Roſſeto*; and arriving there, before we could enter the town, we were forced to pay ſix of thoſe pieces of ſilver which they call *maydins*, a head at the gate. Afterwards marching thro' a wood of date-trees, and other ſweat ſmelling ones of ſeveral kinds, we ſat us down under a date-tree loaden with fruit that was not fully ripe; and every one producing his proportion of ſuch proviſions as we had, we refreſh'd our ſelves together, and drank plentifully of a neighbouring ſpring, and laid in a ſtock of it for the thirſt that was to come. From thence travelling thro' fens, which the *Nile* had fill'd at its laſt overflowing, we came to the ſea, having rid moſt part of that day. Afterwards we came to other fens, where we found a crew of *Arabians* fiſhing, who by downright threatning and violence forced each of us to pay them a contribution of two *maydins* a piece. After that we ſtruck off a little from the ſea, and towards ſun-ſet came to a little ſolitary cottage, where we tied our mules, and were forced to drink ſalt-water, and lie on the ſand. Roſſeto. *Robbers.*

It happened to be moon-ſhine all night, by reaſon of which we, who were not accuſtom'd to ſuch beds, were afraid of robbers, and therefore before we had reſted four hours there, thought it adviſable to decamp, the night being pretty clear. After which we came into a deſart cover'd with ſoft and yielding ſands. There blew a ſmall gale from the ſea, which raiſed little hillocks of ſand behind and before us, ſo that we could not know where the road was; for it often happened, that when we ſaw the road plainly before us, a great many ſuch hillocks would riſe, and in a little time diſſipate, and gather again in another place, which did ſo hide and obſtruct the ways that neither we nor our mules knew which way to go. While by this means we were doubtful which was the way, and were ſtraying up and down, we came at laſt to a certain wood of date-trees, under whoſe covert we were ſheltered from that inconvenience; and hearing the crowing of a cock we bent our courſe that way, and not long after arriv'd at *Roſſeto*; where having unloaded our mules, we went to ſleep for a little time. *Difficulty in travelling.*

Roſſeto is a town in *lower Egypt*, lying ſouth and north, on the banks of the *Nile*. It is ſurrounded with no walls, but by the lofty ſpires and turrets that magnificently adorn its churches, one would take it for a rich and great city. Roſſeto.

The *Nile*, as *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* I. relates, runs from ſouth to north, and is the greateſt river, ſo far as we yet know, that runs into the ſea. It empties it ſelf at ſeven mouths, and ſeparates *Aſia* from *Africa*; but as for its riſe and ſource, no author hitherto hath ever ſaid that he ſaw it, or had any account of it from others; and its original is ſo uncertain, that ſome have call'd it *Aſcopon*, that is, a river riſing out of the dark. *The* Nile.

This river overflows all *Egypt*, beginning about the ſummer-ſolſtice, and continuing to the *Equinox*; bringing always new ſlime along with it, and therefore call'd *Nilus*, as 'twere, from νεὰ ἴλυς, new ſlime. It waters both till'd and untill'd ground, as long as the huſbandman thinks fit; for by reaſon it flows gently, they can let it in, or keep it out according as the ground requires it. Servius.

It makes the ſoil ſo fruitful, and the tillers work ſo eaſy, that when they ſow they either bring a flock of ſheep to tread down the ſeed, or draw a very ſhallow furrow with the plough; and in four or five months they duly return to reap a plentiful harveſt; the *Egyptians* being the only people on earth who buy a plentiful crop at ſo cheap a rate. The untill'd ground affords paſturage in ſo great abun- *Fruitfulneſs.*

Baumgarten

dance, that their ews bring forth, and are ſhorn twice a year.

Swelling of the Nile.

But the overflowing of the *Nile*, muſt ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who hear of it, and aſtoniſhing to ſuch as ſee it; it being the only river in the world that ſwells in the ſummer-time, whilſt all the reſt ſhrink below their banks. It increaſes in the ſummer-time, ſo as to overflow all *Egypt*, and decreaſes in the winter, whilſt others overflow their banks. The ſeven mouths thro' which it diſgorgeth it ſelf into the ſea, are the *Peluſian*, that waſhes the borders of *Arabia*; the *Canopian*, the *Volbitian*, the *Sebenitian*, the *Pathmitian*, the *Mendeſian*, and the *Thanitian:* and tho' it hath ſeveral others, yet thoſe not being navigable becauſe of their fords, they are not reckoned. There are ſeveral cauſes of its ſwelling aſſign'd, but that which ſeems moſt probable is, that the water which pours down continually, for a certain time, from the mountains of *Æthiopia* that lie next to *Egypt*, are the cauſe of this river's ſwelling, eſpecially ſince the Barbarians who inhabit the country bear teſtimony to that aſſertion. The *Nile* is the only great river in the world, that never makes the air foggy or cold; and therefore according to *Pomp. Mela*, of all the countries in the world, *Egypt* alone is free from rain, and yet very fruitful, populous, and abounding in all other kinds of living creatures. *Plato* and ſeveral others affirm the ſame. Yet both in *Alexandria* and *Cairo*, and the neighbouring deſert, we ſaw ſeveral conſiderable ſhowers, but were told that happened very ſeldom.

Country of Egypt.

Egypt is a plain and champian country; and when the cities, villages, and farmers houſes are fortified againſt the overflowing of the river, they look like ſo many little iſlands. All the land creatures that ſtay in the fields are drown'd, and ſuch of them as get up to heights are preſerv'd. The cattle during the inundation are kept in houſes, and live on the fodder that their maſters have laid up in ſtore for them. The common people laying aſide all thoughts of labour, beſtow all that time on their pleaſures and feaſting. In ſhort, *Egypt* divided by the ſeveral branches of the *Nile*, reſembles in ſome meaſure an expanded hand. Thus much concerning *Egypt* and the *Nile*.

CHAP. XVI.

Their pleaſant Paſſage up the Nile, *in company with* Tongobardin. *What ſort of a Creature the Crocodile is. The nimbleneſs of the* Arabian *Boys. The* Arabians *Dexterity in ſwimming; and of their Circumciſion.*

ON the four and twentieth day *Tongobardin*, whom we had ſo much long'd for, came at laſt to *Alexandria*, attended with great number of camels: And ſtaying but a ſhort time there, fill'd one of the boats with his baggage, and his two wives that he had brought along with him; his *Mamalucks* took up another, and a mixt crowd of Chriſtians, *Jews*, *Egyptians*, and other nations, the third. And before we had ſailed far, we came to an anchor hard by a date-tree wood, over againſt which, on the oppoſite bank of the river, there is a large wood, in which there is an infinite number of parrots catch'd.

Phua.

On the 25th we began to ſail up the river, and arriv'd at a city call'd *Phua*, where we went aſhore and refreſhed our ſelves a little. The place was very populous, and the people were ſtrong and healthful; and there we had the pleaſure to ſee both the banks cover'd with pomegranate, date, and ſeveral other kinds of fruit-trees. Among the trees there was an infinite number of houſes and monuments of the *Egyptians*, ſome low, others very high, but all of them arched; and ſuch a number there was of them, that they took up a great ſpace about the city. The *Egyptians* induced to it by an antient tradition of their anceſtors, furniſh their houſes but indifferently, but beſtow a great deal of pains and charge upon their monuments. They beſmear themſelves with dung and dirt when they bewail their dead, and they think it unlawful either to burn or bury them; but having anointed and embalm'd them with a great deal of art, they lay them either in houſes or in the open air, according to their circumſtances and quality. Moſt part lay their deceaſed friends and relations in vaults built on purpoſe on the tops of their houſes; and value themſelves mightily; if they can ſhew that they have accommodated their dead friends within their houſes.

The Egyptians *way of lamenting the death of their friends.*

Looſing from thence on the 26th day, we paſs'd by a great many of the country peoples cottages; and went often aſhore, where we made the verdant graſs our table when we inclin'd to eat, and ſhar'd in the plays and paſtimes with which *Tongobardin*'s *Mamalucks* diverted themſelves. At that time we ſaw a certain young *Moor*, becauſe he had been found drinking wine privately, receive twenty ſevere laſhes on his back and belly.

A Moor *whipp'd for drinking wine.*

Every night *Tongobardin* cauſed to be ſet up a great many lamps in form of a pyramid, and ſeveral little bells to be tied to

Pyramids of lamps.

to the ſails, into which the wind blowing with a little force, made a certain motion in them, which cauſed an agreeable ſort of melody, and very pleaſant to the ear. But the *Mamalucks* that were in the other boat, when it was dark, uſed to ſhoot up a ſort of fiery arrows into the air, which in ſome meaſure reſembled lightning or falling ſtars. We who followed in the third boat, were not behind with the reſt in our ſports and divertiſements; for we had with us a ſort of an *Egyptian* trumpeter, who as to the matter of art and ſweetneſs of melody, was abſolutely ignorant and unſkilful; but becauſe his cornet ſounded very loud, and was heard at a great diſtance, and we were ready to ſplit at his unſkilful and aukward way of ſounding, never doubting but that by our laughter we were commending and extolling him, and not at all ſuſpecting our mockery, the more he perceiv'd us ready to fall down with laughing, the louder and oftner he ſounded. In this manner, while we were ſailing, did we ſhorten the night, and in the day time we were charm'd with the delightful proſpects of fields and trees, and the raviſhing melody of birds that we had never ſeen before, who were warbling out their ſhrill and pleaſant notes. And beſides, the air being then pure and wholeſome, and a gentle breeze of wind blowing from among the odoriferous trees and flowers that were over againſt us, did wonderfully inſpire us with life and vigour; for both banks of the river were almoſt covered with ſugar-canes and other wholſome plants; among which, as the ſailors told us, there lay vaſt numbers of crocodiles. The crocodile is a four-footed creature (for we view'd many of their ſkins with great exactneſs) ſo call'd from *crocus*, which ſignifies ſaffron, either becauſe it is of that colour, or becauſe it mortally hates the ſmell of that plant. It is altogether of a dragon-form; it lives all night in the water, and all day for the moſt part on land. Its eggs are ſhaped like thoſe of geeſe, and their young ones that are hatch'd in them commonly grow to be ſixteen cubits long; and if we will believe *Pliny* and *Solinus*, they are ſometimes twenty cubits long; they grow as long as they live, and their life is almoſt as long as that of a man. It is the only creature that wants a tongue, and its body is wonderfully fortified by nature, for its whole back is all over ſcales, and theſe are wonderfully hard. Its belly is ſoft, and therefore it is the dolphin's mortal enemy, who wounds its belly with the fins of his back under water. Its eyes reſemble thoſe of a ſow, and it has a great many teeth on both ſides of its mouth, two of which are conſiderably longer than the reſt. It not only eats men, whom it weeps to ſee approaching, and then devours them (from whence comes the proverb, * *A crocodile's tears*) but alſo other creatures whoſe fate it is to come near the river, whom it tears to pieces with its teeth and claws that are very ſtrong and ſharp; and its bite is ſo ſevere and venomous, that there is no cure for the wounds it gives with its teeth. It is a great lover of honey, and ſaffron is the only thing that can preſerve the bee-hives. The *Ichneumon* gets in at its mouth while it is aſleep, and knaws its entrails and kills it. It is a terrible creature to thoſe that run away from it, but a mere coward before thoſe who manfully purſue it.

Deſcription of a crocodile.

BAUMGARTEN

While we were ſailing up the river for ſome days, and ſometime having our boats drawn along with ropes, we happened to ſee on both ſides of the river, great companies of *Arabian* boys, with famine painted in their faces, begging ſome victuals of us. They run with ſuch ſwiftneſs and nimbleneſs, that they kept pace with our boats, and as they ran, ſtruck their buttocks with the ſoles of their feet. We were mightily pleas'd with the ſight, eſpecially to ſee them ſtrive to outrun one another for the biſket and fruits which we threw aſhore to them. As we paſs'd along, we ſaw a great many villages and country-houſes, about which were great numbers of cattel, camels, wild oxen, and ſeveral other kinds; and beſides all theſe the huſbandmen reaping the ſecond crop of that year; for in *Egypt* there are two harveſts, one in *April*, and another in *September*. We likewiſe ſaw the *Arabians*, with their clothes tied about their heads ſwimming through the river, one half of their body being above, the other under water; ſo that one would have thought rather that they were walking through the water than ſwimming. Near a certain village we ſaw the *Egyptians*, celebrating a feaſt and dancing; there was a great multitude of them, and they were all on foot, except one who ſat a horſeback in the midſt of them and overtopt all the reſt. And when we had aſked what the meaning of that was, we were told, that he whom we ſaw on horſeback had been circumciſed that day, and that all the reſt were celebrating the ſolemnity. The modern *Egyptians*, as well as the reſt of the *Mahometans*, are circumciſed, but not before the thirteenth year of their age, after the manner of their forefather *Iſhmael*, whom, as *Moſes* relates in the 17th chapter of *Geneſis*, his father *Abraham* circumciſed at the ſame age.

Swiftneſs of the Arabian boys.

The Egyptians reap twice.

Dexterity at ſwimming.

Arabians *circumciſed.*

* *Said of one who ſeems to grieve for another's loſs, when in the mean time he could find in his heart to cut his throat.*

CHAP. XVII.

The Insolence of the Mamalucks. *Entry into* Cairo. *Who* Tongobardin *was. His Wives. The Solemnity and Rejoicing upon his returning to* Cairo. *The Travellers Clothes changed.*

BAUMGARTEN

ON the 28th of *September* we came in sight of the lofty pyramids of *Memphis*, and by that knew that we were not far from *Cairo*. That day seven vessels belonging to the neighbouring country, laden with all kind of provisions for *Memphis*, joined us: So that evening we arriv'd at *Bulaco*, which is the next port to *Cairo* for those that are coming up the *Nile*.

Bulaco.

On the 29th we loaded our mules, and drove them before us to *Cairo*. By the way, one of our company happening to grow tir'd, and having got upon one of the mules, met with a company of *Mamalucks* on horseback, who threw him down to the ground; for these *Mamalucks*, you must know, have the impudence to pretend, that whoever meets them sitting on the back of a labouring beast, let his country and condition be what it will, he must get off and pay them homage: but this we were ignorant of before we were taught by this accident. Not long after we entered *Cairo*, and staid in a place that was assign'd us in *Tongobardin*'s house till he should come home.

Insolence of the Mamalucks.

This *Tongobardin* was a *Spaniard* born, and had been made a *Mamaluck:* He had been a deacon of the church while he staid in his own country; but after he had renounced Christianity and turn'd *Mahometan*, he was made patron and protector of all those Christians that should happen to live within the sultan's dominions, notwithstanding this apostacy from their faith; and in a short time became a great and powerful man. All Christians were receiv'd into his house; and it was customary for every merchant to pay him two pieces of gold, and every one who came from afar to visit religious places, five.

Tongobardin *an apostate.*

At last, on the 30th day, *Tongobardin*, in a rich garment that had been presented him by the state of *Venice*, and attended by a great number of *Mamalucks*, made his entry into his own house in great state. His wives, that were five and thirty in number, meeting all together in an upper part of the house, with a strange sort of singing and confused noise, welcom'd him home. He, together with those that came along with him, and those who came to compliment him upon his arrival, sat all down upon rich tapestry. In the middle of his palace there was a large court, round, in which there were a great many chambers that look'd into the court; in one of which we staid, and it being open, we could see all that was done in the court.

His entry into Cairo.

His wives.

Upon rich carpets that were spread there, were set two hundred and sixty large dishes, fill'd with great variety of the best and most costly meats; of which after every one had tasted a little, they presently rose up, and having begg'd leave to be gone, and rendred their humble thanks, they all went home very sober and grave, and the whole entertainment was in a minute devour'd by a ravenous crowd of poor people who were allow'd to take it. After this all the great men came thronging in to pay their compliments to *Tongobardin*; among the rest the *Calif*, that is, their pope, with a very white, and as it were horned crown on his head, and a long black beard, came with a numerous train, and in great pomp to welcome *Tongobardin*, who received him very honourably.

Entertainment of his friends.

Temperance of the Mahometans.

In the mean time we having, by the advice of a certain *Greek*, procured *Egyptian* habits, girdles, and ornaments of the head, went up and down through the city wherever we had a mind, having one of *Tongobardin*'s slaves for our guide, viewing the situation of the place, considering the manners and customs of the people, and observing what was remarkable.

CHAP. XVIII.

Description of Cairo *or* Memphis. *The Customs of it.*

MEmphis, now call'd *Cairo*, is the greatest city in *Egypt*, and the seat of their kings. It was built by *Ogdous*, otherwise call'd *Vohereus*, and is a hundred and fifty furlongs in compass. It stands in the most commodious place of all that country, where the *Nile* divides it self into several branches. On one side it is fortified with strong ramparts, as well to defend it against the inundation of the *Nile*, as to secure it against any attacks of an enemy: On the other it is rendered almost impregnable by a great and deep artificial lake, which is fill'd with the superfluous water of the river. In this city therefore, because of the commodiousness of the place,

Founder of Cairo.

the

the ſucceeding kings leaving *Thebes*, made this the ſeat of their empire, and adorn'd it with many magnificent buildings; It is ſtill a very large city. They do poſitively aver, whether true or falſe I know not, *Number of moſques.* that there are about four and twenty thouſand moſques in it; its high towers are both a defence and an ornament to it: and upon theſe their prieſts, night and day, *Odd ceremonies.* at certain hours, make a ſtrange, loud and barbarous noiſe. On the ſides of their churches, and at the corners of the ſtreets, there are certain large veſſels placed, that are fill'd with water for drinking from the *Nile*. But there are beſides theſe a great *Cuſtom of diſtributing water.* many *Moors* who carry buckets full of water through the ſtreets, and without diſtinction of perſons, freely give it in ſilver cups to all that have a mind to drink. *Legacies.* The former are uſually legacies left by the richer ſort when they are dying, and ſometimes given by people in perfect health: And not only this, but the richer ſort, out of a pious and religious deſign, cauſe burning torches and lamps every night to be hung upon the towers. They repair the ruinous moſques and towers; they offer up their praiſes to GOD Almighty, after their own way, three times a day. They fill theſe ciſterns, as I have ſaid before, with water; and twice a day they ſprinkle water on the ſtreet to cool the air and lay the duſt. And they ſay likewiſe (which does not ſeem altogether incredible) that above eight thouſand men get their living by carrying water, ſome having but one, ſome two, and ſome five camels at work: and there is a ſtory paſſes, which I will not aver to be true, that there are more people here who having no houſes of their own, lie all *Populouſneſs.* night in the open air, than there are inhabitants in *Venice*. There are reckon'd there (which is no contemptible number) fifteen thouſand *Jews*.

There are very few private kitchens in this city; for they not only have their meat dreſs'd, but alſo eat in publick houſes. They ſay there are ten thouſand cooks in *Cairo*, the greateſt part of whom carry veſſels on their heads along the ſtreets, and dreſs the victuals that they are to ſell as they go along. The ſtreets are very narrow, and for the moſt part cover'd above with branches of trees and reeds. The houſes for the moſt part are of brick, that are only harden'd by the heat of the ſun, and mixt with ſtraw to make them firm; a great many are both built and cover'd with nothing but canes and reeds, and are not at all to be compar'd with our houſes. But the great men's houſes are as fine and magnificent as any thing can be. Moreover the city of *Cairo* is ſo large, that one can hardly walk round it in nine or ten hours. In the upper part of it ſtands the *Sultan*'s caſtle, both large and ſtrong; to which you enter by twelve iron gates, all well ſecur'd with guns and guards: but there is one that looks very mean, which is, that there are none but wooden keys to open and ſhut them with.

BAUMGARTEN *Their way of dreſſing meat.* *Streets.* *Largeneſs of the city.*

The city itſelf is divided into two parts, *Diviſion.* one whereof is called *Cairo*, the other *Babylon*, which the *Babylonians* who came from *Meſopotamia*, having obtain'd the ground from the king, are ſaid to have built, and in memory of their country to have given it the name of *Babylon*, which was anciently the ſeat of their kings. In old times famous men from moſt parts of the world came to ſee this place, and to ſee and converſe with the wiſe men and prophets that were in it, as St. *Jerome* ſays in the prologue of the bible. Hither did *Plato* and *Pythagoras* come; and here came the great *Apollonius*, after he had travell'd all the eaſt, to ſee the philoſophers, and the famous table of the ſun, which is thought to have ſtood in the temple of the ſun, in *Cairo*.

Strabo, lib. XVII. *See* Aug. de civ. Dei, lib. XV.

CHAP. XIX.

The Pleaſures of Tongobardin *with his Wives. His Magnificence.*

ON the firſt day of *October*, *Tongobardin* ſent to us to come to him, that we might have a more narrow view of his houſe, and the ſplendor in which he liv'd. We had ſcarce enter'd his cloſet, when there came a certain great man whom they call'd *Armireio*, deſiring to ſpeak with him. Upon which (leſt *Armireio* ſhould ſuſpect him for converſing with Chriſtians) he ordered us to withdraw into a pleaſant garden, where we were to lurk till he ſhould go away. At night he call'd us, and carried me and my company, and two *Franciſcans*, into the apartment of his women; *Apartment of women.* where after he had ſet himſelf down with his thirty five wives about him, all emulouſly ſtriving to pleaſe and divert him, he ordered us to take our ſeats; the room being all cover'd with ſilken carpets, for thoſe of the higheſt, loweſt and middle ranks. Sometimes ſporting with one, ſometimes with another of his women, he began to argue, that there was no life in the world more glorious or happy than that which he enjoy'd; the religious men and I holding our peace all the while. The ointments and perfumes that were about the women ſmelt ſo ſweet, and the ſweatmeats

Baumgarten

and liquors that were preſented to us were ſo fine and ſo rare, that nothing could be imagin'd beyond them in their kind. He promiſed to entertain us next day with ſome wonderful ſhows, and in the mean time allowed us to withdraw, it being time to go to bed.

CHAP. XX.

The Habit of the Sultan, *of the* Mamalucks, *of the* Caliph. *The Field that was prepar'd for the Shows. A Specimen of the wonderful Dexterity of the young Men. Maſter of Arms. Funerals. Mock-fight from off an Elephant. Rewards. The Danger the Spectators were in. The Village* Matherea. *Hir'd Interpreter.*

Sultan's Mamalucks.

ON the ſecond of *October* we went before ſun-riſing, to avoid a crowd, to the *Sultan*'s palace, having a *Mamaluck*, who was one of *Tongobardin*'s ſlaves, for our guide; where we ſaw about ſixty thouſand *Mamalucks* ſtand in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and profound ſilence; all in the ſame faſhion of clothes, and of the ſame colour, which was white. We ſaw alſo the *Sultan* himſelf, in a ſort of a ſummer-room with lattice-windows, and a pointed diadem on his head, his robes of the pureſt white; but his beard long, black, and thick. Next to him, but a degree lower, ſat the *Caliph* of the ſame viſage and complexion, and diſtinguiſhed by his diadem. Next under him ſat the *Turkiſh* embaſſador, for whoſe ſake theſe ſports and games which I am going to give account of, were appointed. On the ſide of the caſtle there was a large and plain field, which had been before prepared for this purpoſe: about the middle of which, on one ſide, there were three artificial hillocks of ſand, about fifty paces diſtant from one another; and on the top of each of them there was fixt a ſpear bearing the mark that the archers were to ſhoot at; and the like was on the other ſide, ſo that in the middle betwixt them there was as much room left as might ſerve for ſix horſes to run abreaſt.

His habit.

Apparel of the young men.

In this plain a great number of young men clad in ſilk, that was richly embroider'd, with their uſual light arms, mounted their ſprightly horſes, and began their games in this manner.

Firſt, They ran at a full career betwixt the firſt two of theſe hillocks, and dexterouſly ſhot their arrows at the marks that were fixt to the tops of the ſpears, both on the right and left hand.

Next they rode in the ſame manner out between the other two, and fill'd the marks with their arrows.

Juſt ſo with the ſame ſpeed they ran through the reſt, and ſhot their arrows ſo artfully, that not one of them miſs'd his aim.

After theſe young men had perform'd their parts, and had left none of the marks untouch'd, every one took his little ſpear that hung behind his back, (as if they minded to act, not at a diſtance, but hand to hand,) and retir'd a little out of the way, till the reſt of the youth had perform'd as they had done. After which all of 'em in the ſame order as they began, march'd thro' the ſame way as they had rode, but now a ſlow pace, with their ſtandards before them, as in triumph, till they came to the place from which they had ſet out; and after they had prepar'd themſelves for another kind of exerciſe, came out again in a little time.

Their exerciſes.

Some of them while their horſes were running with looſe reins, rode up and down ſhooting their arrows at the marks before and behind, ſome one, others two and ſome three.

Their ſpeed.

Others, while their horſes were at their full ſpeed, would leap off three times, and (the horſe ſtill running) mount again, and in the mean time be ſhooting their arrows, and never any of them miſs his aim.

2. Others not ſitting in their ſaddles, but ſtanding up, while the horſe ſeem'd to fly, would hit the mark exactly.

3. Others, while their horſes were at their full ſpeed, would thrice unbend their bows and toſs them about their head like a whip, and again bend them, and ſhoot without ever miſſing the mark.

4. Others, while their horſes were at their full ſpeed, would leap off ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes another, but aim as ſure as any of the reſt.

5. Others again would throw themſelves three times backwards off their horſes, and would vault into the ſaddle again, let the horſe run as faſt as he would, and in the mean time let fly their arrows, and hit the mark as oft as they ſhot.

6. Others would ſpring out of their ſaddles that were faſt tied to the horſes, and would untie them, and then ſhoot; thrice they would tie on their ſaddles, and as oft pierce the mark, the horſe all the while running at his full ſpeed.

7. Others, ſitting after their uſual manner, would jump behind their ſaddles, and let their head hang down, then raiſe themſelves up, and get into their ſaddles.

Thrice

Thrice they would do this, and as oft let fly their arrows without ever miſſing the mark.

8. Others, ſitting in their ſaddles, in an uſual poſture, would lay their heads backwards on their horſes buttocks, and taking his tail, hold it in their teeth, then raiſe themſelves up, and ſhoot as ſure as ever they did.

9. Others again, after every flight of an arrow, would unſheath their ſword, and brandiſhing it about their heads, would put it up again, and for all this ſhoot as ſure as could be.

10. Others would ſit between drawn ſharp-pointed ſwords, three on either ſide, and in very thin clothes, ſo that if they had but budg'd, tho' never ſo little, to one ſide or t'other, they muſt have been wounded; yet ſo dextrouſly did they move backwards and forwards, that (as if there had been no danger on either ſide) they were always ſure to pierce the mark.

11. Among all the young men who perform'd theſe exerciſes, there was only one found, who with his feet looſe, could ſtand upon the backs of two of the ſwifteſt horſes at their full ſpeed, and let fly three arrows forwards and backwards.

12. There was another, who could ſit on a horſe without a ſaddle or bridle; and at every mark ſpring up on his legs, and hit the marks, both on his right and left hand, and then ſit down again, repeating the ſame at the ſecond and third marks, and thereby diſcovering an incredible agility and ſkilfulneſs at ſhooting.

13. There was another alſo who was the only one among them that could, while he was ſitting on a bare backed horſe, ſo ſoon as ever he came to the marks, lay his back cloſe to the horſe's, then ſtretching his feet up in the air, could ſtart upon his feet in a moment, and fix his arrow in the mark.

Maſter of the youths

At laſt, when theſe marks were quite loaded with arrows, the maſter of theſe youths, who was an aged and gray-hair'd man, taking the marks in his hand, firſt held them up as high as he could, then threw them down to the ground. Upon which his ſcholars ſhower'd down their lances and arrows upon them, as if they had been putting an end to the lives of their wounded enemies, and then went prancing up and down by way of triumph. Among theſe young men there were three, who tempting the Almighty by their fooliſh forwardneſs, fell down from off their horſes; one of whom expiring as ſoon as he fell, leſt a formal funeral might diſorder the reſt, he was immediately carry'd off and bury'd. The other two being almoſt dead, were likewiſe carried off for fear of marring the ſhew. The reſt of theſe horſe-men, that they might put an end to theſe games, taking their lances in their hands, and putting ſpurs to their horſes, rode up to the marks that were ſtill remaining, and piercing them with their lances, carry'd them aloft on their points like trophies. It was worth any one's while to ſee theſe tall young men, neatly cloth'd and decently arm'd, with a wonderful addreſs perform thoſe exerciſes on the back of a horſe at his full ſpeed, which others could hardly do ſtanding on firm ground; and which were equally ſtrange to ſee, and hard to be believed.

After theſe exerciſes were ended, there was brought out a machine repreſenting an elephant, with a wooden tower on his back full of men, who were perpetually firing their pieces, and throwing fiery darts about till they had join'd the young men, who for the moſt part had quitted their horſes, and had arm'd themſelves like foot-ſoldiers. There was alſo in a certain place of the field a wooden caſtle erected, finely adorn'd without with ſtandards and enſigns, and defended by a good number of ſoldiers within. This the young men, with thoſe that were on the elephant's backs, attempted ſeveral times to ſtorm, but were as often beat back and put to flight. At laſt the garriſon following the chaſe too far from the caſtle, the enemy turned upon them, and purſued them to the very gates of it.

An artificial elephant.

Having done this ſeveral times, and the gariſon at laſt venturing ſtill farther from the caſtle, were entirely routed, and every man of them made priſoner. Thoſe who were on the elephant's back, having furiouſly attack'd all that were about them, leapt down from their caſtle, made themſelves maſters of the fort that was now empty, and put a ſmall gariſon into it, and then join'd the young men, whilſt thoſe who were in the fort acted like enemies againſt all that were about it. They who were in the caſtle, without diſtinction of thoſe that ſtood near them, threw darts, pitch and fire all about them, ſo that no body was ſafe, eſpecially we, whom the *Moors* made uſe of as ſo many ſhields to defend themſelves, expoſing us, tho' not to any great danger, yet to the fear of it. This ſhew being over, the young men marching towards the *Sultan* with their bows unbended, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner bowed their heads thrice towards the ground, and then went and mounted their horſes, who all the while had ſtood tamely and peaceably at a little diſtance, as if they had done ſo out of profound reverence to the *Sultan*.

Repreſentation of a battle.

Concluſion of the ſhow.

Baumgarten

After all theſe exerciſes and ſhews were ended, and the *Sultan* had highly commended, and magnificently rewarded the performers, they all return'd to the place from whence they had firſt come armed. So every one returning home, and we endeavouring to do the ſame, were apprehended by him who commanded the gate of the *Sultan*'s caſtle; and if the *Mamaluck* who was our guide had not earneſtly interceded for us, would have been forc'd to pay him a conſiderable ſum of money. Having thus eſcaped his clutches, and with great difficulty ſtruggled through the crowd to our lodging, we began to compare notes of what we had ſeen, and to write down what we thought moſt obſervable, tho' through forgetfulneſs and careleſsneſs we have omitted ſeveral particulars that would have been diverting to the reader. Theſe exerciſes are imitations of the bloody *Roman* games, which ſee in the *Saturnalia* of the moſt ingenious *Lipſius*, *lib.* II. *cap.* 23.

Rewards of the actors.

On the third day having hired mules, and two *Mamalucks* for our guard, we went to *Matherea*, a village not far from the *Nile*, and about a mile from *Cairo*, where was once a famous balm-tree garden, whereof now there is not ſo much as any foot-ſtep. The balm failing, a neighbour-fountain was dry'd, which, as they told us, uſed to moiſten the trees and make them very fruitful. About ſun-ſet we return'd to *Cairo*.

Matherea.

On the 4th day, making our ſelves ready for a journey to mount *Sinai*, we hir'd a certain *Greek* to be our interpreter, who underſtood both the *Italian* and *Saracen* language; and having given him ſixteen pieces of gold call'd *ſeraps*, he provided ſuch things as were neceſſary for our journey, and hir'd us camels, and deſired we would make our ſelves ready without delay; which we did, and ſtraight pack'd up our baggage.

CHAP. XXI.

Their departing from Cairo, *with the Indignities offered them.* Alcanica. Caravan. *Watches by the way. Thieves. Deſert of* Arabia. *Rains in* Egypt. *Artificial Ditch between the Red-Sea and the* Nile. *The Salt-Fountain of* Moſes. *The Red-Sea famous for the Paſſage of the* Iſraelites. *Marks of* Pharaoh's *Puniſhment there.* Saracens *eat dead Carcaſes. Springs in* Elim. *Men choak'd there with heat.*

ON the 15th of *October*, betimes in the morning, we laded our camels with panniers, equally poiſed on both ſides, our ſelves ſitting above them. So departing from *Cairo*, in company with the two *Franciſcans*, we were moſt barbarouſly treated by the *Saracen* boys, who pelted us with dirt, brickbats, duſt, and rotten fruit, while we in the mean time had occaſion to exerciſe our patience. After we had been miſerably toſs'd and ſhaken by the uneaſy trotting of our camels, to which we had not been accuſtom'd, we arrived at *Alcanica*, where we lodged in the houſe of the *Greek* monks, who uſed to gather and ſend proviſions from thence to the monaſtery of *mount Sinai*.

Rudeneſs of boys.

Arabian brawler.

On the 6th day a certain *Arabian* underſtanding that we were there, came, attended with an inſolent mob of his own gang, and would have created us a great deal of trouble, if we had not prevented it by a few pieces of ſilver, which was the only effectual way we could take with him.

Alcanica.

Alcanica is a large and populous city but (as the other cities in *Egypt* are) without any manner of fortification. It is diſtant two miles from *Cairo*, and ſtands in a ſandy deſart not far from the *Nile*.

On the 7th day we mounted our camels, and ſet out from *Alcanica*, and before we had travel'd a mile came up with the *Caravan*. They ſtaid waiting till a ſufficient number of travellers ſhould come up, that they might the more ſecurely travel through that country, which is peſtered with *Arabian* robbers. Having there unloaded our camels, and made a ſort of intrenchment with our panniers, which we uſed for ſeats when we rode, we ſat down within them with our baggage, hardly daring ſo much as to eat or drink. In the night-time, while the *Saracens* who travelled with us were aſleep, we ventured to eat a little; and afterwards, as if we had been cloſely beſieged, ſlept and watched by turns; while in the mean time we were almoſt killed with the noiſe and ſuffocating ſmell of the camels. In the night-time we heard a terrible cry in the farther end of the *Caravan*; for ſome *Arabians* having been diſcovered ſtealing, and ſcar'd with the cry, had run away with ſome carpets, a lance, and a ſack of bread.

Watch.

Thieves.

On the 8th day we entered the deſerts of *Arabia*, through which the *Iſraelites* had paſſed in their way from *Egypt* to the promiſed land; and being join'd by a great many other travellers, the number of men and camels did ſo increaſe, that we look-

Deſert of Arabia. Exod. xv. &c.

ed

ed like an army conſiſting of ſeveral thouſands.

On the 9th we marched through a dreadful ſandy deſert, where nothing that was green appear'd, not ſo much as briars or thorns, or the leaſt ſhrub, till towards night that we came into a plain low ground; where our *muorels*, that is, our mule-drivers, found ſome ſmall ſhrubs here and there, which they pluck'd up and gave to their camels. That evening it rain'd very hard, which, according to many of the ancients, particularly of *Plato*, never happen'd in *Egypt*.

Rain in Egypt.

On the 10th day we came to the bay of the Red-ſea, where there had been a deep and a wide ditch begun to be drawn from thence to the *Nile*, for a communication between the eaſt and weſt, and facilitating of commerce. *Necho*, king of *Egypt*, was the firſt that begun it; *Darius*, king of *Perſia*, attempted to perfect it, but left it off, being told by underſtanding men, that if the interjacent ground was cut, all *Egypt* muſt inevitably be put under water, ſince it lay lower than the Red-ſea. Not far from thence there was a well, dug, as the ſtory goes, by *Moſes*; the water of which was ſo ſalt that men could not drink it, tho' cattle did. Here therefore, becauſe the camels had no drink for three days, we pitch'd our camp, and ſtaid till about midnight. This is that *bay*, never to be forgotten, which the children of *Iſrael*, under the conduct of *Moſes*, paſſed over without wetting the ſoles of their feet. Here it was that *Pharoah*, with his numerous army of foot, horſe, and chariots, was overwhelm'd by the violence of the waves; and the track of his chariot-wheels, with the print of his horſes feet, are to be ſeen on the ſhore to this day; and tho' one ſhould deface them this minute, they ſhall plainly appear the next, as *Oroſius*, *lib.* I. ſays, *viz.* There are evident monuments of theſe things remaining; for the tracks of the chariot-wheels are not only to be ſeen on the ſhore, but as far into the ſea alſo as one's ſight can reach; and if they ſhould at any time be defaced, either by chance, or thro' curioſity, the Divine power immediately orders the winds and floods to reſtore them to their former condition.

Darius's unfiniſh'd ditch.

Moſes's ſalt well.

The bay *where the* Iſraelites *were ſav'd*

Monuments of divine vengeance.

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One of our camels happening to die that day, the hungry *Saracens* fell upon the carcaſe; and lying along upon the ſand, cramm'd their bellies with the fleſh, and the water of the aforeſaid ſalt fountain. In the mean time, we bought two hens from a certain *Arabian*, and having made a little fire of camels dung, dreſs'd them and eat them. Next night we were not a little frighted with a ſudden cry that was raiſed againſt the thieving *Arabians*; but they made their eſcape with what they could conveniently carry away, while our company was in a hurry and confuſion.

Saracens *eat carrion.*

On the 11th day fetching a compaſs round the *bay*, but cloſe by the ſhore, we met another caravan coming from *Althor*, with hawks. There looking from a certain riſing ground, we could neither ſee the front nor the rear of our caravan, ſo great was the multitude of men, camels and mules. That evening we came to *Elim*, where, as 'tis recorded *Exod. ch.* xv. were anciently twelve wells, and ſeventy palm-trees. The wells are there ſtill, but no palm-trees, only ſome low ſhrubs here and there. Here it was that the *Iſraelites* encamping eat of the fruit of theſe trees, and quenched their thirſt with the water of the wells. Near to theſe wells, as we were told, in the month of *July* laſt, fifteen men loſt their lives by thirſt and heat. Having pitch'd our camp a little way from hence, another of our camels happen'd to die to the great joy of the devouring *Saracens*, but grief of its maſter. We ſaw a great many carcaſes of camels, ſome whoſe fleſh was quite conſum'd, others not.

Hawks.

Elim.

Fifteen died with heat.

CHAP. XXII.

The Fountain Gundele, *with its hot waters. Coral ſearch'd for in the Red-Sea. Trees with Prickles. Twice in danger by the* Arabians *exacting upon them. A Squabble with the Mule-drivers.*

ON the 12th we travelled up the mountains that overlook the Red-ſea; and there we found that all the water which we had brought from *Alcanica* for drinking, was quite ſpent, and therefore we were forced to take up ſuch water as we could find there with our hands, and put it into our veſſels to carry with us. It was not only muddy, but alſo ſalt and ſomewhat bitter. Within ſight of this place they ſhew'd us a well, call'd *Gundele*, inceſſantly boiling up hot water. At that time one of the *Franciſcans*, not ſitting right on his camel, but ſhifting from one ſide to the other ſeem'd to tire his beaſt, which ſo enraged his maſter that he ſtruck the *Franciſcan* on the face, and wounded him.

Well of Gundele.

Having travelled all the 15th day over high and white mountains, we came in the

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evening to the Red-ſea again; where by reaſon the road was ſo narrow that we were forced ſometimes to ride in the ſea, we lighted off our horſes, and fell a gathering of curious ſhells, little ſtones, and white coral.

White coral.

The Red-ſea and Mare Erythræum.

This ſea is alſo call'd *Mare Erythræum*, from a certain king call'd *Erythra*, whoſe tomb is to be ſeen in an iſland of that ſea, with an inſcription in the character of that country. Next night we ſeparated from the caravan; they travelling along the coaſt towards *Althor*, whilſt we ſtruck off to the left, and went up the mountains. In the mean time our mule-driver's camel died, and he with his companions tore off the fleſh and eat it; and ſtuffed the ſkin with chaff and ſtraw, to preſerve it for another uſe.

On the 14th day, when we were travelling over high mountains of a red and almoſt ſhining colour, our water fail'd us, and our victuals was twice-baked bread, dry cheeſe, and now and then ſome neats tongues, well ſalted and dry'd. There an *Arabian* who was in company with us, for a certain reward, went about a mile off and brought us a bottle of water; which altho' it was full of little reddiſh worms, we ſtrained thro' a cloth, and in that neceſſity drank it with a great deal of pleaſure. The poor *Arabian* no ſooner receiv'd his reward, which was one of thoſe pieces of ſilver which they call *maydins*, than he bor'd a hole in his wive's ear, and hung it to it, upon which ſhe immediately fell a ſkipping and dancing in a ſtrange manner, and coming to us, touch'd his knee who had given the money, and kiſs'd his hand. We ſaw in this country a great many trees bearing long and ſharp pointed prickles, of which kind, it is ſaid, our LORD's crown was made. Theſe trees were bloſſoming at that time, and ſent forth a moſt delicious ſmell, which refreſh'd us extremely, and we brought a great many of the prickles away with us. In the evening we came into a narrow paſſage between the hills, and for fear the *Arabian* robbers might way-lay us, we ſtaid there all night; but our mule-drivers, who knew the country very well, having gone to water their camels, did not return before it was very late.

Thorn trees.

Godfrey *of* Bullogne's *crown.*

On the 15th day we came to ſome horrible precipices and ſteep mountains. There was running by us a bitch with whelps that belonged to one of the *Arabians*, who happening to bring forth her litter there, and ſeeing us leave her, was horribly afraid to be left there alone with her whelps. For a long time ſhe ſeem'd to be deliberating, at laſt fell a howling moſt mournfully, and choſe rather to ſave her ſelf by following us than ſtay behind and periſh with her puppies. That day about noon, we came to a certain date-tree garden where we were moſt barbarouſly us'd by the people who liv'd there. For underſtanding that we were *Chriſtians*, they came flocking out of their holes with a deſign to rob us; and raiſing a hideous cry, threaten'd us with their dreadful bows and ſpears; ſome of them knocking us down off our camels, others taking us up, and protecting us from the fury of the reſt. Our interpreter neglected us for ſome time, but did his part at laſt. However we were five times knocked down, and had part of our proviſions that were not well enough hid taken from us, and with a great deal of difficulty, after much noiſe and ſevere drubbing, we were let go, upon payment of eight pieces of ſilver a man. This garden runs along for the ſpace of almoſt a mile in a narrow track between the mountains, where it is impoſſible for one to turn either to the right or left hand, but muſt with a great deal of trouble travel thro' narrow paſſages between rows of trees.

Danger by the Arabians.

Having got clear of this wood, we unhappily fell into the hands of other *Arabians*, who calling themſelves the keepers and guardians of the monaſtery of St. *Catharine*, and offering us violence if we did not obey, exacted ten *maydins* of us before they would let us go, twenty five whereof make a ducat.

Another danger.

On the 16th day getting up about midnight to advance in our journey, our mule-drivers began to rebel againſt us, requiring two *ſeraphs* of us above what was our bargain; and when we continu'd to contradict and diſpute the matter with them, they drove their camels before them, and went away, leaving us with our baggage in that vaſt and dreadful deſert all alone. But conſidering the danger we were in, we ſent one after them, who with all his intreaties and large promiſes had enough to do to bring them back again.

Quarrel with the mule-drivers.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Monaſtery of St. Catharine. *The* Arabian *Robbers there. The uneaſy Aſcent to Mount* Horeb. *The Steps up to it. Another danger from the* Arabians. *The Chapels on the Mountain. The* Saracens *Moſque hard by. Abominable Superſtition.*

ON the 17th day about ſun-riſing we came to the monaſtery of St. *Catherine*; and being admitted into it, we delivered the letters we had brought from the patriarch of the *Greeks* in *Cairo* to the abbot of it; and having a room aſſign'd us, and eat ſomething, when we would have gone to reſt, we were ſurrounded by a crowd of *Arabians* who put all ſorts of ſleep out of our minds. They broke into our room, ſeiz'd our things as if they had been their own, and in a barbarous manner repeated a certain ſort of word *tlus*, which with them ſignifies money; with which having ſtopt their helliſh mouths, and greaſed their ugly fiſts, we ſhut our doors again, and compoſed our ſelves to our much deſir'd reſt. About the ſecond hour of the night we went up to mount *Horeb*. There were in company with us two *Greek* monks, whom they call *Calageri*, and three *Arabians* who liv'd in the monaſtery of St. *Catharine*; whom our interpreter had deputed to be our guides, himſelf being ſo fat that he could not climb to ſuch a height. We aſcended the mountain by the light of the moon, and carried victuals and other neceſſaries along with us; we often reſted our ſelves by the way to recover our loſt breath, and encouraged and rous'd up one another to undergo the labour. The aſcent of this hill is both ſteep and high, and, as the monks that were our guides told us, it has ſeven thouſand ſteps of ſquare ſtone, beſides the greater part where the aſcent is natural. Having come half way up the mountain we found a chapel dedicated to *Mary*, and within it a pure ſpring that was very uſeful for ſtrangers. At that chapel, our three *Arabians* who had been ſent to be our guard and guides, began to grow croſs, and with their drawn ſwords in their hands would neither ſuffer us to go backwards nor forwards, till we ſhould promiſe them ſome money; which we found our ſelves obliged to do rather than fall out with them.

Arabian Robbers.

Steps of mount Horeb.

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From thence we went to *Helias*'s chapel, where they ſay he ſtaid when he fled from *Jezebel*, 3 *Kings* xix. At laſt after much ſweating and a great deal of toil and labour we reach'd the top of mount *Horeb*, where in moſt humble poſture we offer'd up our hearty thanks to almighty GOD who had preſerv'd us hitherto, and granted our requeſts.

Helias's chapel.

From thence we went to the church dedicated to our bleſſed Saviour which is built in that place, where, as 'tis ſaid, *Moſes* ſpake with the LORD and received the tables of the law, *Exod.* xxxiv. Hard by that church there is a rock, the higheſt in all the mountain, and twenty paces round, in which place the LORD is ſaid to have talk'd with *Moſes*, while it ſmoak'd and look'd terrible with clouds, thunder and lightning; and indeed to this day both this and ſome other neighbouring mountains ſhine with a ſort of brightneſs reſembling that of poliſh'd copper. About fifteen paces from hence there is a *Saracen* moſque, built over that place where *Moſes* is ſaid to have faſted forty days and forty nights, by a ſpecial Divine aſſiſtance, before he received the law, *Exod.* xxiv. This chapel the *Saracens* make uſe of to beget, as they fancy, prophets in; for the children that are begot there are eſteem'd holy, and fill'd with the ſpirit of prophecy. In the church dedicated to our Saviour we lay down on the bare ground all night, and trembled ſo for cold, that we ſlept little or none all that night; and beſides, our three *Arabians*, who had gone into their moſque to pay their devotion after their own way, did deſignedly make ſuch a noiſe all night, that we were quite diſturb'd by them.

A Moſque *on mount* Horeb.

Saracens *ſuperſtition.*

CHAP. XXIV.

They have greater difficulty in aſcending Mount Sinai. *On the top of it they view all round about. Monaſtery of the forty Saints.* Moſes's *Stone. The place where* Dathan *and* Abiram *were ſwallowed up. The Water of Curſing.*

ON the 18th day about ſun-riſing we came down the weſt ſide of mount *Horeb*, by a very ſteep and dangerous way; and came into a valley betwixt mount *Horeb* and *Sinai*, in which there was a monaſtery dedicated to forty Saints, where refreſhing our ſelves a little, we left our baggage under the care of a certain monk. We no ſooner began to aſcend mount *Sinai*, than our worthy guides began to threaten

Valley between mount Horeb *and* Sinai.

Baumgarten

us and offer violence if we did not give them more money; which becauſe we had not money about us, and being very deſirous to finiſh our intended journey, we promiſed them a ſeraph, which was all they deſir'd.

For our greater ſecurity we took with us another companion of our journey, a monk of the monaſtery of St. *Catharine*, whom they ſwore they would kill if we did not make good our promiſe. Upon theſe terms both we and they took heart and began our journey, with much more toil and danger than in mount *Horeb*. For by this time the ſun had reach'd the middle of the heavens, and the tops of the mountains with which we were ſurrounded intercepted the cool and refreſhing breezes; and beſide, ſuch was our ſtupidity that we had quite forgot to bring bread with us, and our perfidious guides had made us believe that we ſhould find water enough on the mount.

Difficulty of aſcending mount Sinai.

The aſcent was both ſlippery and ſteep, inſomuch that for the moſt part we were forced to make uſe of all four; which way of creeping was ſo uneaſy, that I cannot expreſs how weariſome and dangerous it was, and how ſtrong ones knees muſt needs be that could endure it. For while one that's going up treads upon theſe ſtones that lie looſe, they preſently yield; and in a ſteep aſcent, if one does not take care to ſet his feet warily, if one of the ſtones be mov'd out of its place, the reſt follow, and tumble down upon the followers. And beſides while we were below, the roughneſs of them was very uneaſy to us, becauſe they were often tumbling down, and we were forced to handle them often when we were beginning to ſcramble up: but having got up higher, we were a little refreſhed by a cooler breeze, and the ſight of the goats that were running along the rocks diverted in ſome meaſure the thoughts of the toil. Afterwards refreſhing our ſelves with a little ſugar, and reſuming new vigour, we encountered the difficulty again, and ſometimes climbing, ſometimes creeping, we had almoſt quite loſt our breath, and were mightily diſtreſs'd.

It hath many tops.

And beſides, the monks and *Arabians* were ſo tir'd that they could hardly know the mountain; for there were a great many high tops of mountains ſo like one another, that for a long time it was very hard to tell which was which, if there had not been ſome heaps of ſtones lying here and there, which had been gather'd by others to direct ſucceeding travellers in their way; by which means our guides at laſt coming to know the top of *Sinai*, got before, and call'd to us with a great deal of joy; which ſo inſpir'd us with courage and vigour, that we follow'd them quickly. But at laſt the aſcent grew ſo difficult, that all our former toil and labour ſeem'd but ſport to this. However, we did not give over, but imploring the Divine aſſiſtance, we uſed our utmoſt endeavour. At laſt, thro' untrodden ways, thro' ſharp and hanging rocks, thro' clefts and horrible deſarts, pulling and drawing one another, ſometimes with our ſtaves, ſometimes with our belts, and ſometimes with our hands, by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, we all arriv'd at the top of the mountain. But our *Arabians*, who were not ſpur'd on by devotion, and had no inclination to the thing, thinking it impoſſible to get up, ſtay'd below the rock, admiring our fervour, eagerneſs and ſtrength. The top of mount *Sinai* is ſcarce thirty paces in compaſs; there we took a large proſpect of the countries round about us, and began to conſider how much we had travel'd by ſea and land, and how much more we had to travel, what hazards and dangers, and what various changes of fortune might probably befal us, while we were thus divided between fear and hope, and poſſeſſed with a longing for our native country, it is hard to imagine how much we were troubled.

Top of Sinai.

Mount *Sinai* raiſes its lofty head ſo far above thoſe of other mountains, and affords ſuch a vaſt proſpect on all hands, that altho' the Red-ſea be three days journey diſtant from it, it ſeem'd to us but about a gun-ſhot. From thence we ſaw ſeveral deſolate iſlands in that ſea, and beyond it the deſert and mountains of *Thebais*, where the *Hermites*, *Paulus*, *Antonius* and *Macarius*, are ſaid to have liv'd. From thence alſo we deſcry'd *Althor*, that famous port on the Red-ſea, into which all the ſhips laden with ſpices from *India* come; and from whence they are carried on camels thro' the deſart into *Alexandria*, and from thence by ſea and land diſtributed almoſt thro' all the world.

Deſert of Thebais.

Althor.

But becauſe thirſt and the importunity of our guides would not allow us to ſtay longer, we offer'd up our humble devotion to the moſt high God, and went down; and the deſcent being eaſier than the aſcent, in a ſhort time, ſometimes tumbling, ſometimes walking, we came to the middle of the mountain; where finding a little ſpring, but clear and wholeſome, we drank heartily, to make amends for the long thirſt we had endur'd.

And ſo having reſum'd a little ſtrength, we arriv'd not long after at the monaſtery of the forty Saints, where we were refreſhed with a cup of wine, and a little bread and cheeſe. This monaſtery had for ſome time been full of monks, but ſome foreign Pa-

Monaſtery of forty Saints.

gans

gans ruſhing in, kill'd them every man; and there being forty of them, their number gave name to the place. Now it lies almoſt deſolate, only there are always two of the monks of St. *Catharine* ſent there to perform divine ſervice after the manner of the *Greeks*.

A garden near the monaſtery. Near to this little monaſtery there is a moſt delightful garden of olive, fig, pomegranate, almond, and ſeveral other ſorts of trees. Leaving this place, and taking a compaſs about *Horeb*, we came to a certain ſtone at the foot of the mountain, which *Moſes*, as 'tis recorded *Num.* xx. having ſtruck with his rod, brought forth as much water as ſerved all the men and beaſts that were in the *Iſraelites* army.

Marks in the rock. And altho' *Moſes* is ſaid to have ſtruck the rock only twice with his rod, yet there are twelve marks, or prints of it, according to the number of the tribes of the children of *Iſrael*. Which miracle was the more wonderful, becauſe this ſtone, tho' ſeparated from the reſt of the rock, and is almoſt of a ſquare figure, yet it is fixt in the ground by only one pointed corner, and conſequently not in ſo fit a poſture to extract any moiſture from the earth; and therefore its ſending forth ſuch abundance of water muſt have been the work of an Almighty hand, and to this day there comes a ſort of liquor out at one of theſe marks; which we both ſaw and taſted. BAUMGARTEN *Liquor comes out of it.*

Not far from hence there is a place where (as we read *Numb.* xvi.) the earth opened its mouth and ſwallowed up *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families and all that they had. *Where* Dathan *and* Abiram *were ſwallowed up.*

A ſhort way from hence is that well of which *Moſes* made the people drink the waters of malediction, by which many of them died and were buried there, after their adoring the molten calf. Hard by this place is the burial place of the *Greek* brethren, where about nine thouſand of them are ſaid to be buried. *Well of the waters of malediction.*

Having fetch'd a compaſs almoſt about mount *Horeb*, near ſun-ſet we entered the monaſtery of St. *Catharine*; and tho' we were almoſt quite ſpent with wearineſs and hunger, yet wearineſs afflicted us moſt; for next day we were not able to ſtand on our feet, and minded reſt and ſleep more than eating and drinking.

CHAP. XXV.

St. Catharine's *Chapel and Tomb. The Superſtition of the* Greeks *there. The Founder of it. The Indignities the* Arabians *put upon it. The way of living of the Monks.*

Monaſtery of St. Catharine. ON the 19th day we went into the church of the monaſtery of St. *Catharine*, which was once a very fine edifice, but now ſupported only by twelve pillars arched above; on the top of which, as they ſay, are preſerved the reliques of a great number of ſaints, whoſe memory the *Greeks* do ſolemnize once every month of the year. We went to hear prayers with the monks in this church; and after their ſervice was over, they went to the tomb of St. *Catharine*, ſinging after their *Grecian* way, where one with a book in his hand began firſt, and the reſt all join'd in a chorus. After which each of them, in their ugly old habits and hoods, carrying wax-candles in their hands, and burning frankincenſe, open the virgin's coffin, pay their humble reverence to the body, and then withdraw in very grave manner. They allowed us the honour to touch theſe, and complimented us with a bit of the ſilk in which the body was wrapt.

Superſtitious ſervice of the monks.

Builder of the monaſtery. This monaſtery is ſaid to have been built by the emperor *Juſtinian*; it ſtands in a valley at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and is incloſed with a high wall. Within the rooms are low and very mean, and the *Saracens* have the inſolence to profane, pull down, and do with it as they think fit. A certain venerable gray-hair'd monk told us that every day there came above fifty *Arabians* there to get victuals, and would not be refuſed, and that the friars were no better than their ſlaves. There is one moſque within this monaſtery, where every night a great many meet together, and make ſuch a noiſe and clatter that the poor monks cannot lay their eyelids together for them; and the only thing wherein they ſhew their humanity is, that they don't enter the friars church; in all other things they do what they will, looking on themſelves as the maſters and guardians of the place, whereas indeed they are deſtroyers of it. *Inſolence of the* Saracens.

Rules of the monks. The monks who are all *Greeks*, and live after the rules, as they ſay, of St. *Baſil*, are very poor, faſt often, never taſte fleſh, wear an ugly and careleſs ſort of habit, and look more like *ſkeletons* than living men. They don't acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy, or indeed any other, but live after their own way, and have their own peculiar cuſtoms.

CHAP. XXVI.

Their departure from the Monaſtery of St. Catharine. *They view ſeveral Monuments of Antiquity. Three times plagued with the* Arabians. *Something concerning their Life and Manners. What kind of a Creature a Camel is. Two ſorts of them.*

BAUMGARTEN

HAVING ſeen all the things and places remarkable in or about the monaſtery, we made all poſſible haſte to pack up our baggage, as quietly as we could, and remove them out of the monaſtery, ſending off our interpreter and camel-driver with them, while we in the mean time, making all the haſte we could, went into a garden that was hard by the monaſtery, and paſſed through it, having the favour of the moon's light that ſhin'd all night. There we ſaw the burial-place of three thouſand *Iſraelites*, whom the ſons of *Levi* ſlew, at the command of *Moſes*, for having worſhip'd the image of the calf; alſo the image of that calf in ſtone, in memory of the golden one that was burnt, the ditch in which that idol was made, the adjoining water into which *Moſes* threw the aſhes of it; and the round ſtone upon which he is ſaid to have broke the tables of the law. Having ſeen all theſe, we went directly to our camels that were loaded, and had got before us. There an *Arabian* thief, having ſtole a coat from one of our company, was prevail'd with by our camel-driver to reſtore it; but not before the owner had paid him down ſix ſmall pieces of ſilver. And we were oblig'd to ſtop the mouths of the reſt of that gang in the ſame manner; for they had gather'd together to take their leave of us juſt as a flock of vultures uſed to do about a carcaſe. After which, thanking our ſtars that we had ſo eſcaped, every one mounted his camel, and went away by a road more rugged than that we had travelled before, but ſhorter.

Burial-place of three thouſand idolaters, Exod. xxxii. &c.

Calf in ſtone.

Ditch where it was made.

On the twentieth day, getting up with the ſun, we went on in our journey; and not long after entring that date-tree wood that we ſpoke of before, met with the ſame treatment from the *Arabians* as we had formerly; and having ſatisfied them with a little money, there came other two who rob'd us of a couple of pullets, and ſcour'd up the hill when they had done. We ſent off our interpreter and camel-driver after them, but they took care to let them eſcape, being as great rogues as themſelves, and we could hardly truſt any body. Thus were we reduc'd to extreme want, having nothing but bread that was as hard as a ſtone; and had nothing but ſome good water, which we had brought from S. *Catharine*'s to refreſh ourſelves with. Before we had gone much farther, we were ſet upon by a parcel of robbers, in the duſk of the evening, which raiſed a hideous cry, they having ſurrounded our interpreter, whom they firſt met with, repeated their ſhouts, and in their own barbarous brawling way, requir'd money of us; but being diſappointed of that, were forced to take a ſhare of our biſcuit, and after a deal of clamour and noiſe, went away like a company of dogs, when their barking is ſtopt by throwing them a piece of bread. It is a wonder that ſuch a barbarous pack, who have neither laws nor government, and who are ſo poor and beggarly, ſhould not wound and murder thoſe they meet with, when they may do it ſafely. For they are free from all ſubjection, either to the ſultan, or any other. They are all maſters among themſelves, and ſalute one another with very honourable titles. The poor and the rich, the naked with the cloth'd, the arm'd with the unarm'd, are all, by a certain natural agreement, upon a level. Not long after we had parted with theſe robbers, we laid us down to refreſh our wearied bodies with a little ſleep; for the uneaſy pace of our camels had ſo ſhaken and toſs'd us, that we thought our fleſh and bones had taken leave of one another; eſpecially the two *Franciſcans*, who knew much better how to obſerve the rules of their order, than to ride on camels.

Biſcuit.

The camel is a four-footed creature, having ill ſhapes, and a worſe ſmell. Its tail is like that of an aſs, its feet are fleſhy and ſoft, and cleft in the middle, but the hinder part of them is intire. It has two knees on each foreleg, and when it receives its burden, it kneels on both of them. It has no teeth in the upper jaw, and eats and drinks very little in reſpect of its bulk, inſomuch that it can travel four days without drinking. It makes its water croſſways, and very little of it. The leaſt cooling breeze makes it ſlow and lazy, if its driver does not animate it with his voice or pipe, or with bells; but heat works the contrary effect upon it. There are, as we are told, two ſorts of them, the *Arabian* and the *Bactrian*. The former have two hunches on their back, are ſwifter than the other, and are call'd *dromedaries*; the latter have only one hunch, and are uſed for carrying burdens.

A camel.

Pliny, lib. VIII. c. 18.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their return to the Red-Sea, and joining the Caravan. Dreams and Fancies of weary and famiſh'd Travellers. A little Squabble with the Mule-drivers about their Hire.

ON the twenty firſt day, getting up before ſun-riſing, we left thoſe horrible rugged mountains, and came down into the more delightful country upon the *Red-Sea*, and met with the ſame caravan, loaden with *Indian* ſpices, almoſt in the very ſame place where we had parted with them. All our fear fled away then, when we ſaw our ſelves ſecurely fortified with ſuch a multitude of men and beaſts; but travelling all that day and night without eating, reſting, or ſleeping, we could not avoid falling off our camels while we were half-ſleeping, half-waking. A thouſand ſtrange dreams and fancies came into our heads whilſt hungry and weary, and we ſat nodding on our camels. We thought we ſaw ſomebody reaching us victuals and drink; and putting our hands to take it, and ſtretching ourſelves to overtake it when it ſeem'd to draw back, we tumbled off our camels, and by a ſevere fall found it a dream and illuſion. We underwent the ſame hardſhip all the twenty ſecond and twenty third days, mutually pitying one another's leanneſs and miſery, and exhorting each other to patience and reſignation. BAUMGARTEN

Strange imaginations when hungry.

On the 24th about noon, our mule-driver like a cunning and treacherous rogue, leaving the caravan, led us in among barren and ſandy mountains; where having reſted our ſelves and our camels, he moſt impudently demanded of us more money than was his due, withal threatening that unleſs he had it, he would leave us there to ſhift for our ſelves. Conſidering what danger we were in, we thought it adviſable to let him have it rather than endure the effects of his fury. So after much wrangling, we mounted our camels, and under covert of night return'd to *Alcanica*, ready to faint for hunger and ſleep. Thus we ended a journey in five days returning, which coſt us eight going.

Treachery of the mule-driver.

On the 25th day, having not ſlept all that night, but eat plentifully in the morning, and hir'd us mules, we went directly to *Cairo*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

They are again inſolently treated at their return to Cairo. *The Creature call'd* Ziraphus. *The* Indian *Ox. An Injury done to a* Saracen *by a* Mamaluck, *to which is ſubjoin'd a ſhort Hiſtory of the* Saracens *and* Mamalucks. Pyramids. *The Creature call'd* Muſcus.

Return to Cairo.

BEING arriv'd at *Cairo*, we were receiv'd in the ſame manner as we were ſent off, by the boys of the city, who pelted us again with their dirt, bricks and rotten limons. We got into *Tongobardin*'s houſe, and were received with the greateſt expreſſions of joy by the *Venetian* merchants, who had almoſt deſpair'd of our return. They liſten'd with the greateſt attention to the relations we gave them of the places and things we had ſeen; and after we had tired both ourſelves and them with our ſtories, and it was now time to go to bed, we parted, and went to enjoy that ſleep and repoſe, which our wearied and ſpent bodies did ſo vehemently long for.

Creature Ziraphus.

On the 26th, looking out at a window, we ſaw the *ziraphus*, the talleſt creature that ever we beheld. Its ſkin was all over white and brown, and its neck was almoſt two fathoms long. Its head was a cubit long, and its eyes looked briſk and lively; its breaſt was upright, and its back low; it could eat bread or fruits, or any thing elſe they reached to it. The ſame day we ſaw an *Indian* ox, whoſe body was ſhorter, but head larger than that of our oxen; his horns were large, not ſharp pointed, but blunt and knotty. Indian *ox.*

We ſpent all the 27th and 28th days (except what we beſtow'd on recruiting our ſpirits with ſleep) upon reading the holy ſcriptures.

As we were walking along the ſtreet on the 29th, we ſaw a *Saracen* crying bitterly, and thumping his head and breaſts: and having the curioſity to enquire what the matter was with him, we were told that he had lately given a good ſum of money for a houſe, and after he had been at great charge to finiſh and furniſh it, a certain *Mamaluck* had violently diſpoſſeſſed him of it, and beat him, only becauſe he fancied the houſe; for ſo great is the *Mamalucks* authority here, that they may puniſh or do with a *Saracen* what they pleaſe, and never be call'd in queſtion: and therefore they had thruſt him out of his houſe, and having poſſeſſed Mamalucks *authority.*

Baumgarten

Slavery of the Saracens.

poſſeſſed it, might live in it as long as they would. But the *Saracens* are not ſo much as allow'd to ride on horſeback, nor bear arms within the city, but are oblig'd to take all in good part from the *Mamalucks* as if they were their meaneſt ſlaves, to give place to them, to pay reverence to them as they paſs along, and even to kiſs their knees and feet; and if it happen that any of them are allowed to kiſs a *Mamaluck*'s hand, he is to look on that as a ſingular favour: all which, no doubt, is a puniſhment inflicted on them by the Divine juſtice. For in former times the *Saracens* are ſaid to have ſo much thirſted after dominion over the Chriſtians, that when they could not make captives of them themſelves, they bought them from other nations who were at war with the Chriſtians; and they no ſooner had them in their poſſeſſion, than they forced them to abjure their religion, then made them draw their ploughs, and undergo other ſuch labour and toil; and if they happen'd to be engaged in a battle, they uſed them for a defence and ſhelter againſt the attacks of the enemy.

Hatred to the Chriſtians.

But theſe bought ſlaves exerciſed abundance of fortitude amidſt all theſe hardſhips and diſaſters; and the more they were uſed to them, the more patiently they ſuffered, and the leſs they were inclin'd to ſink under them: and no longer did they ſuffer this yoke to lie on their necks, than till they thought they had a ſufficient number, and a leader able enough to attempt to ſhake it off, and even to ſeize the ſovereignty itſelf. Now it happen'd on a time that the *Egyptians* being engaged in a foreign war, arm'd all theſe ſlaves, and of them made up a conſiderable army, able to make head againſt the enemy. Theſe reckoning themſelves ſure of the victory, one of their number, who carried deep reſentments of the ſlavery and ignominy which they endur'd, in a ſet ſpeech publickly told the reſt, that he could not enough admire their tameneſs and cowardice, who ſo patiently underwent ſuch drudgery, ſuch drubbing, ſuch fetters, and even death it ſelf, when they could expect nothing after all but food and raiment in the moſt miſerable manner; but if they would ſhew themſelves men, let them follow him, and they ſhould all be free and all maſters.

A ſtory of ſlaves.

Having with theſe words enflamed their natural boldneſs, they marched directly to *Alcairo*, carrying the trophies of their ſlain enemies before them, and were admitted into the king's caſtle, as if they meant no harm; and having made themſelves maſters of it, they firſt beheaded the king with all his court, and threw his carcaſe over the wall. Afterwards went ſtrait to the city, and deſtroy'd all with fire and ſword; treating their imperious and cruel maſters as they had done them. At laſt after they had ſatiated their revenge on theſe, they gave quarters to the reſt of inferior rank. They created their leader king, and thoſe ſlaves, who are now call'd *Mamalucks*, were put in poſſeſſion of all their maſter's goods. And this, as 'tis ſaid, is the original of theſe people, and in this manner did they grow ſo powerful. They are all Chriſtian renegado's, and they baptize all their children, not by a religious motive, but that they may have a legal title to their father's eſtate after his death. For none that's unbaptiz'd, or a mere *Saracen*, or a *Jew*, can be a *Mamaluck*; but firſt they are baptiz'd, and afterwards abjure the faith, and are circumcis'd. After that they burn the figure of the croſs upon the ſole of their foot, as a mark of their contempt of the Chriſtian religion. The moſt part of theſe come from *Ruſſia*, *Albania*, *Servia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and but ſeldom from our native country *Germany*.

Original of the Mamalucks.

Worſhip. Vid. Peuc. lib. IV. chron.

On the 30th day, having a moor who was *Tongobardin*'s ſlave for our guide, we croſs'd the *Nile* to ſee the pyramids. They are huge ſtructures, built of large ſquare ſtones, and rais'd to a great height; and have their name from πῦρ, fire, whoſe form they reſemble. The kings of *Egypt* built them for their burial-places, with immenſe coſt and labour; and the reaſon why they were built ſo great, and ſo many hands employ'd, was that the people might have no time to conſpire againſt their kings. The three pyramids that ſtand towards *Lybia*, are about fifteen miles from *Memphis*, which is now called *Cairo*, and about five from the *Nile*; and for the magnificence and art that is diſplayed upon them, they may juſtly be reckon'd one of the ſeven wonders of the world, and irreſiſtibly breed admiration in all that behold them. The largeſt of them was built by king *Chemmis*, and is quadrilateral. The whole ſtructure is of a hard, rough, and durable ſtone, which they ſay was brought a great way off from *Arabia*. It is a prodigious piece of work, eſpecially in a ſandy country; inſomuch that it ſeems rather to be the work of the gods than men; and as the ſtory goes, there were three hundred and ſixty thouſand men employ'd for the ſpace of almoſt twenty years in building it; but none of thoſe kings who deſign'd any of theſe pyramids for their ſepulchre were buried in them, for either the hardſhip that the people endur'd, or the tyranny and cruelty of the kings provok'd their ſubjects to that degree, that they either tore their bodies in pieces, or threw them out of their monuments. For which reaſon they uſually left ſpecial orders with ſome of their ſervants

Pyramids.

The largeſt

Stones 'tis made of.

Workmen employ'd.

ſervants, to lay their bodies in ſome mean and obſcure place, that they might thereby avoid the fury of the people. There are two other pyramids, but they are much decay'd. But the greateſt of theſe pyramids is ſo large ſtill, that the ſtrongeſt man that is, ſtanding and throwing a dart ſtrait forwards, can ſcarce reach the middle of it; which experiment has been oftentimes tried.

Greateſt Pyramid.

On the thirty firſt while we were diſcourſing with an *Italian* merchant, we ſaw in his houſe a ſort of a creature, ſomewhat like a cat, but much bigger, which being ſtruck with a rod and made angry, voided a ſort of perfume, valued at its weight in gold. This creature, which is call'd *Muſcus*, has a lump near its navel, which being taken out, gives a moſt pleaſant ſmell, and is eſteem'd one of the moſt delicious perfumes. The *Italians* call it *Zibetho*, and the *Germans*, *Pyſen*. BAUMGARTEN *Creature call'd* Muſcus.

The firſt five days of *November* we did nothing but buy ſuch things as were neceſſary for our journey to *Jeruſalem*, and ſent back to *Venice* all that was not uſeful to us, but rather a hindrance. We hir'd our mules, pack'd up what we thought we might have occaſion for on our journey, and longed for the day of our departure,

The End of the Firſt Book.

BOOK II.

An Account of their Travels into *Paleſtine.*

CHAP. I.

They leave Cairo *the ſecond time. Return to* Alcanica *the third time. Strange way of hatching Eggs in* Egypt. *A* Saracen *Saint. In danger from the* Arabians. *Another* Saracen *Saint, or rather Devil. His and his Complices way of Singing.*

BAUMGARTEN

ON the ſixth of *December*, having obtain'd leave to depart from *Tongobardin*, as if we intended to return, becauſe we were ſecretly told he had a deſign upon us, and having humbly ſupplicated his aid, we began another journey; and leaving *Cairo*, we came to *Alcanica*, where we took up our quarters in a little houſe, cloſe by which there was a plain piece of ground, with a garden, encloſed with a dry ſtone-wall, in which we ſlept and eat, without any other canopy than the heavens. We ſaw there an oven ſhut up on all hands with lime and clay, into which they uſed to put the eggs of ſeveral ſorts of fowls, as geeſe, hens, doves, *&c.* which, not by the mother's hatching, but by the warmth and influence of the fire and ſlime, brought forth living young ones, according to their ſeveral kinds, in a ſhort time; who afterwards followed a man either to be fed or to be ſold, as chickens hatch'd in a natural way uſed to follow their others. And however this may ſeem a fable to ſome, yet it is certainly true; for in thoſe ovens there are ſometimes three, ſometimes four thouſand eggs of different kinds put, and all of them by thoſe means produce their reſpective young ones. The truth of this will not ſeem ſtrange to any one who obſerves the incredible number of young fowl that are in *Egypt.*

Chickens hatch'd in an oven.

Plenty of fowl.

On the ſeventh day, leaving *Alcanica*, we came to a place call'd *Belbes*, where we join'd the caravan that was going to *Damaſcus*. There we ſaw a *Mahometan* ſaint ſitting among the hillocks of ſand, as naked as he came out of his mother's belly. It is a cuſtom, as we were then told, among the *Mahometans* to reverence thoſe as ſaints who are mad and out of their wits; and they think alſo that a great deal of reſpect is to be paid to thoſe who voluntarily repent and vow poverty, after they have led a leud and ſcandalous life. This ſort of men are allow'd an unbridled and unbounded liberty of going into all houſes, of eating, drinking, and which is ſtill worſe, of lying with whom they will; and if this copulation produces a child, it is likewiſe reckon'd holy. They honour theſe men very much while they are alive, and after they are dead they build ſtately temples and monuments in honour of them; and they think it a very happy and lucky thing to touch or bury them. This we heard our mule-driver ſay, as we underſtood by our interpreter. Moreover we heard this ſaint mightily commended for a very good man, of great piety and unblemiſh'd virtue, becauſe he had never defiled himſelf with women or boys, but only with aſſes and mules. We could not forbear laughing at ſuch ſanctity, or rather beaſtlineſs, that what in our judgment ought to be puniſh'd by burning alive, ſhould by them be thought pious and praiſe-worthy. But theſe are rather beaſts in human ſhape than men.

A Mahometan *ſaint.*

Madmen in veneration.

That night there was great ſhouting and confuſion among thoſe that were in the outer part of the caravan for fear of thieves; but all the harm they did us was to ſteal ſome ſmall inconſiderable matter, which they got clear off with. The place where we pitch'd had on one hand a wood of ſycamore trees, on the other a purling rivulet, over which we had the proſpect of a moſt delightful country, which was juſt then yielding a plentiful ſecond crop.

On the eighth day we ſtayed there for ſome time, waiting the coming of a great many more from ſeveral parts, to increaſe the number of our caravan: which being compleat, we immediately ſet out, there being near four hundred armed men in the company; notwithſtanding which the *Arabians* ſeem'd as if they would attack us

three times that day, it being their daily employment to plague that country with their robberies: but the *Mamalucks* on horſeback, and the archers on foot, ſo ſoon as they ſmelt any danger, did ſo diſpoſe themſelves on all hands, that we with the goods and baggage march'd on as faſt as we could under their ſhelter.

Guards of caravans.

That evening we came to a certain ſlimy and muddy pool, of which both we and our beaſts were forced to drink; where we ſaw one of their pretended *Saracen* ſaints, in a party-colour'd coat and a ſtraw-cap on his head, carrying in his hand a ſort of a red banner with the *Sultan*'s arms on it, and flouriſhing it about to invite the *Saracens* to ſing with him. The words of their ſong were almoſt the ſame, and their notes not very different; only when they began they drew them out long, but as they went on they ſtill grew ſhorter and ſhorter. The words I have inſerted as follows.

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A profane Saracen ſaint.

Halla halla illa halla hillala hillala halla hillala hillala.

Halla halla, and ſo on continually *halla*.

CHAP. II.

Salheyo. Cattia. *They travel through the Deſart; the great number of Dead Bodies there: how they had been killed.* Admirald *poyſon'd by the* Sultan's *Order. Salt Pits near the Sea. The* Mamalucks *take their part againſt the Mule-drivers.*

Salheyo.

ON the 9th day of *November*, moving from thence we came to a village call'd *Salheyo*; cloſe by which in a garden, or rather a grove, while we were reſting our ſelves a little, the inhabitants brought us melons, cucumbers, dates, and ſome bread and pullets, which we bought of them at a ſmall charge; and having fill'd our bottles out of a neighbouring puddle, we departed, and travelling all that night, about dawning we ſtopt and took ſome reſt on a riſing ground.

Town of Cattia.

On the 10th, after we had travelled for ſome time thro' hills of ſand, we came to a town call'd *Cattia*, near to which, about a date-tree wood, we ſtaid all night; and tho' we ſaw a great many *Arabian* robbers, yet the ſight of the *Mamalucks* ſo frighted them, that they durſt not offer us any violence.

Uneaſy journey.

The 11th day and following night we travelled thro' deep ſand, and ſo looſe that it yielded and ſlid back under our feet; while in the mean time we could ſee nothing but the heavens above, and ſand below; for nothing green, no tree, or the leaſt ſhrub was within the reach of our ſight.

The ſtink of carrion.

On the 12th day about ſun-riſing we came to a deſolate and decay'd cottage, where we ſtopt about two hours, and then went on in our ſandy journey towards the ſea. Not far from this cottage we ſaw above ten thouſand carcaſes of ſheep, goats, aſſes, and other creatures lying on the ground, rotten and half conſum'd; the noiſom ſmell of which was ſo unſufferable, that we were obliged to make all the haſte we could to get out of the reach of it. The occaſion of their lying there was thus: *Admirald*, one of the *Sultan*'s chief miniſters, having been ſent into *Judea* to raiſe a poll-tax, and finding it hard to get in the money, had driven away the poor people's cattle, with a deſign to carry them to *Cairo*, and preſent them to the *Sultan*; but as he was travelling thro' that deſert, where there was neither water nor paſture, he loſt them all. The *Sultan* underſtanding this, and conſidering with himſelf how great authority *Admirald* had among the *Mamalucks*, began to ſuſpect, that if he ſhould come ſafe to *Cairo*, he might at once deprive him of his crown and life; and therefore before he drew near the town he ſent one to compliment him with a rich embroider'd garment, as a token of his joy for his ſafe return; and after that ſent him a poiſonous draught, which he no ſooner drank than he died; and thereby freed the *Sultan* from his jealouſy and ſuſpicion, and at the ſame time fill'd his coffers.

Admirald *a chief miniſter.*

Admiralds *cruelty puniſh'd.*

After we had got out of the reach of that ſtink, we came to a certain bay, all along the coaſt of which there were places where ſalt was made. For when the ſea flow'd and cover'd the neighbouring ground that lay low, it fill'd the ditches with ſalt-water, which when it ebb'd, was turn'd into ſalt by the violent heat of the ſun. Theſe places turn'd to ſo great account to the *Sultan*, that as we were told, they yielded him a hundred thouſand *ſeraphs* a year. Having travelled all that day, and till about midnight, we arriv'd at a village call'd *Laritſch*, where we reſted our ſelves for ſome time; and then went on till we

Salt-Pits.

Village Laritſch.

came

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came to another bay, where the *Mamalucks* who where our guard commanded us to light off our mules and pay them for their attendance, for which they exacted a *ſeraph* from every one of the company. At laſt, after they had been paid by all the reſt, they came to us; but we by our interpreter refuſed, alledging that our mule-driver ought to pay it, ſince we had made our bargain with him ſo, and that we were to pay nothing out of our own pockets on that account; and that we would confirm what we had ſaid by his own hand-writing. The *Mamalucks* ſeeing us in diſorder, and perceiving that we underſtood not the language, had ſome compaſſion on us, and having ſurrounded the mule-driver, demanded their money of him; and when he was beginning to argue the matter with them, they ſtopt his diſcourſe, and had well nigh fallen foul of him, if he had not been ſo wiſe as to perceive where it would end, and to untie the ribbon that was about his head, and (tho' much againſt his will) give the piece of gold they demanded.

Mamalucks quarrel with the mule-driver.

CHAP. III.

They hire an Interpreter: Get themſelves Saracen *Habits. The Temple of* Dagon, *&c. Arrive at laſt at* Hebron.

ON the 14th day about ſun-ſet we drew near to *Gaza*; and after we had for a long time rode cloſe by it, at laſt we lighted at our mule-driver's houſe, and ſtaid there two days, and hir'd a *Jew*, whoſe name was *David*, to be our interpreter; by whoſe advice we bought us *Saracen* habits, the cheapeſt and coarſeſt we could find, that in that dreſs we might the more freely go into, or come out of any place where we ſhould have occaſion to be. For hitherto we had only cover'd our heads, and put a girdle about us after the faſhion of the country; but our clothes were of the *Grecian* mode, and hardly reach'd ſo far as our knees. But now we were habited like the *Saracens* every way, had our heads poll'd after the ſame manner, and the ſame figure of beards; ſo that we could freely go whither we would. *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, was once a great and ſtrong city, and one of the five principal ones in *Paleſtine*, and was call'd ſo by the *Perſians:* That word in their language ſignifies a *treaſury*; becauſe when *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia* went into *Egypt*, he made this the ſtorehouſe for all his riches and warlike preparations. It is ſtill a great city, and larger than *Jeruſalem*, but not fortified; ſituated in a moſt fruitful country, not far from the ſea, and invironed with delightful gardens full of date, pomegranate, and other fine fruit-trees: within are to be ſeen ancient magnificent buildings, ſome whereof are intire others ruinous. There is to be ſeen the temple of *Dagon*, but not above half of it ſtanding; which [*Sampſon* (as we read *Judg.* xvi.) taking hold of the two pillars that ſupported it, pull'd down, and deſtroyed both himſelf and all that were in it: And theſe pillars are ſtill preſerved there, to perpetuate the memory of the action. It is plain by the ruins of this temple, that it was a very large one, ſtrongly built of large hewed ſtones. About a mile from this city towards *Hebron*, ſtands the hill to which (as it is recorded in the forecited chapter of *Judges*) *Sampſon* by his incredible ſtrength, carry'd away the gates and bars of this city.

Saracen *habit.*

City Gazera.

Curtius lib. III.

Temple of Dagon.

Sampſon's *Pillars.*

The hill to which he carried the gates.

On the 17th about noon, bending our courſe towards *Jeruſalem*, we came to a certain village where we refreſhed our ſelves and our mules, becauſe the road we were next to travel was very bad and rugged. Departing from thence we travelled all night for fear of robbers; and we had a very toilſome journey, both becauſe we were afraid of the robbers, and becauſe the road was ſteep, rugged, full of woods and dens; which obliged us to halt in a little narrow valley, and reſt our ſelves and our beaſts who were almoſt fatigu'd to death.

Roughneſs of the way

On the 18th, travelling between the rugged and broken tops of the hills, we ſaw very wholeſome and pleaſant herbs, and fell a gathering of them, the ſmell being mighty refreſhing. At length we got out of that narrow track, and came into the common road, and not long after arriv'd at a little town ſituated on a height, where they ſaid the land of *Judea* began. Here we fill'd our bottles with freſh water, and bought us ſome ſofter bread, and ſo went on in a very bad and ſtony road, till we came at laſt to *Hebron*, where after a great deal of intreaty, and the promiſe of a good reward for our entertainment, we were permitted to lodge in the houſe of a certain poor widow.

Entrance into Judea

Hebron.

CHAP. IV.

They viſit the Wells of the Patriarchs. The Fields of Damaſcus. *The Valley of* Mamre. *Injuries done by the* Mamalucks. Neheleſcol. Bethlehem.

ON the 19th day we went under the conduct of the *Jew* who was our interpreter, and a *Saracen* who was our guard, to ſee thoſe places that are mentioned in the ſcriptures. The firſt that offered themſelves to our obſervation, were the three fountains of theſe patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*. After theſe the fields of *Damaſcus*, where it is ſaid, or at leaſt gueſſed, *Adam* was made. That field lies about a bow-ſhot to the weſt of *Hebron*, and the earth of it is reddiſh, and feels almoſt like wax, ſo that the *Saracens* make little balls of it, which they ſell to the Chriſtians to make their prayer-beads of. The *Saracens* alſo export great quantities of this earth into foreign countries every year, pretending that no noxious creature can do thoſe any harm who carry this about them; and that it preſerves them from breaking their bones, and all other ſad accidents. Moreover, as *Joſephus* relates, *Hebron* is not only more ancient than the other cities of that country, but even than *Memphis* in *Egypt* it ſelf; but now it is liker a village than a city, ſtanding in that place where the cave is, in which theſe patriarchs and their wives are buried.

Wells of the patriarchs.

Fields of Damaſcus.

Above this double cave there was anciently a ſtately church; for while the Chriſtian religion flouriſh'd there, it was a cathedral, but it is now degenerated into a moſque. However the infidels have a veneration for the place, becauſe that all thoſe whom age, or poverty, or want of health, will not allow to viſit *Mecca*, where their pretended prophet is buried, are allowed to come here, or to the temple at *Jeruſalem*; but neither *Jew* nor *Chriſtian* muſt enter this church. Not far from modern *Hebron*, on a little ſteep hill, ſtands ancient *Hebron*, or rather the rubbiſh of it, in which *David*, as the ſcriptures ſay, reign'd ſeven years, and where the burial-place of his father *Jeſſe* is ſtill to be ſeen. About half a mile from old *Hebron* is the valley of *Mamre*; where, as 'tis related *Gen.* xviii. the LORD appeared to *Abraham* while he was ſitting in the door of his tent; when he ſaw three, but paid worſhip only to one. When we were thinking to leave *Hebron*, there came a *Mamaluck* who was governor of that place, and violently took away both our mules, and all the reſt that he could find, to carry his baggage to *Damaſcus*. After we ſought up and down a long time for others, at laſt we found two, upon which we laid our things, and followed them on foot our ſelves: and we had a very troubleſome journey of it, by reaſon of the ruggedneſs of the road, which was long and hilly, and no earth on it to cover the bare and rough ſtones. And yet (which is very ſtrange) there is here and there among thoſe bare ſtones, ſome olive, fig, and pomegranate trees. We had not got far from the city when there comes a *Mamaluck*, and falls like thunder upon one of our company who was riding on an aſs, and indiſpoſed: He preſently gets off, and offers him to the *Mamaluck*; but not being ſatisfy'd with the aſs, commands a *Jew* who was riding on a horſe to diſmount. The *Jew* delayed it a little, and endeavour'd to prevail with him by fair words: But the *Mamaluck* enraged at his diſobedience, falls a drubbing of him, and railing at him, and knock'd the poor old and feeble *Jew* off his horſe. Our mule-drivers came about the *Mamaluck*, praying and intreating him to have pity on his infirmity and old age, and kiſs'd both his hands and his feet, and the poor *Jew* did the like; and ſo trying the laſt remedy, they greaſed his fiſt, and ſent him off ſatisfy'd. But the *Jew* had been ſo threſh'd and wounded, that he had much ado to mount again with the help of another man. After this we put on in our journey, and left *Neheleſcol*, that is, *the ſtream of grapes*, on our left; from whence (as it is recorded *Numb.* xiii.) the ſpies whom *Moſes* ſent out, cut off the vinebranch with its grapes, and brought it on two mens ſhoulders to him, together with the pomegranates and figs of that country. At laſt coming to *Bethlehem*, famous on the account of *David* and our LORD JESUS CHRIST, we were kindly receiv'd into the *Franciſcan* monaſtery, and entertain'd all that night as plentifully as their condition and manner of living would allow.

Moſque upon a double cave.

Ancient Hebron.

Burial-place of Jeſſe.

Valley of Mamre.

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Neheleſcol.

Bethlehem.

CHAP. V.

The ancient Magnificence of the Church at Bethlehem. *The* Sultan's *Sacrilege. They view many Monuments of Antiquity. They enter* Jeruſalem. Abrahim *Keeper of our* LORD's *Sepulchre.*

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Temple of Bethlehem.

ON the 20th, riſing from our ſoft mats, we went to ſee the church dedicated to our SAVIOUR, which while it ſtood in its glory, had not its equal, I believe, in the world: It was built of the choiceſt white marble, wonderfully adorned, and curiouſly ſupported by two and twenty pillars in two rows; and the ſtatuaries had diſplayed their utmoſt ſkill to beautify and adorn it. One may ſee by the ruins of it, that it had formerly forty of theſe pillars. Moreover, between the chapiters of the pillars and the roof, there are to be ſeen the hiſtories of the holy ſcripture in beautiful pieces of fineſt painting, and ſet off with ſuch curious pieces of rareſt marble, as nothing can be imagin'd beyond them, or any price great enough for them. Their ſmoothneſs and brightneſs did not yield to thoſe of the beſt poliſh'd mirror; inſomuch that ſome years ago the *Sultan* being charmed with the fineneſs of them, did ſacrilegiouſly carry a great many of them to *Cairo* to adorn his palace. Here they ſhew'd us whatever was rare and remarkable, as the place where our Saviour was born, in which there was a chapel built in honour of him; the place where the manger ſtood, and the wiſe men offered their gifts; the table on which the circumciſion was perform'd, and other ſuch-like. Having viewed all theſe, we begg'd the two friars would give us the favour of their company to *Jeruſalem*; and by the way our fellow travellers ſhew'd us the ciſtern of *Bethlehem* ſpoken of 2 *Kings* xxiii. the ſepulchre of *Rachael*, the ruinous tower of the flock of *Galeed*, the houſes of *Elias* and *Habakkuk*, and of *Simeon*, near to which we began to have ſight of *Jeruſalem*. We no ſooner ſaw it, than we offered up our hearty thanks to that immortal Being, who, through ſo many dangers by ſea and land, had protected us and brought us there in health of body, and foundneſs of mind.

Sultan's ſacrilege.

Antiquities in Bethlehem.

Rachael's *ſepulchre.*

So we went up to the holy *Jeruſalem* by the valley of *Enno*, which is between *Gyo* and *Mount Sion*; and were carried by the *Franciſcans* into the monaſtery of the *Minorites* that ſtands on *Mount Sion*, and were kindly received, and plentifully refreſhed in a place that was appointed for us.

Jeruſalem

That ſame day towards evening, *Abrahim*, the keeper of our LORD's ſepulchre, underſtanding there were ſtrangers come, came to us and talk'd with us, and told us the time we were to ſee the holy ſepulchre, and what the fees were. Neither the *Sultan*'s, nor *Tongobardin*'s letters ſignified any thing to us then, tho' we had paid eight *ſeraphs* for them in *Cairo*; and tho' the governor of *Jeruſalem* had received and kiſs'd them with a profound reverence, and laid them on his head and read them: We muſt have recourſe to our money, we muſt uſe that intereſt, and that muſt ſupport and protect us. For twenty *ſeraphs* therefore we bought a liberty of going into the temple, and the holy ſepulchre, which we intended to do next morning.

Sultan's recommendation to the governor of Jeruſalem

Fees for ſeeing the temple.

CHAP. VI.

They viſit the Holy Sepulchre: View the Monuments of Antiquity. Deſcription of the Sepulchre.

ON the 21ſt day of *November* about ſun-riſing, we went into the holy ſepulchre, accompanied by almoſt all the monks of *Mount Sion*. Coming to the door of the church, we found *Abrahim* and a great number of *Saracens* ſitting there, and waiting our coming. After he had taken a note of all our names particularly, he ſet open the doors of the church, which he had no ſooner entred than he immediately ſhut them without. All the monks being arrayed in habits of divers colours, had each of them a torch put into his hand, and began to ſing; and after the ſinging was done, one of them came to us and began to ſhew and explain the holy places. Firſt that of CHRIST's appearing after his reſurrection; next, *Mount Calvary*, where he was crucified; the chaps of the earth cauſed by the earthquake at his paſſion; a part of the pillar where he was ſcourg'd, incloſed within rails: Chapels built to preſerve the memory of a great many things; and particularly in that which he ſhewed us in *Golgotha*, was this epitaph on king *Baldwin*.

Rex Balduinus Judas *alter* Machabæus, *Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant*

Epitaph on K. Baldwin.

Cedar, Egyptus, Dan & *homicida* Damaſcus,
Proh dolor! exiguo hoc oſſa tegit ecce ſepulchro.

At laſt we came to the chapel of the holy ſepulchre, into which we entered at a little low door not above two cubits high; the place itſelf not open above, but on the ſouth ſide where the body was brought in, and continually enlightned with thirty eight lamps. The figure of the ſepulchre without is ſquare; at the corners of which there are ſix pillars, ſo high that they ſupport a ſort of cover that is above the roof of the chapel; above which there is a little room, with two rows of pillars, but ſix in number, and three cubits in meaſure. Above theſe pillars there is a little gilded arch reſembling a globe. The church, in the middle of which the chapel of the ſepulchre ſtands, is open above, ſo wide as the chapel is large, ſo that the holy ſepulchre may in a manner be ſaid to be in the open air. There we ſtaid all night, offering up our devout prayers to GOD Almighty.

BAUMGARTEN *A hole on the roof of the temple.*

CHAP. VII.

Several Monuments of Antiquity without the City.

ON the 22d of *November* about ſunriſing came *Abrahim*, accompanied with a great number of *Mamalucks* and *Saracens*, and open'd the door, and bid us come out. We obey'd his order, and went to the monaſtery in *Mount Sion* where we refreſhed our ſelves: After which we went out without the city to ſee the churches and chapels that were dedicated to ſeveral ſaints, or built to perpetuate the memory of ſome notable action. Under the walls of the city and the temple we came to the brook *Cedron*, which runs thro' the middle of the valley of *Joſaphat*, and in the ſummer time is dry, but in the ſpring and lent-time is level with its banks. Over this brook there is an arch'd ſtone-bridge built by *Helena*; and on the other ſide of it, near the road that leads to *Bethany*, is the ſepulchre of *Joſaphat* king of *Juda*, from whom the valley as well as this has its name. The ſepulchre is hew'd out of a ſolid rock, and has a pyramid atop of it. Hard by it is the ſepulchre of the prophet *Zachariah*, a large piece of work, and cut out of the ſolid rock alſo. We view'd alſo the ſepulchre of *Abſalom*, the ſon of *David*; at which, becauſe he impiouſly rebelled againſt his father, travellers, even the *Saracens* and *Mamalucks*, throw ſtones, curſing both it, and the perſon that lies buried in it; and you may ſee there a great heap of ſuch ſtones. From thence we went and ſaw *Gethſemane*, the place where our Saviour in great affection prayed, was taken, and bound. After that we went to viſit the church of the bleſſed Virgin, that ſtands almoſt in the middle of the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, and to which we went down by thirty eight ſteps. In the middle of the church ſtands her ſepulchre made of white marble: It is larger than that of our LORD, and has two doors oppoſite to one another, and her body is ſaid to lie here. From thence we went up to *Mount Olivet*, which is directly oppoſite to *Solomon*'s temple towards the eaſt. From the top of it there is a vaſt proſpect towards the *Dead-Sea*, *Arabia*, the mountains *Abarim*, *Nebo*, *Piſga*, and ſeveral other places.

Brook Cedron.

Helena's *bridge.*

Sepulchre of Joſaphat.

Of Zachariah.

Of Abſalom.

Temple of the Virgin

Mount-Olivet.

Coming down that ſide that looks to the *Dead-Sea*, we viſited *Bethphagé*; in which place the guardian uſes to come from *Mount Sion*, accompanied with the brethren on aſſes, every palm-ſunday; and in this manner enter *Jeruſalem*, in memory of what CHRIST did there; the *Saracens* in the mean while laughing and making a ſport of it.

Beth-phage. *Monkiſh zeal.*

We came next to *Bethany*, antiently a place of ſtrength, but now a ſorry village, about three miles from *Jeruſalem*, where *Lazarus*'s tomb is ſtill to be ſeen, which is in great veneration with the *Saracens*; and on the top of it there is a banner hangs, with *Saracen* letters and figures painted on it.

Lazarus's *Tomb.*

Not far from hence they ſhew'd us *Simeon* the leper's houſe, which by its ruins ſeems to have been a large pile of building. It was built all of hewed ſtone, and very ſtrong, and was encompaſſed with a wide and deep ditch.

Houſe of Simeon *the* Leper.

As we were returning to *Jeruſalem*, we ſtept aſide a little to ſee the trunk of a tree, on which, as they ſay, the traitor *Judas* hang'd himſelf. A little way from thence to the left hand is his houſe which the *Jews* have been careful to fence and build a wall about, for fear the Chriſtians ſhould offer any violence to it; and hard by it is a burial-place of the *Jews*: and good reaſon that fowls of the ſame kind ſhould flock together.

Tree on which Judas *hang'd himſelf.*

Burial-place.

Towards evening we return'd to the monaſtery, where we reſted and refreſhed our ſelves.

CHAP. VIII.

Relation of ſeveral Monuments of Antiquity. A ſtrange way of Bird-catching. Story of a certain Maronite. *An Apoſtate* Franciſcan.

ON the 23d day we went out again to ſee the places mentioned in holy ſcripture; and firſt as we were going down towards the ſouth, we came to the pool of *Siloah*, where CHRIST reſtor'd ſight to the blind man, as we read *Joh.* ix. Near to this is the well of that name, where pure and clear water is inceſſantly boiling up. Above this about the middle of the hill, is the piece of ground call'd *Aceldama*, which was bought with the money that *Judas* ſold his maſter for: The empreſs *Helena* built a high wall about it, and covered it above, leaving only nine holes through which the light might come in, and dead bodies might be let down; it is ſeventy three foot long, and fifty broad. A little to the eaſt from hence we entered certain large caves, where they ſay the apoſtles hid themſelves during our Saviour's paſſion. There we had occaſion to ſee a way of catching birds which we had never ſeen before, for they did not catch them with a bait as they do with us, but with water pour'd out upon a rock; for this is a very dry country, and the poor birds when they are flying in the air, ready to drop down for thirſt, ſeeing the water ſhine ſo clear by the bright beams of the ſun, fly ſtraight down to it, and before they are aware are caught faſt in the gins. By that time we had ſeen this ſport it was time to eat ſomething, and ſo we went to *Sion* and din'd; and after dinner went to the gate of the temple that is call'd *beautiful*, where *Peter* as we read *Acts* iii. cured the man that had been lame from his mother's womb. Afterwards having a mind to view *Solomon*'s temple more narrowly, we were violently hindred by the threatening *Saracens*, and puſh'd back again after we were half up the ſtairs of that gate. As much as we could obſerve, both here and from other places, this temple is not very large, it being not half ſo big as the ancient and true temple was. As to its figure, it has twelve ſides; it is covered with lead, and above the middle of its roof there is a dome, on the top of which there is a creſcent, which the *Saracens* uſually place, either at the doors or on the top of their moſques; and within it, as we were told, there are two thouſand lamps conſtantly burning. There is a large ſquare about this temple, about a bow-ſhot broad, all laid with white marble, which gives a great deal of ſplendour and magnificence to the temple; for it reflects the rays of the ſun ſo bright and thick, that the beholders can no more look on it than they can on the ſun itſelf; and the whiteneſs, ſmoothneſs and cleanneſs of it, contribute much to that. This temple is in ſo great veneration among the *Saracens*, that the *Sultan* does not think it beneath him to ſtile himſelf the high prieſt and protector of it, and they call it *the holy ſanctuary*. It was firſt built by *Solomon* in mount *Moria*, but was afterwards ſeveral times deſtroyed by the calamities of war, and again rebuilt through the pious diſpoſition of ſeveral kings, and the liberality of the people; but now neither *Jew* nor *Chriſtian* muſt ſet their foot within it. If any of theſe are catch'd in it, he muſt preſently either abjure his religion, or be cut aſunder in the middle; which, as we were told, was the hard fate of a poor Chriſtian, of the ſect of the *Maronites*, about half a year before. He had gone in to view the temple in the habit of a *Saracen*, but was unhappily diſcover'd to be a *Chriſtian*; and being threatened with preſent death, turn'd *Mahometan:* but not long after, his conſcience checking him for what he had done, he immediately recanted. Upon which he was brought before the church of the holy ſepulchre, and cut in two in the middle. For all this he lived three hours, arguing for the excellency of the Chriſtian religion, and expoſing the folly and ſuperſtition of the *Saracens*, and at laſt gave up his ſpirit to him for whoſe ſake he had ſuffer'd.

About that time a certain monk of the ſociety of the *Franciſcans* that lived in *Mount Sion*, deluded ſome way or other by the wiles of the devil, voluntarily abjur'd his religion. We had ſeen him before this time in *Cairo*, paſſing for a *Mamaluck*, and talk'd with him about apoſtacy, but could not prevail with him. Near to this temple, towards *Mount Sion*, there is along and high-roof'd church cover'd with lead, which ſome time had been call'd *Solomon's porch or gallery*, or the *houſe of the foreſt of* Libanus, becauſe *Solomon* uſed to diſcourſe and give judgment in it, and becauſe it was built of timber brought from the foreſt of *Libanus*. While the Chriſtians were maſters of *Jeruſalem*, it was dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin; and they ſay now there are eight hundred lamps conſtantly burning in it, and it is now much larger than the temple of *Solomon*. We were credibly inform'd by one who accompanied us as far as *Damaſcus*, that within the precinct of

Pool of Siloah.

Field Aceldema.

Helena's *wall.*

Birdcatching.

Beautiful gate.

Solomon's *Temple.*

In great veneration among the Saracens.

A ſtory of a Maronite.

A Franciſcan *apoſtate.*

Solomon's *porch.*

A building under ground.

A building under ground. of this temple and *Solomon*'s, there were magnificent and coſtly buildings, ſo large, that ſeveral thouſands of men might be conveniently lodg'd within them; and a great number of pillars, diſpoſed in a wonderful order, ſo that both theſe temples with the courts ſtood upon them. Next we ſaw, for the payment of a little money, the houſes of *Pilate* and *Herod*; the latter of which ſtill retains its regularity, and is built of marble of ſeveral colours; but the *Saracens* have made a ſtable of the other. After this we went to the monaſtry to refreſh and reſt our ſelves all night.

BAUMGARTEN *Houſes of Pilate and of Herod.*

CHAP. IX.

They enter the Temple the ſecond time. The ſeveral Sects that are in it. Their Religions and Cuſtoms.

ON the 24th day about ſun-ſet, we carried certain monks along with us, and entered the church the ſecond time, viſiting all the places that had been formerly deſcrib'd to us. In the quire of the *Greeks* they ſhew'd us a place, over which there was a ſtone about a cubit broad, which *The center of the earth.* they ſaid was the center of the habitable earth; alluding in a literal ſenſe to that ſaying of *David*, Pſal. lxxiv. GOD *is our King for ever; he hath wrought ſalvation in the midſt of the earth.*

We ſtaid there full three days, that we might thoroughly learn the ſtructure and form of the temple, and every thing in it, and inform our ſelves of the ſeveral ſorts of Chriſtians that were in it, and of their different conſtitutions and cuſtoms. It is very well worth ones while to obſerve the *Sects in the temple.* great variety of ſects that are in this temple, to hear ſo many different languages, voices, muſick; to ſee how they differ in their rites and ceremonies, their habits and manners; and yet to ſee them, however differing in other things, all believe in, praiſe and acknowledge the ſame LORD JESUS CHRIST. Among all this variety of ſects, the principal of them are the *Latins* and *Franciſcans*; ſecondly, the *Greeks*; thirdly, the *Syrians*; fourthly, the *Georgites*; fifthly, the *Jacobites*; ſixthly, the *Indians* or *Abaſſins*; and ſeventhly, the *Armenians*. Of every one of whom we ſhall ſpeak briefly.

The *Franciſcans*, who call themſelves alſo *Minorites*, are appointed by their ſuperiors, and ſent into the holy city, but not before they have been three years in *Crete*; and if any of them happens to die, another is *Franciſcans a ſort of beggars.* ſent in his room. They have their food and raiment thro' the bounty and charity of ſtrangers that come there, but they owe moſt to the liberality of the *Venetians*. It is ſaid, that every veſſel bearing ſail, that comes into the port of *Candy*, pays a ducat of gold; and this ſum (which is certainly very great) the *Venetians* pay to the friers that live there, who remit it to thoſe of their order at *Jeruſalem*, either in money or by bill, or in ſuch things as they ſtand in need of; and many other great men are very liberal in their gifts to them. While we were there, *Lewis* king of *France* ſent them five hundred ducats by one who had travelled with us. They have a monaſtry at *Jeruſalem* in mount *Sion*, in which, for the moſt part, twenty of them live: and hard by theſe there is a little monaſtry where five or ſix of their order live monks, and are maintain'd by the proviſions of the monaſtry of *Sion*. In *Bethlehem* they have a monaſtry, in which there are five friers, whoſe buſineſs is to keep the manger. Beſides theſe, in the church of the holy ſepulchre they have two, one a prieſt, the other a laick, who are ſent every month to attend there, and are chang'd in their turns; and their buſineſs is to guard the ſepulchre, to keep it clean, and to look after the lamps. *Rich beggars.*

They have under their care ſeveral chapels, and altars, in mount *Calvary*, the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, and *Bethany*; all which they look after with the greateſt care, and at a vaſt charge. They are oblig'd to perform their maſſes and their other offices before day-light for fear of the *Saracens*; and all the reſt of the day they wander up and down, ſometimes to the holy ſepulchre, ſometimes to mount *Olivet*, or to the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, or to *Bethany*; ſometimes to *Bethlehem*, or the hilly country of *Judea*, the deſert of *John*, &c. and are very often oppreſſed, ſometimes by the *Saracens*, ſometimes by the *Jews*, and oftentimes even by *Chriſtians*. For beſides that they are obliged to give the *Saracens* a good ſhare of their proviſions whenſoever they aſk it, and to pay a yearly tribute to the governor of *Jeruſalem*, they pay alſo to the *Sultan* himſelf, as we are told, a thouſand ducats. And yet for all this, they are every hour, nay every moment, in danger of their lives. They ſhew great humanity and hoſpitality to ſtrangers; they give them their advice, they faithfully tell them what they ought to do, and what they ought to avoid and forbear, but ſtill the *holy penny* muſt not be forgot.

The *Greeks* are of the *primitive* church, rather enemies than ſubject to the ſee of *Rome*, and have no regard to the pope or his eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Their clergy- *Greek monks hate the pope.*

Baumgarten

men marry; they wear long beards, and till one has a beard he can't be a prieſt. They never abſtain from fleſh on ſaturday, except on *Eaſter*-eve, and then they faſt. They take the communion in leaven'd-bread, and do not mix the wine with water. They pay no reſpect to the ſacrament that is conſecrated by the *Franciſcans*; nor will they ſuffer them to celebrate it in thoſe places where they are concerned, no more than if they were excommunicated; and if that ſhould at any time happen upon an extraordinary occaſion, they preſently waſh it as if it was polluted by their ſacrifice. Among all the *Eaſtern* Chriſtians they hate thoſe moſt who live in ſubjection to the pope, and in a common proverb call them *Latin dogs*. They have a quire in the church of the holy ſepulchre, where they perform divine ſervice after their own manner. They have alſo a place in *Calvary* where our Lord was crucified; and without the church a little chapel dedicated to all angels, all which they carefully watch and illuminate with lamps.

Contempt of the popiſh prieſts

The Syrian *monks.*

The *Syrians* are thoſe who live in the province of *Syria*, under the miſerable yoke of the *Saracens*, and are a cowardly, light, and treacherous ſort of people. They inform againſt the Chriſtians to the *Saracens*, and live much after the manner of the latter, but their doctrine and ceremonies are the ſame with thoſe of the *Greeks*. In the church of the holy ſepulchre they have the chapel of S. *Helena*. In their private affairs they uſe the *Saracen* language, but the *Greek* in their divine ſervice.

The Georgians *a warlike people.*

The *Georgians* are a people of the *Eaſt*, a very ſtout and warlike nation, ſo called from one *George* a ſaint, whom they own as their patron and protector, paying him moſt profound reverence. They ſay, their dominions reach as far as the *Caſpian* mountains. This people, though encompaſſed round with *Saracens*, ſtand in awe of none, but are dreaded by their neighbours; and as often as they have a mind to go to *Jeruſalem*, they always march in order of battle, with flying colours, paying no toll or tribute, and ſo enter the city. The women of quality do uſe and wear arms after the manner of the *Amazons*. They agree with the *Greek* church in all the material points of faith. The men never cut their hair off, nor ſhave their beards. Their clergy wear round caps, the laicks four-ſquare ones. In the temple they have a chapel of the invention of the holy croſs; and they have the ſame too upon mount *Calvary*, and in ſeveral other places. They ſay maſs in the *Greek* tongue, but in all other affairs they ſpeak the language of the *Saracens*.

The Jacobines.

The *Jacobines* are a people of *Aſia*, a great part whereof they do inhabit, but a far greater portion of *Æthiopia*, as far as the upper *India*, inſomuch that they are ſaid to have in their poſſeſſion forty kingdoms. They were firſt converted to the Chriſtian faith by St. *Matthew* the apoſtle, afterwards reduced into error by one *Jacob* an arch-heretick, of whom they took their name. They have croſſes in their foreheads burnt with a hot iron, for the love (as they ſay) they bear to the croſs, and alſo to diſtinguiſh them from *Saracens*. They confeſs their ſins to God only, and that ſecretly, for their cuſtom is to burn frankincenſe; and ſaying their prayers, they believe their petitions aſcend to heaven as the ſmoke does, and by that means they ſhall be purged from the guilt of their ſins. They adminiſter the ſacrament to ſucking children, and circumciſe them after the manner of the *Saracens*. They have a chapel in the temple near the ſepulchre of our Saviour, and the place where Christ's body was embalm'd after he was let down from the croſs. They ſpeak a language of their own.

The Indian *or* Abaſſin *monks.*

The *Indians*, or *Abaſſins*, are a people under the government of that powerful and great monarch, whom we call *Preſter John*. This nation was converted to Chriſtianity by the apoſtle St. *Thomas*. The *Indians* of this country are very black, reſembling much the *Æthiopians*. They go frequently on pilgrimages to viſit the holy places. Both men and women have their heads cover'd with blue. They wear colour'd clothes, and ſtrip'd. In their behaviour they are very humble, and go barefoot. They circumciſe their children, and with a hot iron imprint the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads, and ſometimes on their noſes or cheeks, believing that this fiery baptiſm doth expiate original ſin. They adminiſter the ſacrament in both kinds, as well to children as to thoſe of riper age. On their feſtival ſolemnities (namely *Eaſter*) both men and women meet together, and with wild and ridiculous ſongs and noiſe, ſpend whole nights. They begin their dancing with clapping of hands, and many together dance round in a ring; and ſo violent and exceſſively tranſported are they on theſe occaſions, that ſome of them drop down dead upon the ſpot, and many get an incurable lameneſs by it frequently. They have their chapel too in the temple, and here and there an altar. They uſe the letters and ſpeak the language of their own country, but underſtand the language of the *Saracens* too.

Armenia *monks.*

The *Armenians* come out of the country of *Armenia*, whence they have their name. They have a biſhop, whom they ſtile catholick, to whom they yield ſtrict obedience

and profound reverence; they are enemies to the *Grecians*. They obſerve *Lent*, but keep it more ſtrictly than do thoſe of the church of *Rome*; for they do not only abſtain from fleſh all the time, but alſo from eggs, cheeſe, milk, oil, fiſh and wine. To ſupport nature, they eat fruit, ſpoon-meat or gruel, and that no oftner than neceſſity urges them to it.

Biſhop of the Armenians. They have commonly a biſhop at *Jeruſalem*, who wears two locks of his hair dangling down over his ſhoulders, the reſt of his head is ſhaved. Their habitation is in the upper part of the temple near that of the *Indians*; and, as they ſay, they had once mount *Calvary*, but the king of the *Georgians* gave the ſultan ſo many rich gifts, that he deſignedly depriv'd the *Armenians* of mount *Calvary*, and gave it to the *Georgians*. They have alſo the noble and ſtately church of St. *James Major*, built in the very ſame place where the bleſſed apoſtle was beheaded by *Herod*. BAUMGARTEN

All the laymen among the *Armenians* cut their hair in the form of a croſs. They ſpeak the language of their own country, and write with their own letters too.

CHAP. X.

Other Monuments of Antiquity; and concerning the Situation and Name of Bethlehem.

ON the 28th day in the morning we went out of the temple, and walked to mount *Sion* to refreſh our ſelves; which when we had done, we march'd on with the monks our guides to the mountains of *Judea*: and having ſeen the deſert of *John Baptiſt*, we entered a cave to quench our thirſt with the water of a very clear ſpring which bubbled up at the very mouth of the cave. This cave is in a hollow rock; 'tis a hard matter to determine whether 'tis artificial or natural, having one of the fineſt proſpects in the world towards the hills and valleys round about it. From this place we went ſouthward, where we encounter'd with a very high and ſteep mountain; which when we had conquer'd, we march'd down the hill next to the well where *Philip* baptiz'd the eunuch of *Candace* queen of the *Æthiopians*, as 'tis in the eighth chapter of the *Acts of the apoſtles*. At this place upon a high hill may be ſeen the ruins of the city *Ziklag*, which king *Achiſh* gave *David* to dwell in when he fled to him, 1*Sam.* xxvii. Then we arriv'd at an olive-yard, above which, to the right hand, we ſaw the village *Bezech*, formerly a caſtle, here grew the beſt wines in all that country. Here it was, as it is recorded *Judg.* i. that *Jehuda*, general of the *Iſraelites*, ſlew ten thouſand men, and took king *Adonibezech* priſoner, and order'd his fingers and toes to be cut off. This *Adonibezech* had under his table ſeventy kings, whoſe fingers and toes he made to be cut off, and forced them to gather up the ſcraps and crums that fell from his table.

Deſert of John Baptiſt.

Well where the eunuch was baptized.

Ziklag.

Bezech.

Adonibezech.

From hence, the ſun wearing low, we made the beſt of our way to *Bethlehem*, where we arriv'd juſt as it grew dark; we ſtaid there all that night with our foreſaid guides. This was the city of *David* of old, now 'tis a ſmall inconſiderable village, ſix miles from *Jeruſalem*, on the ſouth-ſide of it, by the way which leads into *Hebron*. It is ſituated on a high but narrow hill, lying in length from eaſt to weſt, and having its entrance on the eaſt part: this was antiently call'd *Effrata*, but after, for the great plenty of corn in it, called *Bethlehem*, *i. e.* the houſe of bread. But according to the propriety of the *Saracen* language it is called the *Houſe of fleſh*; for *beth* with them ſignifies houſe, and *lahem* fleſh: and this not without reaſon, becauſe here *the Word was made fleſh*. From hence on the laſt day of *November* we returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Situation of Bethehem.

CHAP. XI.

Climbing up the Mountain Quarentana. Jericho, *its Fruitfulneſs, Situation, and Extent.*

THE firſt day of *December* we ſtaid in the monaſtry to furniſh ourſelves with ſome neceſſaries. But the next morning, having riſen two hours before ſun-riſing, we marched towards *Jordan*. A *Saracen* young man, with one ſervant, was both a guide and guard to us. The firſt place we came to was *Bethany*; and having paſſed it, we came next to a fountain, called *The fountain of the ſun*. Having there watered our mules, we went on our journey eight miles further, until we came to the ruins of *Adymon*, which was on the confines of *Juda* and *Benjamin*. Having afterwards taken ſome refreſhment at the fountain of *Eliſha*, and tied our mules to the trees, we marched up the mountain *Quarentana*. The ſun ſhone extremely hot, and annoyed us very

Bethany.

Fountain of the ſun.

Adymon.

Fountain of Eliſha.

Baumgarten

very much as we ſtrove to get up. For ſo it was, that when we crept upon the ſmall ſtones that lay looſe and ſcattered up and down in heaps before we could arrive at any place to fix upon, down we tumbled, ſtones and all. With many ſuch falls there was ſcarce any part of our bodies but was mauled moſt miſerably with the roughneſs of the ſtones. But becauſe we thought it diſhonourable to be defeated by this mountain, after we had maſter'd *Horeb* and *Sinai*, higher and more inacceſſible mountains by far than this, we pluck'd up our courage, and went on reſolutely till we had gain'd the middle of the mountain; and here the remaining part appearing ſtill more ſteep and unconquerable, ſixteen of the monks that were our fellow-travellers deſerted us. Three of the luſtieſt of them ſtuck to us, the reſt going back to the mules were fain to ſtay till we returned. And ſo ſix of us by the help of God, with much ado, at laſt got up to the top of the mountain, and there being entertained with a fine cool air, we were much refreſhed and comforted. On this mountain they ſay it was that our Saviour faſted, and was tempted of *Satan*. From hence we ſaw the ruins of a great many cities and places; particularly *Galgala* towards the eaſt, where the children of *Iſrael* pitch'd their tents, and were circumciſed after they paſſed the river *Jordan*, *Joſh.* v. We ſaw likewiſe the ruins of *Hay* and *Bethel*, and of other cities. And then when we had deſcended or rather tumbled down from this mountain *Quarentana*, we came to our company. Having taken ſome refreſhment, we went on to *Jericho*, through places where grew ſundry ſorts of trees, ſome whereof were full of ripe fruit: ſome of our company taken with their beauty, pluckt a few of them, and found nothing in them but dry aſhes, and a ſort of wet or moiſt embers. We ſaw in that place, how ſtrangely nature ſeems to act contrary to her own ſelf; for here one might ſee trees laden with ripe fruit, there other trees juſt beginning to bloſſom only, in another place you might ſee other trees with the bloſſoms fallen off and budding. From one end of this pleaſant foreſt to the other, the fountain of *Heliſæus* gently gliding under the trees, affords nouriſhment to all that the earth produces, and the clemency of the air doth cheriſh them. After this we came ſtraight to *Jericho*, and being received into the houſe of *Zacheus*, there we ſtaid all night. This is the only houſe that is left of that once great and famous city; it is built ſquare, of hewn ſtone, having on every corner a ſmall turret, without ever a roof to keep out ſun or rain. There are round about, about a dozen of ſmall cottages, if I may properly call them ſo; for nothing of building is to be ſeen in them, being only fenced in with tall hedges of thorns, having within a large place for cattel to ſtand and be ſhut up in. But in the middle they have huts or tents, where men uſed to ſhelter themſelves and goods from the inclemency of the ſun and rain.

Galgala.

Hay and Bethel.

Monſtrous fruits of Jericho.

Eliſha's well.

Zacheus's houſe.

Jericho is ſituated in the middle of a great valley lying towards the *Dead-Sea*, firſt overthrown by *Joſhua*; in the room of which he built another, *Oza* of *Bethel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, which our Saviour honoured with his preaching there. But this too, at the time the *Romans* beſieged *Jeruſalem*, through the treachery of ſome of its inhabitants, was taken and deſtroyed. Inſtead whereof a third alſo was rebuilt, but that too was quite deſtroyed, and ſcarce a memorial of it left at this day. It ſtood very pleaſantly in the middle of a plain, which lies between the mountains northward, and the *Dead-Sea* on the ſouth part. This plain (as *Joſephus* witneſſeth in his fifth book of the *Jewiſh* war, *cap.* 8.) is two hundred and thirty furlongs in length, and in breadth a hundred furlongs, and the river *Jordan* divides it in the middle. It was famous of old for having the greateſt number of beſt planted gardens in the whole world; for the palm-trees that grew there, produced many and ſeveral ſorts of fruit, which trodden or preſt, yielded abundance of honey, not much inferior to real honey; tho' itſelf too was the great nurſery and ſtore-place of honey. It was very fruitful too of *balm* once, which of all fruits is the moſt precious and valuable. Hence it was that *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, relying upon the power and friendſhip of *Mark Anthony*, in contempt of mighty *Herod* tranſplanted an orchard of palm-trees to *Cair*. *Joſephus* doth ſo highly extol this country, that he ſticks not to juſtify him who called this place the *Plain of* God, becauſe here grew the beſt of things, and in greateſt plenty too. And ſo prodigious is the increaſe it yields of all other ſorts of fruits, that no place in the univerſe is comparable to it; and ſuch is the clemency of the air here, that when it ſnows in the reſt of *Judea*, the inhabitants of this place are clad in linen only. It is off of *Jeruſalem* a hundred and ſeventy furlongs, and diſtant from *Jordan* ſixty furlongs. Between *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho* is a ſtony deſert and wilderneſs, to *Jordan* and the lake *Aſphaltides*, *i. e.* the *Dead-Sea*, tho' the ground lies lower, yet 'tis as barren and uncultivated as the other. So much of *Jericho* and its plain.

Situation of Jericho.

The plain of Jericho.

Its fruits.

Excellency of the ſoil.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Monuments of Sodom's *Puniſhment. The* Dead-Sea. *The City* Segor. *Pillar of Salt. Place where* CHRIST *was Baptized.* Jordan.

Land of Sodom. ON the third day, having follow'd our guides, we arrived at the *Dead-Sea*. In our journey thither we had a view of that frightful and horrid place, where GOD did ſo ſignally pour down his vengeance upon the *Sodomites*. The land lying round about is full of pits, cover'd over with aſhes that ſeem newly caſt up there: it ſcarcely ever produceth any thing green, but ever looks black, and as it were ſcorch'd and blaſted with lightning. It is full of pits and holes, into which our mules ſtumbling, and throwing us upon the ground, gave us occaſion, ſometimes of laughing, and ſometimes of compaſſionating the poor creatures. It had rain'd for a long time when we were there, and by this means the earth was grown ſoft and ſpongy, ſo that if any chanc'd to fall, the ground giving way, immediately receiv'd, and as it were hugg'd him in its boſom, being cover'd above with the clammy tough earth; one had much ado to get up again. Short-

Dead-Sea. ly after we came to the *Dead-Sea*; and there having ſecured our mules by faſtening them to ſome buſhes that grew there, we advanced to the ſhore. The ſuffocating ſtink, the melancholy and helliſh aſpect of this place, the ſhore full of reeds and rotten trees, the unwholeſome ſaltneſs and binding quality of the water, which is bitter as gall, repreſented to our eyes the dreadful vengeance of an offended and angry GOD.

The clouds and fogs that continually hang over it, hinder'd us from having a fuller view of this poiſonous lake. He that would have a larger account of it may conſult *Joſephus*, *lib.* I. of the *Jewiſh* war, *cap.* 8. or *Strabo* in the ſixteenth book of his *geography*.

Segor. Near the *Dead-Sea* to the right hand of it lies the city *Segor*, a deſolate and melancholy place like the reſt. This is it that *Lot* prayed for, *Gen.* xix. and into which he enter'd as the ſun went down. Here alſo, not far from the town, is to be ſeen to this day, the pillar of ſalt, into which *Lot*'s wife was turned for her diſobedience, and not regarding the threatning of the Almighty, as *Moſes* witneſſeth in the place aforeſaid. BAUMGARTEN

After this, leaving behind us the ruins of the monaſtry of St. *Hierom*, where they ſay this great man lived, we came ſtrait to the ſtreams of *Jordan*, and to the place where our Saviour is ſaid to have been baptized of *John*; and not far from this is the place where the children of *Iſrael* paſſed over upon dry ground. In our paſſage we drank of the water, ſprinkling our faces, hands, head and feet with it, and carried with us ſome of it in a veſſel to our own country without being corrupted. *Place of* CHRIST's *baptiſm.*

Beſides other encomiums of this river, it is remarkable for having been of old the boundary that ſeparated the faithful *Jews* from infidels; after many windings and turnings, it falleth into the *Dead-Sea* near *Jericho*, and there endeth. Concerning the origin of it, the common opinion is, that it ariſes under mount *Libanus*, from two fountains, one called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*. *Joſephus* will have it otherwiſe in his book of the wars of the *Jews*, *lib.* III. *cap.* 30. whom, if you pleaſe, you may conſult. 'Tis renowned for miracles: here *Naaman* the *Syrian* waſhed off his leproſy, iron ſwam, and would not ſink here. To *Elias* and *Eliſha* it afforded a miracle in teſtimony of their being prophets ſent of GOD. It is moſt eſpecially renowned, to conclude, for the moſt evident manifeſtation of the ſacred and undivided Trinity in the baptiſm of our Saviour CHRIST, *Luk.* iii. And ſo much of *Jordan*. *The original of* Jordan.

CHAP. XIII.

They enter the Temple a third time, and oftner. Robbers taken and executed by the Governor of Jeruſalem. *They keep their* Chriſtmas *in* Bethlehem. *The Religious Rites of the Sectaries there.*

IN the mean while the time drew near to viſit the temple of the holy ſepulchre a third time. And therefore coming to *Jeruſalem*, we went to *Abrahim* to claim our right; for when we gave him the twenty *ſeraphs*, it was on condition we ſhould have the liberty of ſeeing it once more. He denied it, and put us off till another time. When that time was come, he again would put us off longer. We were reſolved to bear with him no longer, and told him we would complain of him to the governor. When he found us to be in earneſt with him, he ſwore by his head (the uſual oath of his country) that if we would but give him one *ſeraph* more, he would not *The villany of* Abrahim.

Baumgaretn

not ſtop us one moment longer. We would not ſtand with him, and ſo we enter'd the temple a third time; yea, and the fourth and fifth time too, which is not cuſtomary for ſtrangers, paying *Abrahim* no more than three *maydins* a head. A certain *Italian* merchant had made a journey from *Damaſcus* to viſit the Holy Land, *Abrahim* had chous'd this ſame ſpark of a round ſum; we came to the door with him twice, and having twice paid our fees we were let in. We view'd all the places we mention'd before ſeverally, and ſo prepared in eight days time to be gone. We had hired a mule-driver to carry us and our goods to *Damaſcus*; but becauſe his mules were not yet come back, that he had ſent to *Baruthus*, we were obliged to tarry ſome days longer.

Robbers caught. On the 20th of *December*, the governor of *Jeruſalem*, who is the ſultan's vicegerent there, had apprehended twenty eight robbers who had been very troubleſome to that country with their depredations. He enter'd *Jeruſalem* in triumph, cauſing the heads of the robbers to be carry'd before him fixed on the points of long pikes.

Emmaus. On the 21ſt we came to *Emmaus*, a *Saracen* being our guide; we ſaw nothing here remarkable but rubbiſh, and caves full of bats.

Return to Bethlehem. On the 24th day, being *Chriſtmas* eve, the mules being ſtill at *Baruthus*, we went to *Bethlehem* in company of our monks, and were preſent at the veſpers of the friars, giving our humble and hearty thanks to our Lord, who by his birth had freed us from the power of the devil. In the mean time we were ſurprized with a ſtrange tuneleſs and tumultuous noiſe and ſhouting, the noiſe of trumpets, and loud ſinging and howling in a diſtracted and frightful manner; which was raiſed it ſeems by the *Grecians*, *Syrians*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Indians*, and the other ſectaries of the eaſtern Chriſtians, before mention'd: Every nation praiſing God in their own manner, ſome with hymns and ſongs, others with ſounding of trumpets, and playing on cymbals; ſome adoring, with frankincenſe, ointments, coſtly and odoriferous ſpices, do anoint the holy places, and feel them with their hands, and kiſs them. Moreover the women too, in an apartment by themſelves, dance round in a ring to the timbrel; and with clapping their hands, and wheeling about from one part of the temple to another, do violently ſtrain their bodies. Some of the ladies far exceeded the reſt both in beauty and dreſs; theſe having a timbrel in their hands, brought to our remembrance the ſiſter of *Aaron*, *Exod.* xv. and what ſhe did with the daughters of *Iſrael*, when *Pharoah* was drowned.

Celebration of Chriſtmas.

Grecians baptiſm. On *Chriſtmas* day we ſaw there the *Grecians* and *Syrians* baptizing their children, not new-born infants as is cuſtomary with us, but children of one and two years old, keeping them on purpoſe till this feſtival. Having here refreſhed our ſelves, we return'd to *Jeruſalem*. And here having from the time we firſt entred, tarried above a month, we frequently ſurveyed the ſituation of it, and inform'd our ſelves, as far as money or words could prevail, of all the particularities of it. On the rainy days we ſpent the time in reading and ſearching the library of the monaſtry. Having had all theſe opportunities, I thought it would not be amiſs to give ſome account of the ſituation, preſent ſtate, and various fortune of this renowned city.

Introduction to the hiſtory of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XIV.

An Hiſtorical Deſcription of the City Jeruſalem, *and of the* Temple.

Its names.

Solyma, Luza, Bethel, Hieroſolyma, Jebus,
Helia,
Urbs ſacra Jeruſalem dicitur, atque Salem.

Founder of Jeruſalem. *Jeruſalem* therefore being the moſt noble and renowned city of the eaſt, of which ſo glorious things are ſaid in the ſcripture, and the metropolis of the *Jews*; according to *Joſephus* in his book of the *Jewiſh* war, *lib.* VII. *c.* 26. was firſt built by the moſt potent of the *Canaanites*, who in his own language was ſtiled the *Juſt King*; and ſo he was indeed, and called *Melchiſedec*, the prieſt of the moſt high God. He was the firſt that perform'd the office of a prieſt to God, and built here a temple, and call'd the city *Solma*, which before was call'd *Jebus*, afterwards *Salem*; after this it was call'd *Jeruſalem*, *Bethel* and *Luza*; and laſtly *Helia*. Hence theſe verſes,

Fortifications. This city for the ſpace of five hundred and fifteen years, until *David*'s time, was inhabited by the *Canaanites*; its ſituation was upon a rock, and it was ſurrounded or fortify'd with three walls, except where it was environ'd with ſteep and difficult aſcents, for there it was encompaſſed but with one wall. This city, as *Strabo* truly relates, abounded with water on the inſide, and without was encompaſſed with a dry ditch cut out of the ſame rock forty foot deep, and two hundred and fifty foot broad. It was built upon two hills facing one

Ditch.

Hills.

Valley. one another, and ſeparated by a valley (which the kings of *Judah* were at a great deal of coſt and pains to fill up.) One of the hills, on which was ſeated the upper city, was much higher and evener than the other, and call'd *David*'s tower. The other hill, on which ſtood the lower city, was ſteep on all ſides, and reach'd as far as the pool of *Siloam*. The oldeſt of the three walls was impregnable, becauſe of the valleys and the hills that overlook'd them. And it was for this reaſon, and becauſe of the natural ſtrength of the place, that *David*, *Solomon*, and ſeveral other kings were at vaſt expences and charge to fortify it, and make it impregnable. The whole circumference of the city was thirty three furlongs.

Strong wall.

Altho' the third wall was wonderful in every reſpect, yet it was much more ſo for the excellency of the tower called *Prephinos*; for from the top of this tower, which was built ſeventy cubits high, when the ſun was up, one might have a full proſpect of *Arabia*, even to the ſea, and the utmoſt confines of the *Hebrews*. It was octangular, oppoſite to it ſtood the tower *Ypicos*, and hard by two more, which king *Herod* built on the old wall, and which for beauty, largeneſs and ſtrength, were not to be parallel'd by any in the whole world. The largeneſs of the ſtones was prodigious. For they were not built of common ſtone, or ſuch as men could carry, but of poliſhed marble, each ſtone being in length twenty cubits, and in breadth fifteen, which were ſo cloſe join'd to one another, that each tower ſeem'd to be a ſolid rock. The workmanſhip was ſo exquiſite, and the corners ſo finely cut, that the places where the ſtones were join'd could not be ſeen by the moſt curious eye. To theſe, placed on the north-ſide, was join'd the royal palace, which it is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe. For as to the magnificence and ſtatelineſs of the fabrick, and excellency of the workmanſhip, nothing ever could exceed it; and then it was encompaſs'd round with a wall thirty cubits high, and at an equal diſtance were beautiful towers, and alſo convenient houſes for men to lodge in, and rooms large enough to hold a hundred beds or tables. The variety of ſtones that were there was incredible, all the countries in the world being ranſacked to find out what was rare and curious for it. But, as I ſaid before, the wit of man cannot give a ſufficient deſcription of this place. The very remembrance of it is tormenting, to conſider what prodigious riches, the mercileſs flames have devoured; and yet it was not the *Romans*, but treacherous villains of their own country that ſet it on fire.

Tower Prephinos.

Ypicos.

Stones it was built with.

Royal palace.

Palace ſet on fire.

Come wenow to the temple, the magnificence and incredible glory of which is impoſſible to be deſcrib'd ſufficiently: It was built of free-ſtone, each being forty cubits long, and ſix or ſeven broad; encompaſſed with three walls, adorned with porches cover'd with gold and ſilver. In a word, there was nothing heart could wiſh to pleaſe the eye, but this temple had to amazement. But neither its antiquity, nor prodigious riches, nor people that were ſpread all over the earth, nor the great glory of their religion could preſerve it from being deſtroy'd. In a word, ſo glorious and magnificent was this ſtructure, that when the *Romans* (who had conquer'd the world) had carry'd the town and entered it, the emperor *Titus* eſpecially, ſeeing the fortifications of the city, the towers which the conquer'd had madly deſerted, and viewing the height and largeneſs of them, and the exquiſite and artificial joining of the ſtones together, he ſaid, *It was* GOD *certainly that aſſiſted us to fight*, and *'twas* GOD *that drove the* Jews *from theſe fortifications.*

BAUMGARTEN *Magnificence of the temple.*

Namque hominum manus & machina, quid ad iſta valerunt? For what could hands and engines ſignify to theſe?

However this noble city was taken and laid waſte ſeveral times, for the wickedneſs of its inhabitants, and for their idolatry and apoſtacy from their GOD.

Deſtructions of Jeruſalem.

Firſt, By *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who ruin'd its walls and towers, ſet the temple on fire, and carried away the veſſels thereof.

Secondly, By *Aſocheus* or *Aſobius* an *Egyptian* king.

Thirdly, By *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who took it by treachery, robbed the holy place, commanded the *Jews* to renounce the law of their forefathers, and ordered the temple ſhould not be called the temple of the LORD, but of *Jupiter Olympias.*

Fourthly, It was taken by *Pompey* the great, who made it and the reſt of *Judea* tributary; and as *Strabo* relates, *Pompey* took it upon a faſt-day, when the *Jews* abſtain'd from working, for having filled the ditch, and ſet ladders to the walls, he gave orders to pull them all down. Yet (as *Joſephus* reports *Lib.* I. *cap.* 16.) he meddled with none of the holy veſſels or inſtruments of the temple.

Laſtly, It was quite razed to the ground the firſt year of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, the 8th of *December*, by *Titus* his ſon, who took the town and deſtroyed the temple. Having taken it, he ordered all to the very walls to be laid level with the ground, that they who came to ſee it ſhould hardly believe that ever it was inhabited; for all the walls and hedges being pulled down, which

The laſt deſtruction

BAUMGARTEN

which the inhabitants had erected to fence their houſes and gardens, and all the woods and trees being cut down, all the hollow places and valleys were filled up; and where any rocks or ſtones ſtood up, they hewed them down, ſo that they levelled all. Having thus mowed down all before them for the ſpace of ninety furlongs round about *Jeruſalem*, it was a miſerable ſight to ſee. For where before were ſtately trees and curious gardens, here was nothing now to be ſeen but a wild deſert. Nor could any ſtranger who had ever ſeen *Judea* before, and its lovely towns and ſuburbs, abſtain from tears to ſee this horrid deſolation and change.

The cauſe of it. One cauſe of its dire calamity was, that they *obſtinately and perverſly refuſed to acknowledge the time of their viſitation.*

To conclude, whoever deſires further to know the great deſtruction of this city, the ſlaughter of men, the miſery of the famine, and other dreadful ſufferings of the *Jews*, let him but read *Joſephus*, who had it not by hear-ſay, but was himſelf an eye-witneſs of theſe things.

Re-edify'd by Adrian. After this, what was left of the city was a receptacle of murderers and robbers until *Adrian*'s time, who walled it round, and rebuilt it, calling it after his own name *Helia*; and, as St. *Jerome* writes to *Paulina*, from the time of *Adrian* to the reign of *Conſtantine*, for almoſt a hundred and eighty years, in the place of the reſurrection the image of *Jupiter* was worſhipped; on the rock of the croſs was worſhipped a marble ſtatue of *Venus*, that the Gentiles had placed there. The prophane *Romans* thinking by this means to ſhock our belief of the reſurrection and the croſs, if they did but prophane thoſe places with their idols.

Its preſent condition. Moreover, as it was then but a melancholy ſight to ſee, when it was deſtroyed and made level with the ground, ſuch and perhaps more miſerable is the face of it now, there being nothing but ruins left of the ancient buildings. Inſomuch that the country which was of old, for its plenty, called a land flowing with milk and honey, may now juſtly be term'd a land of thorns, of thiſtles and deſolation.

Nevertheleſs our predeceſſors by the means of *Charles* the great, or *Charlemain*, who recovered it with much labour, were in poſſeſſion of it a long time; and *Godfrey* having with great glory recovered it, they again enjoyed it eighty eight years: and afterwards being taken by *Saladin* king of *Egypt*, the Chriſtians miſerably loſt it to their great damage and diſhonour, and they ſhamefully ſuffer it to continue in the poſſeſſion of the infidels. O ſhame and confuſion! upon the leaſt private ſedition among our ſelves, we are ſtout and valorous, and ſo bloody minded that we are ready to cut one another's throats: But when the enemies of GOD and of the true church provoke our juſt reſentment, there we are arrant cowards.

The deſcription therefore of *Jeruſalem*, as it is at this day, both as to its exterior and interior ſituation, is as followeth: It is almoſt of a triangular form. In the eaſt part of it ſtands the temple of *Solomon*, in the north-ſide within the walls the temple of the holy ſepulchre. On the ſouth-ſide of it ſtands mount *Sion*, without the walls, yet joined by the houſes built between the wall and the mount; whence the reſt of the city, becauſe it lay lower, was called the daughter of *Sion* in ſacred hiſtory. At the foot of mount *Sion* lyeth the valley *Ennon*, where the royal gardens were, where alſo the *Iſraelites* had their idolatrous groves, in which they made their children paſs through the fire, and ſacrificed them to their idols. On the oppoſite hill ſouthward is the field of *Akeldama*. Oppoſite to mount *Sion*, between the eaſt and ſouth, ſtands a high but narrow hill called the hill or mountain of offence or ſtrife, becauſe there *Solomon* in complaiſance to his wives had erected a temple to *Chamos* the idol of *Moab*, and to *Moloch* the idol of the children of *Ammon*, wherein he highly offended GOD, 2 *Kings*. Not far from the temple of *Solomon* is the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* lying in the middle between it and mount *Olivet*, which extends it ſelf from the valley *Cedron* on the north, to the valley *Ennon*, and ends there; the valleys are very deep, and difficult of aſcent. Mount *Olivet* ſtands oppoſite to *Solomon*'s temple on the eaſt-ſide of it, and is much higher than *Jeruſalem*. Of the three ſtrong walls, and the broad and deep ditch that in former times the city was compaſſed with, there is nothing to be ſeen at this day but the rubbiſh and ſtupendous ruins. And thus much of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the holy city.

Preſent ſituation.

Daughter of Sion.

Valley of Ennon.

Field Akeldama.

Valley Jehoſhaphat.

Cedron.

Ennon.

Olivet.

I ſhall put an end to this ſecond book with this obſervation of *Joſephus* in his book of the *Jewiſh* war, *Lib.* VI. *cap. ult.* I verily believe if the *Romans* had delay'd their coming againſt thoſe miſcreants, that the earth would have opened and ſwallowed them up, or elſe that a deluge of water would have ſwept them away, or that GOD would have deſtroy'd them with fire from heaven, as he did *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

The End of the Second Book.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Giving an Account of *Syria*, and the Author's Return from thence to *Venice* by Sea.

CHAP. I.

They go from Jeruſalem. *A Quarrel of the Mule-drivers. Are in danger by Thieves at the River* Jordan.

ON the 28th day of *December*, the mules that were long look'd for return at laſt from *Barathus*. We take leave therefore of our guide and friars, and packing up our bag and baggage, we mount our mules about noon; and going out at the gate of judgment, we paſſed on over ſteep hills, and deep ſtony valleys, until we came to the north part of the city. In the evening we arriv'd at a certain village that was fill'd with ruins and rubbiſh (it was of old called *Hay*, being the ſame town that *Joſhua* took, *Joſ.* viii.) From this place we had a view at a diſtance of the valley of *Jericho*, the *Dead-Sea*, *Galgala*, the mountain *Quarentana*, and many other remarkable places towards the eaſt. In this village we found a great many travellers that had taken up their lodging in a very large but unfurniſhed inn.

Hay.

On the 29th about noon, as we were to leave that place, a quarrel happened between the mule-drivers; ſome were for going one way, and others for going another way, inſomuch that we had but very few left to go with us. However we purſued our journey, and met with a great deal of hardſhip in our way, over hills and dales, till with much ado we arrived at laſt in a large valley, through the middle of which the river *Jordan* runs; and there we reſted our ſelves and our mules till ſun-ſetting, dreading that country for robberies. So ſoon as it grew dark we left that place, and without any noiſe marched on, expecting every moment to be aſſaulted, till we had got to the north ſide of the valley. And no ſooner were we arrived there, being hard by the river *Jordan*, but we were ſtruck with a panick fear.

Mule-drivers fall out.

Valley of Jordan.

For both ſides of the rivers were planted full with rogues, which we could eaſily diſcover by the multitude of fires that appeared to us. We were here very much ſtraitned, there being no poſſibility to go backwards nor forwards without manifeſt hazard: And therefore conſulting among our ſelves what we had beſt do, we committed our ſelves to God's providence, devoutly praying that we might be inſtructed how to eſcape ſo great a danger. And while we deſpaired of falling on any method how to ſave our ſelves, all of a ſudden we light upon the robbers watch, who being but young boys, and at a good diſtance from their party, and being likewiſe overcome with ſleep, and ſomewhat frighted too, at firſt they held their peace, but in a moment giving a great ſhout, and their party anſwering them in the ſame manner, we gave our ſelves up for dead men; and ſo leaving off our intended journey, we turned aſide to a hill hard by, on the left-hand ſide of the way, with all the ſpeed we could, intending there to hide our ſelves, or diſpute for our lives as long as we could, if there was occaſion. In the mean time while they were drawing themſelves up in a body together, what with the noiſe of their horſes feet, and partly by the favour of the darkneſs of the night, without their hearing us, we made a ſhift to get up to the top of a certain mountain, and from thence down to another valley hard by, where we continued for ſome time in profound ſilence, having ſent out our ſcouts and guards to the upper parts of the hill (who were very well acquainted with the ground) to bring us word as ſoon as they diſcovered any danger.

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Danger of robbers.

CHAP. II.

The Arabians *exact Toll at the River* Jordan, *and we were in danger by them. A Country Meeting of the* Grecian *Chriſtians for Divine Worſhip.*

BAUMGARTEN

ON the thirtieth by day-break, our ſcouts having returned, brought us word that they could not diſcover the thieves any where. They brought along with them an *Arabian*, whom we hired to be our guide to *Jordan*. Taking him with us, away we marched ſtraight to the fords.

Arabian robbers exact a toll.

There we found *Arabians* in great numbers, ſome on the ſhore, and others up to the middle in the river, who with their ſwords drawn, brandiſhing their ſpears, and bending their bows, oppoſed our paſſage. We were fain to treat with them by our interpreter, and ſo had leave to paſs the river, having firſt paid them three *maydins* apiece. The river was at that time very low, and the banks were bare on both ſides. We waded it over very ſlowly, and as we paſſed, ſprinkled our heads, hands, and legs with the water, and ſome of it we carried with us to drink. Having got over *Jordan*, we came next to a very fruitful plain full of very rank graſs that grew very thick. Here the *Arabians* (not ſatisfied it ſeems with the money we had given them) came back again upon us, we never ſuſpecting any ſuch matter. Moſt of our company whom they found out of their ranks (and with them the two friars aforeſaid) they carried away with them. The mule-drivers ſeeing this, being more concern'd for the loſs of their mules than the men, came up to them and expoſtulated the matter, bending their bows; and fitting their arrows to the ſtrings, the rogues terrify'd with the bended bows and ſharp arrows, retire to their gang. We march on, they who were unarmed together, with the mules in the van; we who had arms in the rear, both to guard our ſelves and our goods from the robbers: For theſe *Arabian* thieves come out with a deſign not to fight, but to plunder, and therefore they have commonly but few arms; and when they meet with men of courage, they are the erranteſt cowards in the world. By this means, ſometimes reſiſting them, and ſometimes getting away from them, we eſcaped out of their hands, and betook our ſelves to the mountainous parts. We paſt one mountain that was of great length, full of corn, olives, vines, and fruitful trees. We ſaw here ſome caſtles built on ſmall hills, and ſome country towns. And this country was given by lot to the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and to the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, as it is *Joſ.* xiii. *Gad and* Ruben. It is at this day a country very fit for paſturage, and if it was cultivated, would prove extremely fruitful. Having rode on all that day, and ſome part of the night following; at length arriving at a certain country village, we lodged in our mule-driver's houſe.

Dangers by them.

Convent of Grecian *Chriſtians*

On the 31ſt day, being the laſt of the year, reſting our ſelves here for ſome time, we were by our landlord conducted to a cave cut in the ſolid rock, where the Chriſtians of the *Greek* church, who lived in that town, uſed to meet to perform Divine worſhip; and becauſe that day happened to be the vigil of the circumciſion of our LORD, we aſſiſted at their veſpers. Which being over, when they diſtributed to each their boiled wheat and loaves, we had our portion aſſigned us among the reſt, which we very willingly received and kiſſed, leſt by refuſing it they might apprehend we undervalued them; and whilſt they looked on, and carefully obſerved us, we eat it up.

Their offerings.

CHAP. III.

The ſmallneſs of the Houſes in theſe Places. A Caravan of Galilee. *The Lake* Maron. *Dens of Lions near it.*

ON the morning of the circumciſion the new year begins with us. For the ſolemnity of this feaſt we ſtir'd not out of doors all day long; but the next day following having got more company, we came to a ſmall cottage, where we found ſeveral other perſons who were to travel to the ſame parts we were a going to. There we ſtaid all that night, and were ſo ſtraitned for want of room, that we were fain to take up our lodging among the camels, cows, and mules, and had not the conveniency of extending our body, or ſitting down any where. But when one is thoroughly tir'd and wearied, a very indifferent accommodation will ſerve one's turn.

Hard lodging.

On the 3d of *January*, leaving this mountainous country, we came to a very large plain deſtitute of trees indeed, but a very fruitful ſpot of ground. The land is fat, and of a reddiſh colour, but for want of being cultivated as it ſhould be, it is in a

manner waſte. We were conducted to a ſmall village here, where we ſtaid all that and the two following days; for our retinue was not yet ſo numerous as to adventure travelling in a place ſo infeſted with robbers. The houſes here are miſerably low and mean, being commonly built in ditches, and the walls both within and without built of ſtone, without lime or mortar. On the out-ſide there's hardly any thing like a houſe to be ſeen; ſo that if a ſtranger happen to come there who knows not the place, he is apt to take them for ſo many heaps of ſtones, and to look for houſes among houſes.

Wretched houſes.

On the 6th day came to us a caravan of ſeventy camels, which haſtened to *Damaſcus* with corn from *Galilee*. We joined our ſelves to this, and little after came to an inn, where we found very luckily another caravan full as ſtrong as the former.

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On the 7th day as we travel'd, we left on our left hand the lake *Maron*. This lake is occaſion'd by the abundance of waters that flow down from mount *Libanus* about the beginning of the ſpring, when the warm weſt wind thaws it; and yet this ſame mountain in the ſummer time is ſcorched up by the ſun. Becauſe of the overflowing of the waters there grow here abundance of reeds, trees, thorns, &c. that make an ecchoing wood, where the bears, lions, and other beaſts of prey find both food and ſhelter; and here, they ſay, the king uſes to hunt. At theſe waters, as it is in *Joſhua*, chap. xi. *Jabin* king of *Haſor*, with many of his confederate princes met, whom *Joſhua* attacked, and the LORD deliver'd them into his hand.

Lake Maron.

Dens of wild beaſts.

CHAP. IV.

They are nobly entertained in Damaſcus. *The Conſul's Character there. Antiquities of* Saul. *The Story of a* Florentine *Merchant, Governor of* Damaſcus. *An Encomium on the City, its Situation, Nature of the Place, Merchandiſe and Product.*

ON the 8th day purſuing our journey in the ſame plain, we came at laſt in the evening late to *Damaſcus*, and went to a warehouſe of the *Venetians*, who receiv'd us with all manner of civilities, and entertain'd us nobly, ſo as we wanted for nothing, as if we had been in our own country; for here we had ſoft feather-beds to lie on, all ſorts of meat in very good order, our feet and heads waſhed, our linen ſhifted; in a word, we were ſo extremely well uſed and comforted here, that we look'd more like ſo many pampered domeſticks than travellers, after ſo many naſty lodgings, toilſome journeys, faſtings, and many other inconveniences.

Damaſcus.

Hoſpitality of the Venetians.

On the 9th day we went to the conſul's houſe, and there were we moſt nobly entertain'd again, with all the reſpect imaginable; and having ſupp'd with him, he gave us a ſatisfactory account of the ſect of the *Mahometans*, and their way of living; for this conſul was a very learn'd, judicious, and graceful man, of a very majeſtick preſence and comely aſpect.

Conſul's character.

On the 10th day having taken ſome refreſhment, ſome of the noble *Venetians* conducted us out of the city to the place where *Saul*, when he went to perſecute the Chriſtians and to apprehend them, fell upon his face on the ground, and heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* &c. *Acts* ix. Here was in former times a noble temple, now there is nothing but a huge heap of rubbiſh, where the Chriſtians inhabiting *Damaſcus*, and ſtrangers are buried. Returning thro' the gardens, with which that city and country abounds in great variety, we came under the walls of the town, and directly under that window where *Paul* was let down in a baſket by his brethren.

Place of Saul's *converſion.*

Window he went out at.

Having enter'd the city we ſaw the houſe of *Judas*, who entertain'd *Paul* while he was blind; and the houſe of *Ananias* in which Chriſtians dwell, where alſo there is a very beautiful chapel. Whilſt we were taking an exact ſurvey of the ſituation of the town, the noble *Venetians* firſt, and next ſome of the gentlemen of *Damaſcus*, and laſt of all the conſul, all of good credit, entertain'd us with this true ſtory.

Ananias's houſe.

There was a certain merchant of *Florence*, a man of great wiſdom and very wealthy: This man happening to reſide at *Damaſcus*, where for a long time he had traded in merchandizing, came at laſt to be very well acquainted at court, and to be in ſingular favour with the prince, who promiſed if he would but renounce his religion, that he would give him his daughter to wife. The *Florentine* agrees to the bargain; for being blinded and diſtracted with love, he embraces a blind and erroneous religion, marries and enjoys her. He had ſeen the lady before, and was deeply ſmitten with her love, and told the prince he was a dead man if he did not enjoy her. The prince took him at this diſadvantage, and made him agree to his own terms. However, by this marriage he was had in very great eſteem, and was much admired by all the courtiers.

Story of a Florentine *Merchant.*

After

Baumgarten

After the prince his father-in-law's death, he ſucceeded him in the principality, which office he executed during his life-time, to every body's ſatisfaction; and when he died was honoured with a temple, or (according to the propriety of the *Saracen* language) a moſque. The *Saracens* adore him for a ſaint, and feeling or handling his tomb, they kiſs it, and now and then ſtroke their beards with it. This *Florentine* encompaſs'd the city *Damaſcus*, for the moſt part, with the wall that is now about it, and cauſed the *lion*, being the arms of the city of *Florence*, to be engraven upon it. Before this time *Tamerlane* had ruin'd the city *Damaſcus*. There is however at this day to be ſeen a very ancient gate, having in it the ſtatues of the four evangeliſts, which may ſerve for a proof that the Chriſtians had it in their poſſeſſion.

Saracens worſhip at the tomb of a Florentine.

Peucerus chron. l. 5.

Moreover, this city for wholeſomneſs of air, plenty of water, fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, variety of moſt delicious fruits, pleaſantneſs of orchards and gardens, flouriſhing of trade, and laſtly for the antiquity of its original, far excells all the cities of *Syria:* For *Shem* the ſon of *Noah* was the firſt founder of it; whence in the language of the *Saracens* it is ſtill called *Sem*. It is ſituated at the foot of the mountain *Antilibanus* in a plain, whoſe ſoil is naturally barren and dry, except where 'tis water'd by the ſmall rivers *Pharphar* and *Abana*, which are let in and conveyed thro' pipes and ſmall conduits, and make the land very fruitful, and moſt fit for planting of trees, inſomuch that it may be juſtly ſtiled *Paradiſe*. Among other fruits which grow there in great abundance, there are likewiſe our *Damaſcene prunes*, ſo call'd, either becauſe they are here in greater plenty, and better in their kind, or elſe that from hence they were firſt carry'd and diſtributed to other countries.

Encomium of Damaſcus.

Its founder.

Damaſcene prunes.

We purchaſed in *Damaſcus* ſome things that we brought home with us, *viz.* ſilks and ſattins, aloes wood, raiſins of a prodigious bigneſs and ſweetneſs, *Damaſcene* prunes, ribbons, and *Saracen* caps, *Indian* platters or baſkets. There is another place of the ſame name near *Hebron*; the cauſe why they are both call'd by the ſame name is yet unknown, for *Damaſcus* and *Hebron* are ſeven days journey diſtant one from the other.

Commodities of Damaſcus.

CHAP. V.

Houſes for Cats in Damaſcus. *Original of this Superſtition. Their ſudden Departure hence for fear of the Prince.*

ON the 11th day as we were walking over the city, they ſhewed us a houſe, very large and walled round, which was full of cats; and having enquired what might be the occaſion of it, we were told by very grave ſerious men, that the occaſion of it was as follows, *viz.* That when *Mahomet* once lived here, he brought with him a cat in his ſleeve, which he was wont to ſtroke with his own hand, and to feed her, to make much of her; and not only ſo, but to govern all his actions by her directions. And the followers of *Mahomet* to this very day, in imitation of him, do keep and worſhip cats, and hold it for a notable piece of alms and charity to feed them. And if any of thoſe creatures ſhould happen to be ſtarved for want of victuals, they reckon he who had the charge of keeping her, deſerves condemnation from God. For this reaſon you ſhall ſee a great many of them, who beg meat and ox-livers and hearts in the markets to feed the cats with. But it is probable this baſe and ſhameful ſuperſtition proceeded from ſome other cauſe: For we know that *Syria* of old was poſſeſſed by the *Egyptians*, amongſt whom it was cuſtomary to worſhip ſeveral ſorts of animals; ſuch as dogs, ſnipes, oxen, hawks, and cats. The reaſon hereof is aſſigned by *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* in his ſecond book, which he that pleaſes may read: The chief reaſon may be this, that in their battels and wars, having in their colours or enſigns the figures of theſe creatures, they might have obtain'd ſome ſignal victories; or truly, that thoſe creatures were uſeful in their kind, and were neceſſary either for food, or defence of mankind. And ſo the cats, becauſe they were very ſerviceable for killing of ſerpents, mice and rats, and other venomous creatures that were very rife in *Egypt*, were worſhipped for Gods: And 'tis very likely, that from this old prevailing ſuperſtition, it has ſtill continued to deſcend and be in uſe unto this day. We intended to have ſeen many more monuments of this city's antiquities, but fortune proved croſs to us. For as we were conducted to ſee places, and treated with all manner of civility and reſpect by ſome noble *Venetians*, it was told the prince or governor of the city, that there were arrived ſome Chriſtians of great eſtates. He being covetous of money, ſends word to the *Venetian* conſul to aſk the reaſon why he did not ſend him an account of the arrival of ſuch perſons, for that he was ready to ſhew them all imaginable reſpect and civility. The conſul, being

A houſe full of cats.

Original of it.

Danger from the prince of Damaſcus.

being a quick ingenious man, and underſtanding immediately what the prince's deſign was, ſent him an anſwer, that we were but merchants and poor men; but that for the ſake of old acquaintance and hoſpitality they had entertain'd them ſo as they did. And in the mean time he diſpatched a meſſenger to tell us that we had beſt march off as ſoon as we could conveniently, otherwiſe if we muſt viſit the prince, it muſt of neceſſity put us to a great deal of charge. Finding our ſelves in this condition, on the 12th at night we huddled our goods up in a hurry, and departed out of *Damaſcus* about the third hour of the night, the moon ſhining. And thus travelling over the ſteep and unpaſſable tops of high hills, we arrived at laſt about day-breaking at a ſmall cottage or hut, and there found a caravan going to *Baruthus*.

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Departure from Damaſcus

CHAP. VI.

Country of Bakar. *Burial-place of* Noah. *Caſtle* Baldach. *Story of a poor Woman deceiving the* Baldachens. *Their ſtay in the Village* Boherſee.

ON the 13th in the morning we roſe very early, and travelled over mountains covered with ſnow, and that founded with brooks that violently flowed down from the tops of them; which when we had left behind us, we came next into a very ſpacious and lovely plain, wherein we met with ſeveral rivulets, and namely two branches of the river *Jordan*, which we paſt over. This plain is now called *Bakar*, a very fertile country abounding with high hills, that ſeem to be made with hands, on which are ſeated caſtles. The ſtory goes, that here *Noah* built his ark; and they ſhew the place where he was bury'd, being upon a hill, and of very curious workmanſhip. Travelling over this plain towards the eaſt, one may ſee a great many monuments of antiquity, among which one ſtone of a prodigious magnitude, reſembling for bigneſs a tower or hill. Near to this ſtone are three pillars, not unlike thoſe that are to be ſeen in St. *Mark*'s place in *Venice*. Not far from hence is the caſtle *Baldach*, whence they ſay was *Baldach* the *Shuhite*, of whom we read in the book of *Job*. The rows of pillars in this caſtle are admirable, being ſtones of a huge bigneſs, the building is very high and ſtately, but all gone to ruin, yet even what is left ſhews there has been there ſomething very great and noble. It is reported that the *Baldachenſes*, willing to remove the ſtone afore-mentioned, had ſeveral times attempted it, but in vain, becauſe of its bigneſs. A woman with child that was very poor, obſerving how they were baffled, told them, ſhe knew an art to remove this ſame ſtone with the greateſt eaſe imaginable, to what place ſoever they pleaſed; and that ſhe was willing to communicate the ſame to them, on condition they would provide for her till ſhe was delivered of her child, and in the time of her lying in. The credulous *Baldachenſes* greedily embrace the motion, and bring the woman all neceſſaries in great plenty, expecting to hear ſome wonderful ſecret. The woman at laſt is delivered, and comes where the ſtone was, with abundance of followers. When ſhe came near the ſtone, to work ſhe went, ſtooping down with her back cloſe to the ſtone, as if ſhe was ready to take on her load; and charging the by-ſtanders that they would all put to their hands and help her on with her burden, and that ſhe would carry it away cleverly whitherſoever they would have her: they told her it was not poſſible for them to do it; neither is it poſſible for me, ſaid ſhe, both to lift it on and carry it too. They perceiving the woman was no fool, and that ſhe talked to the purpoſe, excuſed and diſmiſſed her. The multitude retired diſappointed, the woman was helped in her neceſſity, and the ſtone continued where it was. Croſſing over this plain once more, we had another journey over the mountainous parts, till we arriv'd at a village called *Boherſee*, and there we tarried two days in our mule-driver's houſe, not able to go on, both for the badneſs of the weather, and want of health.

Bakar.

The place where Noah *built his ark.*

Story of the Baldachenſes.

Our ſtay in Boherſee.

CHAP. VII.

They ſuffer extreme Cold. Of the Saracens *Faſts, Food, Superſtitions, Drink, eating Kites, and other Cuſtoms of Men and Women.*

ON the 16th day about noon, we ſet out to travel over the mountains again. Here the cold wind did drove the ſnow ſo in our faces, that we could hardly ſit on our mules. There had been a great fall of ſnow, which had ſo covered the roads, that we were put to all our ſhifts to find our way: But when we had gained

Difficulties of the journey.

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the top of that hill, we deſcended by a very ſteep way; it blew very hard from the tops of the mountains, and withal rained ſo faſt, that we were extremely mortify'd, and wet to the very ſkin. Here we were glad to betake our ſelves to a ſmall cottage, and kindling a ſmall ſmoaky fire, we dry'd our clothes in the beſt manner we could. The night following a great many *Saracens* came to us, ſome to warm themſelves, and others to ſee our mule-driver, with whom they were acquainted.

Saracens faſt in January.

And becauſe they faſted all the month of *January* that year, inſtead of keeping the forty days of *Lent*, each of them laid up proviſions for himſelf according to his ability. Now the *Saracens* way of faſting is, to abſtain from meats of all ſorts in the day-time; and when night is come, they indulge themſelves in junketting and banquetting, and give up themſelves to all manner of incontinency. They ſit at meals not as we do upon ſtools, or eat from tables, but ſitting on riſing ground round in a ring, they eat very faſt and greedily. They never drink at meals, but when they have done eating, then the drink is brought, and they drink as heartily as if they had ſuffer'd thirſt a long time. They are ſtrict obſervers of the new-moon, and not only ſalute but adore its firſt appearance, obſerving in all their actions and affairs, the increaſe or decreaſe of it: And for that reaſon they have always a half-moon in the tops of their houſes, and caſtles, and on the doors and roofs of their churches and temples. They ſeldom or never drink wine, and if they do it is very privately; but grapes, and hony made of grapes, they eat freely. The common ſort drink only fair water, the better and richer ſort water brewed and made up with ingredients. They very ſeldom make uſe of ſpoons, but if they have occaſion to eat any ſpoon-meat, they eat it out of the hollow of their hand, keeping cloſe their fingers; and thus in a barbarous manner you ſhall ſee the meat dropping from their naſty paws upon their beards, and ſo down into the diſh again, enough to turn one's ſtomach. They hate ſmooth-fac'd and beardleſs men, and never ſhave their beards. They ſhave their heads, and firſt cover them with caps, and afterwards with a roll made up with many ribbons. They are very ſlovenly in their clothes. Being inur'd to hardſhip from their infancy, they are regardleſs either of cold or heat, able to endure hunger and fatigue. They go barefoot for the moſt part, except when 'tis a very great froſt, or the ways are dirty, and then they uſe wooden ſhoes. They have wooden ſhoes only when they travel long journeys. Very few of them know what ſtockings are, and ſuch as wear them, have them come up no higher than the middle of their leg. Moſt of them, when 'tis very ſtormy and cold weather, do wear coats made of beaſt's-ſkins, with the hairy ſide inward, and reaching no further than their knees; the ſleeves whereof are ſo wide that they can eaſily pull back their hands when they are very cold and warm them in their naked boſom. They delight much in hoſpitality, and reckon it a point of great clowniſhneſs and incivility to exact money of ſtrangers for their entertainment; for we were ſeveral times invited and entertained by them; being made very welcome when we came, but much deſpiſed by them when we refuſed their invitation. They never bake, but when they are either a going to eat themſelves, or to give it away to ſtrangers. They are of opinion that all holy days ought to be ſpent in feaſting and fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh. Their women are very decently habited all over their body, having their face covered with a thin black veil, through which they can ſee every thing but no body can ſee them. They dye their lips of a dark colour, and mark their fore-heads with a hot iron. On their arms they wear bracelets and rings of ſilver and iron, according to their quality and eſtate. They wear jewels in their lips, ears, and noſtrils, and a ſort of rings on their fingers. They uſe on their heads turbants, each according to her quality, which they cover with a white ſcarf hanging down to the ground. So much of the *Saracen* cuſtoms. I will now proceed to give an account of what I have heard and read concerning their great impoſtor *Mahomet*.

Their manner of eating.

Their drink.

Hoſpitality.

Feaſts.

Women.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

History of Mahomet. *His Pedigree. His Diſpoſition; falſe preaching; Acts, Laws, Alcoran; Rites of Prayer, Faſts, Pilgrimages, Polygamy, Policy; his Dreams of Pleaſure after this Life; blaſphemous Arrogance. His opinion of* JESUS *and* MARY. *Religion contained in the* Alcoran. *Death of* Mahomet. *His Succeſſor; his Sepulchre.*

Time of Mahomet. MAHOMET was born on the 23d of *April*, in the 606th year of CHRIST's nativity, in the popedom of *Boniface* the fourth, and when *Phocas* the parricide was emperor. His father was an *Arabian* and an idolater, but his mother an *Iſhmaelite*, and of the religion of the *Hebrews*. Being deſcended of theſe two ſects ſo oppoſite to one another, and contrary in their principles, he adhered to neither; but being a very ingenious and crafty fellow, and having converſed with Chriſtians, out of the two opinions he contriv'd and made up one of his own, which has proved very deſtructive to mankind. For, among the *Arabians* who had him in very great eſteem, he publickly preached that *Coſroes* with his whole family was juſtly deſtroyed, becauſe he had cauſed himſelf to be worſhiped for a god. And yet he himſelf, as a moſt wicked and licentious villain, was wont to worſhip idols, and adore images made with mens hands. When he diſputed of the law of the *Hebrews* (which the *Arabians* for the moſt part profeſſed) and the traditions of the Chriſtians, he us'd to affirm that they were one and the ſame, but that both parties were much ſeduced by great errors, which errors he pretended to moderate and remedy, by alledging the *Hebrews* to be in the wrong for denying JESUS to be born of a virgin, whereas their anceſtors believ'd and look'd for it. And as for the Chriſtians, he blamed them for their levity, in believing that JESUS, who was ſo much beloved of GOD, and born of the Virgin, ſhould yet be willing to have endured reproaches, and at laſt the death of the croſs. And ſetting up a law of his own, he aſſured his hearers, that if the *Saracens* would receive and protect him, and be obedient to him as to a meſſenger ſent by GOD, they ſhould ſet themſelves at liberty, and be the lords and princes of all nations round about them, enjoying great honours and riches, which afterwards was, and at this day is too much verified, thro' the cowardice and ſlothfulneſs of our princes and great men.

Parentage.

Wit and cunning.

Melancthon. *Chron. lib.* III.

Another opinion of his pedigree. There are others who affirm, that he was born of a mean and vile parentage, as having been a driver of mules, or carrier to a rich widow, whom afterwards he wheedled ſo as ſhe was perſuaded to marry him. And that it was by her riches he was ſo puffed up, as to have high thoughts of himſelf, and arrogantly to aſſume to himſelf the ſtile of GOD's *prophet and embaſſador*. For in his *alcoran* he brings in GOD thus ſpeaking to him; *Thou waſt wiſe, but educated under diſcipline: Thou waſt in error, and yet eſcaped out of it*: Thou wert poor, but art become rich.

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Thus, when *Mahomet* aſpir'd to dominion, and made his firſt appearance, ſome of the ruder and meaneſt ſort of people joined him; afterwards having increaſed his party with a conſiderable number of robbers and thieves, he at length dared to diſturb the bounds of the *Roman* empire. But *Heraclius* the then emperor ſoon put a ſtop to his progreſs, having put him to flight, and given him an ugly wound in is forehead, which was a plain contradiction to his prophecy, wherein he ſaid of himſelf, that GOD *had given him for a guard and protection ten angels, ſo as it ſhould not be in the power of any to hurt him.* After this defeat the *Saracens* and *Arabians* taking up arms, worſted *Heraclius*'s generals; ſo that he who before was ſucceſsful, is now again unfortunate. *Mahomet* flushed with this victory, and his being made general of their army, marched, ſtiling himſelf the *great prophet of* GOD; and deluded by magical arts and ſorcery, the *Africans* and *Aſians*, whom he animated to ſuch degrees of courage and reſolution, that they had gone near totally to extinguiſh the name of *empire*, having ſubdued *Alexandria*, and other cities of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Cilicia*.

He aſpires to dominion.

In order to the better forming his deſign, he had the aſſiſtance of *Sergius* a wicked monk, who for ſome great crimes he had committed, was expelled his monaſtry, and fled to him; and collecting many paſſages out of the law of *Moſes*, and the goſpel, he put them artificially together in one body. And that he might engage his followers to ſtick the cloſer to him, he allowed one man to have four wives, and thoſe of his own near kindred two; and as many concubines as he was able to maintain, beſides ſlaves, which he might ſell, and make uſe of, or diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure.

His aſſiſtant in framing his alcoran.

Moreover he ſays of his *alcoran*; "If "we ſhould carry this law of ours to any "mountain,

His boaſting of it.

Baum garten

" mountain, that mountain would infallibly move and bow down immediately, " out of reſpect to God and his law. And " that this law is ſo excellent, that it is " not in the power of gods or men to " deviſe a better, for that by it the devils " themſelves will be ſaved.

Saracens worſhip. This law he appointed to be read five times a day. When they pray, they ſet their faces to the ſouth, and fall flat upon the ground three times. Wherein they obſerve this method, That one of them that are to pray, who for his age, or ſome other excellency, has the preference, firſt kneels down, and after him the reſt, as many as are preſent, in a direct line in the ſame manner. Again, this firſt, as ſoon as he thinks they have all kneel'd, he immediately falls down on his face, and after him the firſt next to him, and then the ſecond, third, fourth, and ſo on to the laſt man; and thus they pray, and ſometimes they ſigh and groan heavily. And when this firſt riſes up again, or falls down, ſo muſt all the reſt do in order one after another, like ſo many monkeys. And when they have ſhewed all their tricks the third time, then they all riſe up together, ſeeming glad and mightily pleaſed, as if they had obtain'd what they pray'd for. And it is remarkable that before they go to prayers, in imitation of baptiſm or confeſſion, they plunge themſelves in water. And for that purpoſe they have before all their moſques a place full of water, that they waſh themſelves in. But if they happen to be in a deſert-place, where they cannot have water, then they ſprinkle themſelves with earth or duſt inſtead of water; fooliſhly thinking this to be effectual to purge and cleanſe them from their ſins. The ſubject matter of their prayer is nothing but a mere confeſſion that God is, and was, and will be, and that *Mahomet* was a prophet inſpired and ſent by God.

Prayer.

Subject of it.

This law of his enjoined too, that they ſhould faſt one month every year; and their manner of faſting was to abſtain from meats of any kind in the day-time, but to give up themſelves in the night to all manner of jollity and ſhameful incontinency. He order'd them likewiſe to make their pilgrimages once every year to viſit the houſe of God which is at *Mecca*, where when they meet they are obliged to be all clad in the ſame habit, and ſo go about throwing of ſtones thro' the holes of the walls, as if they ſton'd the devil. He ſaid, that *Abraham* built this houſe for his children, eſpecially the *Iſhmaelites*, to pray in. He charged his followers likewiſe that they ſhould perſecute, ſlay, and at leaſt ſubdue all that oppoſed his falſe religion, and did not believe as he did. He allowed them to eat all ſorts of fleſh except ſwines-fleſh, carrion and blood; and yet we have ſeen them our ſelves in the deſert eat carrion, namely the dead carcaſes of camels, and for all that they would not taſte ſwines-fleſh. The ridiculous reaſon he gave for this prohibition of eating pork was, that after the flood ſwine were generated out of camels dung, as he fooliſhly pretended. He permitted thoſe of his party, as was ſaid before, to marry four wives, and to turn them away at pleaſure, and chuſe others in their place; but ſo as they ſhould not exceed the number of four in their divorcements. As for hired concubines, ſlaves bought, or ſuch women as were taken captives in war, every man was allowed to have of theſe as many as he pleaſed, and was able to maintain, and to ſell them, except when they were with child, for in that caſe it was not lawful to ſell them, but they might give them away, and beſtow them on whom they pleaſed. They had the liberty too, to marry their own near relations and allies, becauſe by ſuch repeated marriages of one relation with another, families became more firmly united among themſelves, and their friendſhip leſs liable to a rupture.

Faſts.

Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Swines-fleſh forbidden.

Reaſon of it.

Polygamy.

Inceſt.

They retain the laws written in the old teſtament of the *Hebrews* as to their goods both moveable and immoveable. They ſeldom ſwear, and for that reaſon the perſons they cite to bear witneſs in any caſe are very honeſt and of great authority, whoſe teſtimony is believed without an oath. The *Mahometan* law forbids likewiſe the uſe of wine, becauſe it is the occaſion of much miſchief and evil, and becauſe they ſhould loſe their liberty and dominion if they drank it. It promiſes them a kind of paradiſe after this life, where they ſhall enjoy all manner of delight and pleaſure, ſitting under very pleaſant and delightful ſhades, neither annoy'd with heat, nor pinch'd with cold, but enjoying every thing they deſire as ſoon as ever they wiſh for it. That they ſhall there wear ſilks and ſoft fine clothes of all ſorts of colours. That the angels of God ſhall there attend them as ſo many butlers and drawers to furniſh them with moſt delicious wines in great plenty. That they ſhall enjoy all imaginable delights, with charming beautiful women, upon curious beds: But for thoſe who are adverſaries to his religion, and refuſe to obey this law, to them is refer'd the puniſhment of undergoing the contrary of all theſe.

Laws and policies.

Wine forbid.

Imaginary dreams of pleaſures after death.

Furthermore, *Mahomet* had the impudence to arrogate to himſelf ſo much as to affirm that Christ propheſy'd of him

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in these words, *I declare unto you concerning the messenger of* GOD, *who is to come after me, whose name is* Mahomet, *which was written from everlasting in the presence of the throne of* GOD, *at his right hand.* In like manner also he saith of *David* and the book of *Psalms*, which he highly commends. The same he doth with the rest of the prophets; but chiefly *Moses* is highly extoll'd by him. Yet he allows CHRIST to be greater than he, and himself the greatest. He saith, that the Christians corrupted the gospel, and the *Jews* the law of *Moses*; and there is just so much truth in both as is contained in his *alcoran*. He confesseth too that he was sent by GOD furnished with valour in arms, and that CHRIST was furnished with power in working miracles.

What *Mahomet*'s opinion of CHRIST was, and of the *Virgin Mary*, the *gospel*, and of *himself* likewise, is evident out of his *alcoran*; for there he says that GOD made JESUS and *Mary* a *miracle to men.* And in another place, *The word of* GOD CHRIST JESUS, *Son of* Mary, *was sent by the Creator of the world, to be the face of all nations in this life, and that which is to come.* The same he owns elsewhere: CHRIST the power of GOD, the word, the wisdom, the life, the breath and heart of GOD, born of the Virgin *Mary* by a Divine power, raised the dead, made the blind to see, and wrought many other miracles. That he was more excellent than all the prophets of the *Hebrews*, and that the *Jews* shall have no prophet after CHRIST. JESUS he prefers to all men and prophets, and *Mary* to all women. For in his *alcoran* he brings in GOD speaking to *Mary*, the best of women, and never touched by any man thus: We breathed our own soul, we have made her and her Son JESUS CHRIST a miracle to men. He adds, that the body of JESUS went up into heaven uncorrupted, and he prefers the Christians far before the *Jews.* For when a *Jew* was willing to embrace his religion, he would not admit of him, until he was baptized as a Christian, and then renouncing his faith he was made an apostate from our religion. Yet for all that he accused the Christians of imprudence and stupidity, who believed that CHRIST the Son of GOD suffered the shameful and painful death of the cross. For he says, That whilst the *Jews* were searching for CHRIST in the garden, *Judas* the traitor was changed into his likeness, and crucify'd in his stead.

Opinon of CHRIST.

Of Mary.

Mahomet *prefers* Christians *to* Jews.

The same *Mahomet* says in his *alcoran*, That he neither had wrought miracles, nor would he work any; that he was ignorant of many things; that he was a mere man, but sent and inspired by GOD; and that it was not in his power to pardon sins. He forbad also to worship him; and which is more, he confesseth that there are some things in his book which may be doubted. The authority of the gospel he very frankly owns, when he calls it a light, a directory and perfection. And 'tis certain he very much disparages his own *alcoran*, when he saith, Whosoever adores the true GOD, and lives honestly and justly, let him be Christian or *Saracen*, shall obtain mercy and salvation. From these few instances it appears how he has contradicted himself. His followers do approve of the creation of the world and *Adam*, all the *Hebræan* history, and a great part of CHRIST's doctrine. They believe that Antichrist will be a very wicked man, and that CHRIST will kill him. They hold the resurrection of bodies, the last judgment, and eternal rewards and punishments: That CHRIST shall sit next to GOD in judgment. These are but a small number of the many idle dreams of the *Mahometans*, among which notwithstanding some truths are to be met with. For so great is the force of truth, that very often even its enemies and strangers are in a manner compelled to own and profess it whether they will or no.

Alcoran *concerning* Mahomet.

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Of the gospel.

Lactant.

And thus *Mahomet* having arrived at the thirty fourth year of his age, died at last miserably of a draught of poyson. There are some who say that seven days before he died he was delirious: That his belly was swell'd like a tun, and being full of dolorous pain, he thus gave up the ghost, and ended his wicked life. They say besides, that *Mahomet* before his death desired of his friends and acquaintance he should not be buried till three days after he was dead; for that on the third day after his death, he should be taken up to heaven. But they delay'd burying him not only three but twelve days, still expecting when he should be taken up, but all in vain. For after their long expectation, finding nothing of the matter, and his body stinking most horribly, being thus enraged, they thrust him under ground without a coffin.

Maho-met's *death.*

His desire before his death.

After the death of this wicked impostor, his followers, and chiefly the *Caliph* who succeeded him in the empire, fearing lest by so scandalous a death and burial, the new broached heresy, together with the empire, should be both dissolved, he order'd his nasty carcase to be taken up again, and put in an iron coffin or chest, and they placed it in a temple whose walls were of loadstones: thus the chest being attracted by the loadstone upwards, it is repored it there hung pendulous in the air without any thing to support it until the

His coffin.

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year of our Lord 1470, being the ſpace of eight hundred and ſeventy years; for at that time a violent ſtorm of lightning and hail falling upon part of that profane temple, did ſo ſhake it, and daſh'd the coffin with the wretched body to pieces, that it was all beat to aſhes, and ſunk into the earth ſo as it could never be found nor ſeen again. Now the *Mahometans* alledge this to be the cauſe and occaſion of this matter, That God being provoked by the ſins of mankind, was reſolved to deſtroy the whole frame of the univerſe; but *Mahomet* interceding, and requeſting that blow ſhould light on him alone and on his ſepulchre, he thereby appeaſed God; and ſo having thus deſtroy'd the place of his burial, he ſpared mankind.

Storm of hail and lightning.

And this place of his burial continues ſtill to be had in ſo much veneration and eſteem among them of that ſect, that a great part of thoſe who have ſeen it do immediately burſt out into tears upon mentioning it, as if it were unlawful for thoſe who had beheld *Mahomet*'s tomb, ever to look upon any thing elſe afterwards: And thus continue weeping till they make themſelves ſtark blind. A juſt puniſhment for ſuch wretched fools, that they who before had ſuffered themſelves to be blinded in their underſtanding, ſhould now likewiſe be deprived of the light of their eyes. And ſo much of *Mahomet*.

Mahometans love Mahomet's tomb to diſtraction.

CHAP. IX.

After having ſuffered much by extremity of Weather, at laſt they enter Baruthum. *The exceſſive Cold in* Antilibanum. *The pleaſantneſs of the Country about* Baruthum. *Acts of* Titus *in that City. Fruit of the Place.* Sarepta, Sidon, *and Parts adjacent.*

ON the 17th day of *January*, intending to leave our hut and purſue our journey, there aroſe a moſt terrible ſtorm of wind and rain, with thunder and lightning, which continued at ſo exceſſive a rate, as we could not poſſibly ſtir from whence we were. And ſo being forced to ſtay, we ſpent all that day in diſputing with ſome *Jews*, that had been travelling that way, about religion. We made a ſhift to kindle a fire, but it being made of green-wood, it filled the hut ſo with ſmoke that it had like to have blinded us; thus we continued for ſome time, till at laſt our mule-driver got us a better and larger fire of charcoal.

Antilibanum.

On the 11th we left this place, travelling on foot; for the hills and dales were ſo covered and filled with ſnow that there was no travelling for the mules with the carriage. As we were coming down from the mountains we were caught in a cold and heavy rain, which ſo ſwelled the brooks and rivers that they ran down with much impetuoſity, and carried ſtones, ſand, and every thing with them that came in their way. We here ſtopt again, and in a worſe condition than before; for having no where to ſhelter our ſelves, we contracted a grievous cold, ſtanding in our clothes all wet, and it raining very hard. Tho' we had three coats on, the rain had got through them all, and ſo loaded them, that they were unſupportable. There was no remedy for us but patience, and the hopes of a better fortune.

Having thus paſt the greateſt part of the day, we deſcended at laſt into a plain, where we reached and entred into *Baruthum*,

Baruthum.

and were very kindly received there into a *Venetian* houſe. Here we refreſh'd our ſelves by changing our clothes, and the help of a good fire, and good victuals. The day following a meſſenger arriv'd from the mountains of *Antilibanum* (where we met with ſo much hardſhip) giving an account of three men and four camels that had been frozen to death: Which when we heard, we thanked our moſt gracious Saviour, that we had ſo narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate. The ſame day we went out of the city with the *Venetian* merchants, and ſome friars of the monaſtry of *St. Saviour*, to take a view of the ſituation of the town, and the ground about it; we entertained our ſelves with the charming pleaſantneſs of theſe fields; we ſaw many olive-yards, and almond-trees juſt in their bloom, the land very fruitful and well watered, abounding with pomegranate-trees, and trees of many other kinds, which at that time were full of fruit. This proſpect afforded us a great deal of pleaſure, and was the object of our admiration. For at the ſame time that in our country the ground is covered all over with hoar-froſt, the rivers frozen up, and the woods hardly able to ſuſtain the weight of ſnow that is ready to break down all their boughs; here is a charming ſpring, the brooks ſweetly gliding and making a murmuring noiſe as they flow, adorned on both ſides with graſs and flowers, the trees ſo loaden with fruit, that they often ſink and fall to the ground under their burthen. And which was ſtill more wonderful, the mountains within our view were at the ſame time all covered with ſnow.

A cold fatal to the Antilibanians.

Pleaſantneſs of their fields.

Baruthus,

Baruthus, or as the moderns call it, *Berithus*, was once a colony of the *Romans*, as may be ſeen by the ruins of the amphitheatre; and as *Joſephus* mentions in his ſeventh book of the *Jewiſh* war, it was one of the chief cities of *Phœnicia*; where *Titus* ſtay'd a conſiderable time after the taking of *Jeruſalem*; having made there a very great ſolemnity on his father's birth-day, both by exhibiting to the people ſplendid ſhews, and expoſing a multitude of captives, ſome to be devour'd by wild beaſts, and the reſt forced to kill one another as if they were fighting in a battle againſt their enemies. In this city, as the ſame author relates, *Agrippa* having laid out a vaſt ſum of money in building a theatre, appointed ſplendid ſhews which were to be obſerved yearly in commemoration of the founder. He beſtowed on the people very plentiful doles of corn and oil, and adorned the whole city with beautiful ſtatues, and ſtately images of the ancients, that all the kingly pomp and grandeur ſeemed to be tranſported thither. When Chriſtianity flouriſhed in theſe parts, it was an epiſcopal ſee; at this day 'tis more like a village than a city. There are however many ruinous monuments of its antiquity ſtill extant, and many and various goods and merchandizes are imported into, and exported out of it. The *Muſa* or plantane-trees do here grow in ſuch plenty, that from hence they are carry'd to many places round about; *viz. Tripoli*, *Damaſcus*, *Damiata*, and as far as *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. The fruit of the *Muſa* or plantane, in colour and ſhape is not unlike a *Bean*, but it is a great deal larger, of a very pleaſant taſte, and a very ſweet and wholeſome ſmell, and taſting very like honey. They grow in cluſters, that is in bunches, ten, twenty, and ſometimes more in a cluſter together; which whereſoever you cut it, and as often as it is cut, let it be in never ſo many pieces, you ſhall plainly ſee on both ſides of the part cut a croſs. They ſay that this is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which the LORD forbad *Adam* to eat; and 'tis commonly called here *Adam*'s tree. The leaves of it are ten foot long, and a hand-breadth and half-broad; on which they uſed to write in former times before the invention of paper. About three miles from *Baruthus* lies the city *Sarepta* of the *Sidonians*, where, as it is recorded in 3 *King.* xvii. *Elias* miraculouſly encreaſed the poor woman's meal and oil, and raiſed her ſon from death.

Acts of Tit. Veſpaſian *at* Baruthus.

Fruits of the moſs-tree.

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Opinion of its leaves.

About two miles from hence is *Sidon*, once a famous and potent city of *Phœnicia*, where *Dido* celebrated by *Virgil* was born, who having fled from her brother who ſought her life, built *Carthage*, ever emulous of the *Roman* empire. Having gone to *Baruthum* again, we ſtay'd there ſeveral days expecting the barks that were to carry us over into *Cyprus*.

Sidon *the country of* Dido.

CHAP. X.

A Voyage to Tripoli. Paſſus Canis, *or* Paſſo di Cane. *The River* Narriabrahim. Biblus. Patran, *or* Botros.

ON the 29th arrived a meſſenger, who brought us an account that the ſhip was laden, and ready to ſail to *Cyprus*; wherefore without tarrying any longer, we got all our baggage put up, and in a boat, and having taken leave of our landlord, we immediately departed. We thought it not adviſable to go by land, becauſe of the robbers, who but the day before had murder'd two perſons upon the road, for at that time the governor of *Baruthum*, and the governor of *Tripoli* were at deadly and open enmity with one another. Rowing thus along the bay for the ſpace of three miles and upwards, we landed on the coaſt of *Tripoli*, near a place called in Latin *paſſus canis*, but in the *Saracen* language *Narrikelb*. This place is ſo called, becauſe of a river that flows into the ſea, having in the mouth of it a rock, ſtanding in the very middle of the river, and one half above water. This rock in figure reſembles a dog, and by the violent daſhing of the ſtream againſt it makes a noiſe like the barking of a dog. In this place ended the patriarchate of *Jeruſalem*, and began that of *Antioch*; it lies in the middle between *Baruthum* and *Tripoli*, but it belongs to *Tripoli*.

Paſſus canis.

Reaſon of the name.

Having, as was ſaid before, been ſet on ſhore in this place, we hired mules again, and travelled all that day along the ſea-ſhore. Afterwards we came to a river, which the *Turks* call *Narriabrahim*, over which there is a ſtately bridge of square-ſtone; we were afterwards fain to ſhelter our ſelves in a hut that by good luck we light on, from the violent rain; and here we ſtaid all that night, glad to take up our lodging among the mules.

River Narriabrahim.

On the 30th of *January* riſing betimes in the morning, three hours before the ſun was up, we moved from thence, and had a troubleſome journey of it; for the way being very rough, and it being ſo dark that we could not ſee our way, we often

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came tumbling down to the ground with our mules, baggage and all, which put us to abundance of inconvenience. But when the ſun appeared, we had a much eaſier journey of it. We came at laſt to a town half demoliſhed, which at that time was called *Jubiletum*, but fomerly *Biblus*, or *Biblium*; and was an epiſcopal ſee. *Strabo lib.* XVI. ſays this *Biblus* was of old the palace of *Cynera*, in which were the temples of *Adonis*; and when oppreſſed by a tyrant, that *Pompey* reſtored their liberty by killing him. A little after we came to *Patron*, formerly *Botros*, a town once famous for glory and wealth, abounding with excellent wine, oil, and all ſorts of fruit; but now it is a very ſmall town, yet encompaſſed with a wall. Having left *Botros*, becauſe we travell'd by the ſea-ſide, we entred into a mountainous wood, and went on till we came to the top of the mountains, and then turn'd down to the ſea again. We found the way very difficult, and the ſun going down we arrived at laſt at *Tripoli*, and went to a *Venetian* houſe, where we were made welcome, and very kindly entertain'd, *&c.*

Biblus.

Botros.

Arrival at Tripoli

CHAP. XI.

A Survey of Libanus. *Delightfulneſs of the Territory of* Tripoli, *Wealth of its Inhabitants. Reaſon of the Names of* Tripoli *and* Libanus. *Its Fruitfulneſs.*

ON the 31ſt day we went out of the town to have a view of the place, having for our guide *Alberto Coleth* a phyſician of *Tripoli*; and that we might have the fuller view, we went to the top of a hill hard by. We ſaw about three miles off the city the ſo much celebrated mount *Libanus*, which was very high indeed, and then covered with ſnow, but full of cedar, firs, plane-trees, and a great many other ſtately trees. Here was to be ſeen too the ſtreams of water mention'd in the *Canticles*, that run violently into the ſea. The lower hills and places adjoining to the city are full of vineyards, corn and olive-trees. Here may be ſeen on all ſides of it pleaſant and delightful fields, rivers, brooks, and cool and refreſhing ſprings. Here are various ſorts of trees, bearing ſeveral ſorts of fruit, ſilks and ſilkworms; here are delicious flowers for colour and ſmell. In ſhort, here is to be ſeen as much variety of every thing as can make a place delightful.

The people inhabiting the adjacent parts are likewiſe very rich, and this is owing to the ſituation of the place, becauſe of its many navigable rivers, whereby they have the conveniency of buying and trucking all ſorts of merchandize, and thereby enriching themſelves. *Strabo* will have the name *Tripoli* to be given it, becauſe of its three cities, viz. *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Aradum*; and that *Libanus* is ſo call'd from its whiteneſs, becauſe it is continually covered with ſnow both ſummer and winter; which tho' it ſeems dry, yet abounds with many pleaſant and wholeſome ſprings. It produces cedars, cypreſs-trees, olive-trees, and a gum which they call *Olibanum*; and many more trees and herbs very ſerviceable and beneficial to mankind. It is free from ſerpents, and all other venomous creatures, and formerly produc'd excellent wines.

CHAP. XII.

Medals dug up about Tripoli. Arabian *Metamorphoſis.* Perſian *Water, its Virtue and Uſe.*

ON the 1ſt day of *February* we went out of the town again to take a view of its ſituation on the other ſide; and there we ſaw in the firſt place the harbour of the city fortified with many towers, and the ruins of ancient *Tripoli*, out of which were dug up many medals, and other monuments of antiquity. There Mr *Coleth* ſhewed us a piece of gold that happened to be dug up there lately, having on it the image of *Mars* with a ſpear in his hand, and this inſciption.

An ancient medal of gold.

Reſtitutor Reip. Sp. F. Aug. d. N. Valen.

We ſaw likewiſe two more of ſilver, one of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and the other of *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucking a ſhe-wolf. Afterwards having ſeen ſeveral other things we return'd home again, and were entertained at dinner with many ſtrange and wonderful relations of the *Sophi* and his exploits, and of other matters that were famous and much talk'd of in thoſe eaſtern countries. We were credibly inform'd, by very grave and prudent men, that on the way as you go to *Meccha*, there was, or rather had been, a certain great city, in which, by the dreadful judgment of God, not only men and beaſts were turn'd into ſtone, but likewiſe their very utenſils, and each according to its own former ſhape and figure.

Strange metamorphoſis in Arabia.

gure. The ſame day, while we were liſtening to this relation, and ſome others of the like nature, there came to the place where we were, two men of *Cyprus* with a wonderful water that they had been ſent out of *Cyprus* into *Perſia* to fetch. Of this ſame water they told very ſtrange ſtories, particularly, that if any of it happened to drop on the ground, or any veſſel it was in, it no ſooner touched the ground, but it vaniſhed immediately out of ſight; that for this reaſon they were obliged always to have it fixed on a forked ſtick: that it was of great uſe againſt the caterpillars that deſtroy the corn, for that in whatever place or country they kept ſome of this water, caterpillars could no longer live there: that formerly *Cyprus* had been much infeſted with this ſort of vermin, but that the inhabitants having got ſome of this water, and hung it up in one of their temples, the whole iſland was by that means freed from them. They told us moreover, that they had been ſent for this water by the governor of *Cyprus*, and that they had been above ten months in their journey: that when they firſt ſet out, there were four of them, but that the other two being almoſt ſtarved to death with the cold, were not able to come up with them. What was related to us here, we found to be actually true when we came to *Cyprus*, as that it was not only ſprinkled on their fields againſt the caterpillars, but that it was commonly drank as a remedy or medicine againſt moſt diſtempers, and that it was effectual to that purpoſe.

Water out of Perſia.

Its quality.

Uſe.

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CHAP. XIII.

A Perſian *Coin.* Mahometan *Sects.* *Hiſtory of the Pedigree and Exploits of* Sophi. *His Religion and Manners.* Sultan *of* Egypt*'s arrogant Titles.*

ON the ſecond day of *February* there overtook us an *Italian* merchant from the city of *Aleppo*, which is ſituated in the confines of the *Turks* and ſultan's dominions, and parts both their empires. This man related ſtrange and incredible ſtories of the *Sophi*, and ſhewed us firſt, and after much perſuaſion and entreaty, at laſt delivered to us a piece of his money, being ſilver, and very large indeed, and in value worth a ſeraph; on which there was this inſcription in *Arabick*; *Bitzind roſhel halla elkaber lihalladey ana Sultan Sophi.* The meaning whereof is this, *I am the true SULTAN*; that is, *PRINCE SOPHI, ſent by* GOD *for the baniſhment of all my enemies.* The ſame merchant moreover told us, that the ſame *Sophi* had in his army above two hundred thouſand very warlike men, that he was at deadly enmity with the *Turk*, had lately killed above fifteen thouſand of his men; and having ſlain three ſons of a very powerful *Turkiſh* prince, called *Haliduli*, he was now marching againſt the grand *Turk* himſelf. I will therefore in this place give a ſhort account of this *Sophi*, according to what I learned of this merchant and others.

Aleppo.

Sophian medal.

Sophi's army.

Exploits.

There was a nephew of *Mahomet*'s, by name *Haly*, who being likewiſe eſteemed a ſaint and a prophet by his followers, this impoſtor broach'd a new hereſy: for the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition is divided into ſeventy two ſects, out of all which they believe one only by which they can be ſaved; but which is that one, they cannot yet come to a determination. Every ſect think their own the only true one, and that all the reſt are in the ſtate of damnation; and more eſpecially thoſe of *Sophi*'s ſect live in the belief of this. From this *Haly* aforeſaid ſprung this *Sophi*, whoſe proper name was *Iſeha Iſmael*. For *Sophi* is the name of the ſect, as were the ſects of the *Arians* and *Manichæans* among the Chriſtians. For their opinions ſee 1 *Lipſ. lib. de una relig.*

Haly Mahomet's nephew.

Mahometan ſects.

This *Sophi*'s father and mother died while he was a child, and he himſelf was driven out of his native country by the tyrant who had killed his father. When he was grown up to man's eſtate, he got together an undiſciplined rabble, and with them march'd without any order to a populous and rich city, which he took in ſpite of the tyrant, and there exerciſed a barbarous cruelty, putting all to the ſword, and ſparing neither ſex nor age. This action ſtruck a terror into the king, and all the princes round about. There flocked to him great numbers from all parts, eſpecially thoſe of the *Sophian* ſect, being encouraged by the fame of his generoſity, for he divided all the plunder of that rich city among his ſoldiers; and likewiſe becauſe of an old prophecy they had among them, that there ſhould ariſe one of *Haly*'s offſpring, who ſhould advance the fame and glory of their ſect above the ſkies. *Sophi* thus encouraged and ſtrengthened in number of ſoldiers, made daily excurſions into the neighbouring territories, deſtroying all with fire and ſword wherever he came; and partly by force, and partly by policy, he had the good fortune to get into his power ſome of their beſt fortified towns and caſtles. He had ſeveral times engaged a numerous army with a ſmall handful of

Hiſtory of Sophi.

Concourſe to the Sophian *cauſe.*

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men, and yet came off victorious; whereby he became very formidable, not only to private cities, but even to his adversary the king of *Persia*, who seeing him thus daily to increase in strength and courage, fearing the worst, sent against him the general of his army.

Sophi defeats the king of Persia's general.

Sophi not in the least daunted hereat, met, engaged, and vanquished him. This victory and triumph so enhanced the esteem his men had of him, that they began now to extol him, not as a man, but even to adore him as a god that had come down from heaven, and his enemies dreaded him like lightning. But the king of *Persia* imputing his late loss to the ill conduct of his general, resolved to go himself in person; and raising a more numerous army than the former, advanced at the head of them; and having engaged with *Sophi*, was by him taken and slain. He afterwards married the deceased king's daughter, who taking occasion to resent her father's death, and blaming him for it, he killed her too with his own hands; which cruelty when the mother also reprehended, she had the same fate. In this manner did *Sophi* prevail over all his adversaries, insomuch that divine honours were paid him by almost all the east. They say, that to get himself the more veneration, he never appeared in publick but with his face covered: that he used no counsellors: that he was extremely fond of a cat he kept, whose divination he observed in all his actions. He is said to have kept a great hog too, which in contempt of the *Turks* he called *Turk*: They say he equally hated the *Turks* and *Jews*, and loved the *Christians*, as appears plainly by a Christian who had made his escape out of the slavery of the *Turks*, and went to him for protection. This man having proved himself to be a Christian, by shewing that he was not circumcised, had of *Sophi* a good horse, and a great sum of money, and a free passport to *Damascus*; where he safely arrived, and gave this account, and several other relations to the *Venetian* merchants that resided there.

Beats the king himself.

His marriage.

Cruelty.

Religion and manners of Sophi.

Hog kept in contempt of the Turks.

Sophi's *good will to the Christians.*

His age and stature.

He was of a middle stature, about seven and twenty years old; of a corpulent body; very moderate in pleasures; enjoy'd all things in common with his friends, reserving nothing to himself in particular. He was fortified by an army richly accouter'd with gold and warlike arms. Some days before, his embassy that was sent to the sultan, tarried some time at *Damascus*. They all of them wore long caps, with twelve foldings, of a reddish colour; and for that reason both he and his men are called by the *Italians* that live in those eastern parts, *Biret Rossa*, i. e. *Red Caps*.

Embassy.

And thus much of *Sophi*. What the sultan thinks of himself, may be plainly seen by his letters to the general of the *Venetians*, which the consul of *Tripoli* shewed us. In them he loads himself with these titles.

Arrogant titles of the sultan.

" Sultan the great sovereign governor, " named *Camsonalgauri*, *Elnelekelezeraph*, " the mighty, excellent, noble, wise, just " warrior: A constant protector of his " countries, and who by God's assistance " is victorious, king of kings, the sword " of the world and of faith. Sultan and " prince of the *Mahometan* religion, and " of *Mahometans*. The restorer of justice " over all the world, and who by hereditary right possesses the kingdoms of it. " Sultan of the *Arabians*, of *Persia* and " *Turkey*. The shadow of God on earth. " An observer of the commandments of " God and his prophets; and who at this " time is a second *Alexander*, from whom " do proceed many good things; who is " governor of all that sit on tribunals and " thrones, and of crowned heads. Governor of climates and countries, persecutor of rebellious infidels, hereticks and " pagans; the protector of the two places " of pilgrimage. The high-priest of the " two sacred temples; who is the gatherer and keeper of the words of God; " who defends the needy with justice, and " furnishes them with rich gifts. Ruler " of rulers: at this time priest of those " things which belong to God. *Caliph*'s " vice-gerent, who is the prince of true " believers, father of victories. Constant " in the rule and dominion God has given him, and he will make his army and " people victorious; and God will exalt " him above the sign of *Gemini*. This is the *Sultan*'s title.

What reason there is for so many, so great and thundering titles, and what the meaning of them is, even a blind man may see. Yet as *Horace* says,

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici. Hor. *de Art. Poet.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Saracens *Feaſt after their Faſt is over. A Prodigy of Nature betwixt* Baruthum *and* Tripoli. *A Diabolical Sect of falſe Chriſtians at* Tripoli.

ON the 3d day having, as we had twice before, gone out of the city again, we ſaw all the people of the town in the fields at play at ſports; for the *Saracen* time of faſting was juſt over with them, and they kept at this time, as it were the feaſt of the paſſover, or *Eaſter*, drawing themſelves up into companies, and riding up and down. But we ſaw nothing worth noting at this ſolemnity.

Saracen ſolemnity.

Setting our ſelves down upon a ſandy hill hard by, the *Venetian* conſul at *Tripoli*, who perfectly underſtood the modern and ancient ſtate of that country, obſerving us to be inquiſitive to know all we could learn of it, he told us, that there was one thing very amazing and remarkable which we had not yet heard of; and therefore ſaid he, this old gentleman (pointing to a reverend old man that ſtood by) and I will tell you the matter, which we were both eye-witneſſes of. Between *Baruthum* and *Tripoli* is a mountain ſo ſteep, and hanging over the ſea, that there's no coming at what I am a going to give a deſcription of, but in ſhips. At the foot of this mountain is a large wide cave, that continually vomits out cold water; to which when you approach near you ſhall ſee a hand reaching a diſh from the mouth of the cave. And if your curioſity is not herewith ſatisfied, and you attempt to come nigher; all of a ſudden the whole viſion diſappears. And if again you withdraw back, you ſhall ſee the ſame hand and veſſel again very clearly. The conſul added moreover, that this cave was perfectly inacceſſible, the place was ſo ſteep and dangerous to come at.

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The ſame gentleman in the ſame place told us a thing more deſerving ſevere puniſhment than obſervation, *viz.* That not far from *Tripoli* there was a ſect of people who boaſted themſelves to be Chriſtians, but were more like devils. For their cuſtom is at a certain time to meet together in dark caves, men and women promiſcuouſly, and there to go together like beaſts, the father with the daughter, the ſon with the mother, and every one take, without regard, the firſt they light on. And of the wicked iſſue which ſuch impious encounters produce, they always ſave the females alive, and prick the males to death with needles yearly, and with their blood they offer ſacrifice. Good LORD, how abominable is the very thought of ſuch a thing!

A deviliſh hereſy.

Abominable murders of this ſect.

After this having hired a ſhip, we thought to have ſailed to *Cyprus*, but the wind hindered us: And beſides, the owner of the ſhip was the occaſion of our ſtaying longer too, for the prince of *Tripoli* on ſome frivolous pretences had twice impriſon'd him, and exacted a grievous fine of him, ſo that 'twas with much ado and intreaty, that the *Venetian* merchants prevailed with the greedy tyrant to ſet him at liberty.

CHAP. XV.

They purſue their Voyage. Maſtick. *Hiſtory of a Shipwreck. Their arrival at* Cyprus. *Denomination of the Iſland. Salt-pits about the City, and Monuments of Antiquity.*

ON the 6th day, having implored GOD's aſſiſtance, we went on board and ſailed the ſame evening with a fair wind towards *Cyprus*. We found in the veſſel, the owner of a ſhip and his crew that had been ſhipwreck'd: He was of the iſland *Chio*, the only place of all the countries in the world that produces maſtick. The *Genoeſes* poſſeſs ſo much of this iſland, that they pay a great yearly tribute to the *Turk*, for they have a tradition, that as long as the *Turks* inhabit the iſland, it will never produce any maſtick.' This ſhipmaſter had loaded his ſhip with merchandize of ſeveral ſorts, and was bound from *Damiata* (which was anciently called *Heliopolis*) to *Tripoli*, and ſailing one holiday was by the violence of the winds driven upon a rock hidden under water, on which his ſhip ſplit, being leaky in ſeveral places: They made ſhift however to keep her three days from ſinking, being all that time toſſed among the rocks; and they had certainly all periſhed by the cold, if GOD's providence had not provided for them otherwiſe; for the ſhip being miſerably ſhattered before, was by a huge and mighty wave that came on her, all ſplit in pieces, and ſunk to the bottom with all her lading; the men were all ſaved but one, who was ſwallowed up by the raging ſea as he was making ready to ſwim. When the reſt got

Iſland Chio *only produces maſtick.*

Story of a ſhipwreck.

Baumgarten *Governor of* Tripoli *a robber.*

got to land, the poor wretches pick'd up as much as they could of the wreck the ſea had thrown out; and glad of their deliverance, came to *Tripoli*, where they no ſooner arrived, but the governor ſeized on all they had, adding affliction to the afflicted; and ſo mercileſs was he, that they had much ado to prevent their being put in chains and impriſoned. And a doleful ſight it was to ſee the poor old man with his gray beard, lame of his legs, have neither penny nor penny's-worth; he who once carried others for freight, now fain to be a paſſenger himſelf in another man's ſhip, all naſty, and half ſtarv'd with hunger.

On the 8th of *February*, about the third hour of the day, we arrived at *Cyprus*, and got into harbour at *Salina*; here we ſtaid many days for certain reaſons. This city was of old called *Salamis*, or *Salamina*, on this occaſion. *Salamina* is a certain iſland in the *Eubœan ſea*, over againſt *Athens*, having in it a city of the ſame name, in which reigned *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* and *Teucer*. But when *Teucer* returned from the *Trojan* war, and had not revenged his brother *Ajax*'s death, being exil'd by his father, he went to *Cyprus*, and called this city there after the name of his native country.

Cyprus *why call'd* Salamina.

In this city it was that *Paul* and *Barnabas* preached, as 'tis *Acts* xiii. And there too it was that *Barnabas* ſuffered martyrdom. There is near it a lake of excellent ſalt, which being coagulated by the heat of the ſun only, proves the beſt ſalt of any, and is exported in great quantities into *Syria*, *Greece*, *Italy*, and other countries, yielding great profit to the ſtate of *Venice*.

Near the harbour of *Salamina* is a church, in one end whereof the *Greeks*, and in the other the *Latins* perform their Divine worſhip.

Not far from this place, by the ſea, at the foot of a hill, are to be ſeen the ruins of an *amphitheatre*; adjoining to it is a cave laid with *pyramidal* ſtones, and about it many huge ſtones and pieces of antiquity, and pillars of white marble, but the inſcriptions are totally defaced.

CHAP. XVI.

Nymoſia *or* Nicoſia, *a City of* Cyprus. *Its Epiſcopal See. A Storm at Sea. A Pirate at* Rhodes. Piſcopia *raſed.* Paphus; *Its Founder.*

THE third day of *March*, becauſe our ſhip was to be loaded with corn in another part of the iſland, leaving all our things on board, we travelled by land, both for our recreation, and to have the better view of the iſland. The firſt place we came to the next day was *Lymoſin*, of old *Nymoſia*, and lodged in the biſhop's houſe; for this is one of the four epiſcopal ſees that are in *Cyprus*. The firſt is in *Leucoſia*, now called *Nicoſia*. The ſecond at *Famaguſta*. The third in *Paphus*. Which epiſcopal ſees are each of them double, ſo that in every one of them there's both a *Greek* and *Latin* biſhop. The ſame day about noon our ſhip arriv'd, ſo we made haſte to get ſome proviſions, which we carried with us and went on board. Sailing from thence immediately, before we had got a mile off, the wind roſe and blew ſo hard, that we were forced to anchor under a promontory; and there did we for three days together without intermiſſion dance and caper, but not very merrily, having for muſick the loud noiſe of the winds, the ratling of the ſtorm, and the roaring of the ſea. While we were thus circumſtanc'd, there came up with us a pirate ſhip belonging to *Rhodes*, who aſking us whence we came, and what we had on board? when they found that all belong'd to Chriſtians, they took away from us ſome oars they wanted, and left us.

Epiſcopal ſee in Cyprus.

A ſtorm.

A Pirate of Rhodes

On the 8th day about noon, the ſtorm being over, we ſet ſail, and launching out into the main ſea, we ſailed by *Coloſſus* a village of *Cyprus*, remarkable for its great plenty of ſugar. We ſailed by *Piſcopia* too, a city which one of the kings of *England* once ras'd to the ground, in revenge of his ſiſter's having been debauched, having left her there as he was going to *Jeruſalem*.

Coloſſus. Piſcopia *deſtroyed.*

On the 10th day we came to *Paphus*: This is a noble city, formerly the metropolis of *Cyprus*, and the palace of *Venus*; now a very deſolate and ruinous place, as moſt of the cities of *Cyprus* are, occaſioned by the frequent earthquakes that happen there, yet by the very ruins it appears what once it was. In *Paphus* the air is not very wholeſome, nor indeed in all *Cyprus*, tho' it abounds with marjoram, hyſſop, and other wholeſome herbs. This city was built by *Paphus*, *Pigmaleon*'s ſon by *Eburnea*, who called it after his own name, and conſecrated it to *Venus*, to whom alſo they dedicate a very large temple; to which, as ſome will have it, when *Helen* arrived from *Greece*, being ſtolen by *Paris*, ſhe repaired, and gave occaſion to the *Trojan* war. Others will have this to be done in *Cythera*, an iſland mentioned before in my firſt book.

Paphus. *Its founder.*

Rape of Helen.

CHAP. XVII.

Our ſtay at Corſico, *a Village. Preſents made to us there.* Cyprus *deſcrib'd; its Situation, Fertility, Cities, Inhabitants. Their greivous Oppreſſion.*

Corſico. ON the 11th day ſetting out from *Paphus*, we arrived in the dark night at the town of *Corſico*, which is ſituated in a very pleaſant valley, having a proſpect over the ſea as far as *Cilicia*, which is now called *Scandilora*. Here we ſpent ſeveral days, till the ſhip was loaded with corn and ſilk. In the mean time we had *Preſents.* preſents offered to us of almonds, peaſe, and other fruits of the ſame year's growth, which afforded us no leſs ſubject of admiration, than of pleaſure and deliciouſneſs, to conſider the extreme coldneſs of the weather in our country at that very ſeaſon.

Situation of Cyprus. *Cyprus*, a noble iſland ſituated in the *Carpathian* ſea, in the middle of the greateſt bay of *Aſia*, lying from eaſt to weſt in a right line between *Cilicia* and *Syria*, the moſt conſiderable and famous iſland in the world anciently abounding with riches; too much addicted to luxury, and for that *Largeneſs.* reaſon conſecrated to *Venus*; is very large, and formerly had the title and wealth of a Cethim. *kingdom*. This iſland is called *Cethim* in the holy ſcripture; is very fruitful of corn, abounding with ſilkworms, ſilks, oil, ſugar, and wine. Here are very beautiful hills, moſt pleaſant and delightful valleys, always reſounding with the melodious ſinging of birds: Here are warm ſuns, ſhady *Its fruitfulneſs and beauty.* groves, dewy herbs, green graſs, and ſoft downy meadows to lie down and reſt upon. Yet notwithſtanding all this fruitfulneſs and pleaſantneſs, neither its cities nor villages are much frequented, but as if it was barren and a deſert place it is inhabited only by a few people that live in cottages. It has no cities but *Nicoſia* and *Famaguſta*; Nicoſia. the former of which is famous for its large- Famaneſs, and for the ruling power of the go- guſta. vernor reſiding there; the latter is remarkable for its harbour and fortifications. Beſides all the inhabitants of *Cyprus* are ſlaves to the *Venetians*, being oblig'd to pay to the ſtate a third part of all their increaſe or income, whether the product of their ground or corn, wine, oil, or of their cattle, or any *Miſery and ſlavery of the inhabi-* other thing. Beſides, every man of them is *tants.* bound to work for the ſtate two days of the week wherever they ſhall pleaſe to appoint him: And if any ſhall fail, by reaſon of ſome other buſineſs of their own, or for indiſpoſition of body, then they are made to pay a fine for as many days as they are abſent from their work: And which is more, there is yearly ſome tax or other impoſed on them, with which the poor common people are ſo flead and pillaged, that they hardly have wherewithal to keep ſoul and body together.

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We ſpent the reſt of our time with a great deal of uneaſineſs in this iſland, being forced to tarry till the ſhip had taken in her lading of ſeveral ſorts of merchandize.

CHAP. XVIII.

Indian *Rams. Calmneſs of the Sea. Birds pay Freight. Nature of a* Cocala. *Gulph of* Satalia. *What* Helen *did there.*

Indian *rams.* ON the 28th day of *March* having a gentle breeze, we weigh'd anchor, and ſet ſail from *Cyprus* before ſun-riſing; and not being able to make much way, we diverted our ſelves with two *Indian* rams that were in the ſhip, who fought together continually: Each of them had four horns, two in the forehead exactly long and ſtreight, only a little crooked at the ends, and almoſt meeting together in one place, and then parting again, and blunt and round at points (ſuch as the grand ſultan's crown, and his *caliph*'s, which we had ſeen in *Cairo*, as I mention'd before) the other two horns were near the ears, all plain and even, and much ſhorter than the firſt two.

A calm. On the 29th day there was ſo great a calm all the day long, that the ſea ſeemed immoveable and ſmooth as glaſs. That day a flock of birds, which had ventured *Birds caught.* from the land on the calm ſea, their wings being tired, reſted on the maſts of the ſhip; which the pilot of the ſhip obſerving, took no notice till night came, and then made them pay for their paſſage on the hot coals. There was one bird among them call'd *cocala*, all white, as big as a gooſe; which *Bird cocala.* flying aloft, and hovering above the ſea, ſpies the ſmall fiſhes ſwimming on the top of the water, catches them in his long and crooked claws, and tears them to pieces; this is his food and daily exerciſe.

On the 30th day, and the day after, we ſail'd over in very calm and clear weather the gulph of *Satalia*, which is likewiſe called *Helen's gulph*; for in this place *Helen*, mother of *Conſtantine*, whilſt ſhe was coming

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ing from *Jeruſalem* to *Conſtantinople*, happened to be toſt in a grievous tempeſt; and it is reported, that by throwing into the ſea one of the nails that had pierced the feet of Christ, the ſtorm immediately ceaſed, and the ſea grew calm. The mariners are ſo much afraid of this gulph, that they ſhrink at the name of it.

CHAP. XIX.

Danger at Sea. Arrival at Rhodes. *Its Situation.* Coloſſus *of the* Sun *there. Inhabitants. Fortification. Victory.* Sultan's *Exactions.*

Caſtle of Rhodzi.

ON the 1ſt day of *April* we labour'd in a contrary wind, but on the 2d day we came within view of the caſtle *Rhodzi* (which ſtands on a very high and ſteep rock near *Rhodes*) as our men were tacking the ſhip, there aroſe ſuch a ſtrong contrary wind that it ſplit our main-ſail from top to bottom; then we gave our ſelves up for loſt. For ſometimes we were toſſed up to the ſkies by a great ſea, and when that was gone we all of a ſudden were let down again to the loweſt deeps. There was nothing to be heard but loud cries, prayers and lamentations, one deſpaired, and another gave exhortations; in a word we were all in a frightful conſternation. In this extremity all of us at once endeavoured to hawl in the torn ſail, and with much ado got it into the ſhip, for before it flew abroad in the open air; and having hoiſted another ſail in the room of it, we got her before the wind again, and ſo ſteered her with more eaſe, which revived us, giving God thanks for our gracious deliverance. In a little time the wind calm'd a little again, and we diſcover'd the iſland *Rhodes* which gave us hope of faring better in a little time.

A ſtorm.

On the 3d day at the mouth of the harbour we met a ſhip of *Rhodes*, going to *Turkey* a pirating. They told us that about eight days before five *Turkiſh* frigats (which are commonly called *Fuſte*) had engaged them under the foreſaid caſtle of *Rhodzi*, but that by the valour of the *Rhodians* they were defeated, and forced to retire with diſhonour and loſs. After we had parted with them we came into harbour of the famous *Rhodes*, and having caſt anchor there we furl'd our ſails. We went out of the ſhip, and into the city, which is very much renown'd both for its ſtrength and famous exploits. This city was often beſieged by the *ſultan* of *Egypt*, and alſo by the *Turk*, both bitter enemies of Chriſtianity. They have endeavoured with all their forces to deſtroy it; but notwithſtanding all their ſtratagems, and formidable armies, they were ſtill defeated, and received more miſchief than they were able to give. At laſt they were forced after all their art and obſtinacy to leave it free; and to this day it is one of the greateſt bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the *Turk*, and does them moſt miſchief.

This iſland, as *Pomponius Mela* witneſſeth *lib.* II. is in the province of *Lycia*, and is the firſt of the *Cyclades* to ſuch as ſail from the eaſt. In the city of *Rhodes*, beſides other remarkable things, there was a vaſt *Coloſſus* of the ſun made by *Chares* a *Lydian*, the ſcholar of *Lyſippus*, ſeventy cubits high, as *Pliny* reports; very few men could graſp the thumb of it, for the fingers of it were bigger than ordinary ſtatues. When any of the members happen'd to be broke off, there appeared vaſt hollow places, wherein were huge ſtones in the inſide, which the founder had put there to make it ſtand the firmer. It was twelve years making, and coſt three hundred talents, which they beſtowed upon it out of the treaſure that king *Demetrius* left. This *Coloſſus* is juſtly reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, and was the occaſion of the *Rhodians* being call'd *Coloſſians*, to whom there is a canonical epiſtle of St. *Paul* extant by that name. Its circumference is nine hundred and twenty furlongs. It was once called *Ophyuſa*, afterwards *Staclia*, and then *Techlen*, becauſe it was inhabited by *Techlenites*. *Solinus* ſays of it, That the weather is never ſo cloudy but *Rhodes* is always in the ſun, therefore it was conſecrated to the ſun. Its inhabitants do now live in towers for fear of pirates; they carry corn and other victuals to *Rhodes*, and lay them up in cellars, and other places under ground, fitted for that purpoſe, and take it out again as they have occaſion, as out of a ſtore-houſe. And if at any time an enemy invade them on a ſudden, they make ſignals with fire on the top of their towers. which they have in every village, which alarms in a moment of time the whole iſland, ſo that they immediately meet and conſult what is neceſſary to be done.

Coloſſus *of the ſun. Maker of it.*

Charges of making it.

Rhodians *call'd* Coloſſians.

Circumferance of the iſland.

Serenity of the air.

The city it ſelf is encompaſſed with three ditches, which are large and very deep. And then again there is a very ſtrong wall to every ditch, planted full of great guns and ſmall arms of all kinds. The fortifications, towers, and breaſtworks are ſo ſtrong, that they ſeem to be made of iron, and wrought by the hands of the *Cyclops*. The inhabitants have no dealings, no correſpondence or friendſhip with infidels; but maintain a conſtant war

Strength of the city.

ſometimes

ſometimes with the neighbouring *Turks*, and ſomerimes with the *Moors*, *Africans*, *Egyptians*, and other enemies of their religion. And this ſame year, a little before we arrived, a ſhip of *Rhodes* of a ſmall ſize happen'd to engage with another of a much larger bulk, which had on board five hundred *Africans*, and two hundred *Jews*, which after a long and bloody diſpute they at laſt defeated, took and plundered, bringing her in priſoner to the harbour of *Rhodes*.

Rhodian's *victory.*

So ſoon as the *Sultan* had an account of it, he immediately diſpatched an embaſſador (whom we ſaw while we were there) firſt to demand with entreaty, and afterwards by threats, the delivery of the ſhip with all the priſoners and goods. But the great maſter of *Rhodes*, neither moved by fair words, nor daunted with threats, would grant none of their demands. Nay, he put the king of *Tunis*'s own brother, and the great man he had with him in chains, and appointed a guard to watch them. The reſt of the common ſort that he had taken priſoners on board the ſhip he ordered to dig in the ditches of the city, and to other hard labours.

Sultan's *demand of them.*

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CHAP. XX.

Philermo. Rhodian *Mills*. Peter's *Garriſon*. *Dogs there of a wonderful Sagacity*. *Iſlands* Cyclades. *Danger of Sailing in the* Ægean *Sea*.

Philermo.

THE 7th day the ſhip detaining us, we went on foot to *Philermo*, about five miles from *Rhodes*; there is a very high hill, and upon it a temple dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, where we heard ſermon and prayers. There had been here formerly a large well fortified city, now only a ſmall caſtle, but ſtrong. From thence we went back to *Rhodes* again. In the port of *Rhodes* there are thirteen great towers, containing windmills built by the *Genoueſe* captives for the puniſhing of traitors, and for a publick good. In the caſtle of *Rhodes* the great maſter of the *Johannites* has his reſidence, having many more iſlands round about ſubject to him, and eſpecially a fort placed in the confines of *Turky*, call'd St. *Peter*'s fort, where it is reported, there are a great number of dogs kept, and (which is wonderful, and almoſt incredible) they are ſo ſagacious and well bred up, that being let looſe in the night-time into the enemies country, whomſoever of the infidels they meet with, they inſtantly aſſault and tear to pieces; but the Chriſtians they know by the ſcent, and without offering them any violence, they very kindly conduct and protect them on the way till they come to the fort aforeſaid. They report of theſe dogs too, that at the ringing of a bell, they all meet in a moment's time, and receiving their meat do march out every one into his quarter to the aboveſaid purpoſe, like ſo many ſcouts or ſpies. The Chriſtian priſoners that are kept in ſlavery by the *Turks*, ſenſible of this, do as often as providence puts an opportunity in their way, ſteal out in the night-time towards this fort, and meeting the dogs there, are by them ſafely guided home to their friends. For even whilſt we were there, we ſaw one that had made his eſcape out of *Ruſſia* in that manner. The ſame evening having taken ſome refreſhment, and got ſome proviſion for our voyage, we went on board our ſhip again, and weighing anchor immediately, we ſail'd from that place with a very ſmall gale of wind.

Mills at Rhodes.

Maſter of the Johannites.

Very ſagacious dogs.

On the 8th day we ſail'd among the *Cyclades* that are ſcattered in the ſea, not without fear of pirates and dangers of the perilous ſea. For we ſtood on our watch night and day, and always arm'd, being ready upon the firſt appearance of danger to engage.

The iſlands *Cycladès* are ſituated on the *Ægean* ſea, now called the *Archipelagus*, and are ſo called becauſe they lie round in the form of a circle. They are ſeventy four in number, all of them placed between the *Ægean* and *Malæan* ſeas. In the middle of them is *Delos*, called alſo *Ortygia*, from the quails firſt ſeen there, and *Pyrpile*, becauſe fire was firſt found there; by ſome 'tis called *Aſteria*, by others *Cynthia*. Of the *Cyclades* the firſt is *Rhodes* towards the eaſt: Towards the ſouth *Carpathos*: To the north *Tenedos*: And to the weſt *Cythera*. But the *Ægean* ſea is ſo dangerous to mariners, that 'tis believed there is no place in the univerſe more ſubject to earthquakes, thunder and lightning, than it is.

CHAP. XXI.

The Seamens way of catching the Wind. Catching of Remora's. *News from* Chios. *The* Cretans *whip themſelves ſeverely. News from* Rhodes.

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Of this promont. ſee lib. I. cap. ii.

ON the 9th day, having by GOD's goodneſs got clear of the *Cyclades*, we came within ſight of *Crete* near the promontory of *Samonium* or *Salamon*, where we being becalm'd, could make but little way by plying our oars.

Catching the wind.

The next day our pilot putting his finger in his mouth, then holding it out in the open air, prognoſticated to us that we ſhould have wind very ſpeedily, which indeed proved accordingly; but there was but very little of it, ſo that it could move nothing with its force.

Catching of fiſh called Echini.

On the 11th we gain'd our deſired harbour, and having there tarried ſeveral days, we ſaw the catching of the *lampreys*, or *remoras*, in Latin *echini*, or *echeneines*.

They are caught thus: They who are moſt expert at ſwimming do ſtrip themſelves, and carrying in their hands ſharp knives, wade in the water along the rough ſtony ſhore, where theſe fiſhes haunt, at the ſame time looking ſteadily to the bottom to ſee if they can diſcover them by their ſight; and if they can't, they feel them with their feet: they are readily ſpy'd with the eye, becauſe of a black colour, and felt becauſe of their being rough and prickly. As ſoon as they either ſee or feel them, they clap their head under water, and turning up their heels, they reſt themſelves on one hand, with the other in which they have the knife, they pluck them from the rocks or ſtones, and bringing them to the top fling them into a baſket that they keep ſwimming cloſe by them. They are eaten raw, pouring the wateriſh liquor out of them.

How they are eaten.

On the 22d of *April*, which happen'd that year to be the vigil of *Eaſter*, we had bad news from the iſle of *Chios*, that three galleons of the *Rhodians* were intercepted by the *Turks* and taken. But the day before, which was *Good-Friday*, we ſaw a very cruel and bloody fight: There were almoſt three hundred *Cretans* all in a company, *Latins* and *Greeks*, who in a diſguiſe had their face and all their body cover'd except their back. They went thro' all the ſtreets of the city, laſhing and whipping themſelves moſt unmercifully, inſomuch that their clothes, ſcourges, and fleſh were bloody; nay, the very ſtones of the ſtreet were not only ſtain'd, but run down with gore. They told us that there were ſome among them who voluntarily and ſuperſtitiouſly inflicted this puniſhment on themſelves in recompence of the paſſion of CHRIST. But the moſt part of them were hired by others to undergo the ſeverity: It being cuſtomary that the ſeniors and better ſort of this country, when by reaſon of old age or infirmity they are not able to inflict this ſeverity, nor endure it on their own bodies, do hire others to do it for them. And there you might ſee young ſtriplings, for the lucre of a little money, madly and furiouſly laſhing and whipping their own bodies, as if they were ſo many blocks of wood, or ſtatues without life or feeling, the blood ſtreaming from every laſh they gave, and all about them ſtain'd with it. For what will not a blind and vain ſuperſtition do? Beſides, the city was all in confuſion, old and young, men and women going up and down, bawling out ever and anon, ſome in *Latin*, ſome in *Greek*, every one in his own language, *Miſericordia*, *miſericordia*.

News from Chios.

Cretans laſh themſelves on Good Friday.

Some hired to it.

On the 24th day we had better news than the former, *viz.* That one galleon of *Rhodes* had met with the ſeven *Turkiſh* brigantines or ſloops which a while before had taken and ſlain ſome of their men; that they engaged them, and by a contrary fortune had recovered all the goods, and many of the priſoners. For which remarkable victory a publick day of thankſgiving was ſtraight appointed, and ordained to be ſtrictly obſerved over all the iſland.

News from Rhodes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The Dolphins *deſcrib'd: Their appearing ominous to Mariners. A great Storm at Sea followed. Miſerable Life of Sailors. A Jeſt of a Mariner. Our ſtay at* Candia. *The Nature of the Iſland.*

ON the 25th day we ſailed out of the port of *Candia*, and launching out ſome miles in the main ſea, we were becalmed, ſo as we could not move either backwards or forwards: We had preſages of this diſaſter, by ſome dolphins that appeared to us within a ſtone's throw of the ſhip tumbling in the ſea. They were enticed to come very near us by our ſinging and whiſtling, ſo that we could ſee them very plain. The dolphin is a ſea-fiſh, the ſwifteſt, not only of fiſhes, but alſo of beaſts, it ſwims almoſt as faſt as a bird can fly; and if it was not for his mouth that is ſo very large, that it reaches almoſt to his belly, no fiſh could eſcape his ſwiftneſs; but providence has thwarted nature in this, for he cannot catch any thing but when he ſwims on his back. They have a tongue (contrary to the nature of ſea-animals) that they can move as they liſt, and make a noiſe or ſound reſembling the ſighs or groaning of a man; they have broad backs, and their back-bone is edged like a knife: They have flat ſnouts, whence they are called *Simo's*. They are extremely delighted with muſick, eſpecially with ſinging in a concert. The dolphin is not afraid of a man; it comes and meets ſhips, as hiſtories relate, and particularly in the caſe of *Arion* the muſician. It mightily loves boys and children, which *Appion* ſays he was eye-witneſs to at *Puteoli*, and *Theophraſtus* ſays the ſame too. But the ſeeing of theſe fiſhes proved very unlucky, and almoſt fatal to us.

The omen of ſeeing a dolphin.

The mariners have a common obſervation, that on whatever ſide of the ſhip they obſerve the dolphins to tumble in the ſea and ſhew themſelves, from that corner they expect the winds, tempeſt and ſtorm; and 'tis obſervable that they never appear but in a calm ſea, or inclining to a calm.

A ſtorm enſued.

While we had for ſome time thus ſtruggled in the calm ſea (as it frequently happens, that an alteration to the better is commonly the beginning of misfortunes) all on a ſudden there aroſe a violent hurricane, and a ſtrong contrary wind: The ſeas ſwelled prodigiouſly, and we were ſurrounded with a dark miſt or fog, inſomuch as we could neither ſail on, nor lower our ſail. Here being forced back with the winds the ſame way we came, no ſmall fear ſeized us, every one expecting nothing but preſent death, and revolving with themſelves what ſea-monſter they ſhould become a prey to. BAUMGARTEN

The ſhip reeled to and fro like a drunkard, ſometimes ſunk quite under the waves; by and by it recovered itſelf again, and all of a ſudden was overwhelmed with the rains that fell down, and the ſeas that broke againſt her: ſometimes you would have thought that the ſhip was really ſenſible of danger, and feared the mighty billows that were ready to overſet her, by nimbly avoiding their force, and eſcaping. But becauſe the mercies of the LORD are manifold, the ſtorm turn'd to a calm at laſt, and we got into a certain narrow bay of *Candia*, called *Traſchea*, where we came to an anchor and ſtaid all that night, being all the while moſt grievouſly toſt with the wind and the rains. What ſtate of life, friendly reader, can be harder, think you, than that of mariners? How many heats and colds muſt they endure? how often muſt they be frighted with thunder and lightning, and daily, nay hourly, expoſed to the violence of the winds and rains? How often muſt they be tormented with hunger and thirſt, and poiſoned up with dirt and naſtineſs, their lodging being no better than a priſon, having little or no furniture, and if any, very naſty, hard bedding, coarſe diet, and ſuch as require iron teeth to devour it, ſtinking drink, dirty clothes, inconveniencies of all ſorts, reſtleſs nights, and ever unquiet and in the open air? Not to mention their perpetual baniſhment from their native homes, being exiles, wanderers, ſtragglers, in perpetual motion; deprived of all the enjoyment and ſociety of a wife and children, than which there is not in the world a greater pleaſure. Who would not judge ſuch to be the moſt abject and moſt miſerable of all mortals? I omit *Scylla*, *Caribdis*, *Malæa*, *Syrtes*, *Simplegades*, and many other places dangerous to ſailors. I omit alſo the ſtorms and tempeſts (than which nothing is more diſmal to ſee) wherein they are daily expoſed to the greateſt dangers, their ſhips and themſelves ſhaken and toſt, and at laſt frequently drowned. O the fooliſh and unneceſſary devices of men's covetouſneſs, who not contented with what may be had on land, dare truſt their precious lives to a feeble and brittle board, within four or five inches of death, being in the mean time ſecure, jovial and merry. A ſailor being once aſked where his father died? he anſwer'd,

Traſchea *a bay of* Candia.

Miſerable life of ſailors.

Dangerous places for ſailors.

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At ſea. And the ſame perſon aſking him where his grandfather, great-grandfather, and the father and grandfather of his grandfather died? the ſailor replied as before. And are not you afraid, ſaid he, to go to ſea? The ſailor anſwered ſlily, And where died your father? In his bed, ſaid the other. Where died your grandfather, continued he? A bed too ſays the other, and ſo did all my anceſtors. Then, ſays the ſailor, are not you afraid to go to bed? So much for ſailors.

Sailor's jeſt.

On the 26th day at ſun-riſing, becauſe the wind proved contrary, and the city *Candia* being hard by, we were driven into the harbour again by a mighty ſtorm of wind and rain. Moreover not forgetting the danger we had been in, we paid the ſhip's maſter for our paſſage, and went to our old lodging to give GOD thanks for our ſafety. After this we bargain'd with a large ſhip to carry us to *Venice*, and ſtaid till ſhe had taken in her full lading. In the mean time we got acquainted with many noble *Venetians*, and ſeveral *Grecian* gentlemen, by whom we were very kindly and honourably entertained.

CHAP. XXIII.

Our departure in another Ship from Candia. *We are again diſtreſſed at Sea. News from* Rhodes. *A Storm and Earthquake.* Malvaſia *a Caſtle there.* Lacedæmonia. Corinth. Patros.

ON the 23d day our ſhip having taken in her lading, having firſt gone to prayers, we got out of harbour; and all our ſails being ſpread, we ſail'd but ſlowly, the wind being, tho' fair, but moderate. But he that puts his truſt in the winds, muſt himſelf be as inconſtant as they; for a violent contrary ſtorm ariſing, drove us back from our intended voyage to a corner of *Candia*, *Traſchea*, the ſame place where we avoided the late ſtorm. Here furling our ſails, and letting go our anchors, we ſtaid two days waiting for a fair wind. In the mean time two *Venetian* arm'd galleys ſtanding towards us, having had the ſame fate, told us, That the *Rhodians* had intercepted thirty ſail of *Turkiſh* ſhips of ſeveral ſorts, full of guns, ſcaling-ladders, and other inſtruments for ſtorming and taking of towns; and ſaid moreover, that they ſaw the expreſs and the letters ſent to the governor of *Candia* about it.

A contrary ſtorm.

News from Rhodes.

On the 26th having got a moderate gale, we moved from thence; and not ſteering directly forward, but as the wind ſerved us ploughing the ſea, we left thoſe iſlands to the right of us, *viz. Nea*, *Paros*, whence *Parian* marble is named, *Policandrum*, *Promontorium Cervi*, *Naxus*, where *Homer* was bury'd, *Milo* conſecrated to *Cybele*, *Falconaria*, and ſeveral others.

Nea. Paros. Policand. Pr. Cervi. Maxus. Nilo. Falconaria.

On the 29th having happily arrived at *Bellapola*, before we could well let go our anchors, whilſt our ſhip's crew were employ'd in lowering and handing the ſails, of a ſudden there came a great ſtorm and a dreadful tempeſt, which ſeemed to raiſe the ſea from the very bottom, and toſſed up the foam and froth in the air like feathers. The yards and ropes cauſed a moſt frightful ratling and noiſe; and if it had not been our good fortune to be in a place where our anchors held, we had been certainly caſt away. And this was the day on which, as ſhall be ſaid afterwards, the city was ſhaken, and a great part of it deſtroyed by a terrible earthquake.

Bellapola.

A ſtorm.

On the 30th having a moderate and fair wind, we mov'd from thence, and had in our view *Peloponneſus*, which is now called *Morea*; we paſſed a caſtle too, called *Napoli de Romania*.

Morea. Napoli de Romania.

On the 31ſt we ſailed about *Malvaſia*, we were becalmed. *Malvaſia* is a city or town belonging to the *Venetians*, whence vines were firſt tranſplanted into *Crete*, which produce that wine that we call *Malmſey-wine*. *Malvaſia* lies from *Napoli de Romania* at ſeventy miles diſtance. And there are the two only places of ſtrength the *Venetians* retain in all the *Morea*, The *Turk* being maſter of the reſt. But becauſe the *Morea* has been already deſcribed, I need not now repeat a deſcription of it; only this I may add, that *Lacedæmonia*, of old the eye of *Greece*, is ſituated betwixt the promontory of *Malea* and *Malvaſia*, towards the *Ægean* ſea. But *Corinth*, which *Horace* calls *Bimaris* (*i. e.* lying between two ſeas) looks to both the *Ionian* and *Egean* ſea. *Patros* borders upon this city, the place where St. *Andrew* was crowned with martyrdom. *Argos* and *Micenæ* were in former times remarkable cities in the *Morea*.

Malvaſia.

Situation of Lacedæmonia.

Of Corinth. Patros, Argos, *and* Mycenæ.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Proviſion got at Cythera. *Danger about the Promontory* Metapano. *Promontory* Malea. *A Partridge loſt. Iſlands* Strophades. *Original of the Name* Zacynthos.

Proviſion from Cythera.

ON the firſt of *June* we came to the promontory of *Malea*, having it on the right hand, and *Cythera* which is right againſt it on the left. The ſea was then calm, which the ſailors call *Bonaza* commonly. We ſent our boat with ſome men to the iſland *Cythera*, who having got ſome proviſion, brought likewiſe with them two deers, three goats, and wood and water: whether they bought them with their money, or purchaſed them otherwiſe we knew not; but they no ſooner brought them aboard, but there aroſe a contrary wind which fatigued us extremely: For having ſeveral times attempted to put out to ſea, and to get clear of the point of the promontory *Metapano*, being drove back by the winds, we were fain to make our way under the rocks. But not daring to ſtay there becauſe of the danger, we put out to ſea again, and by ſteering different courſes backwards and forwards, and ſailing ſometimes with, and ſometimes againſt the wind, we ſpent the time to no purpoſe; for it is always very dangerous ſailing there, for which reaſon this place is accounted one of the moſt dangerous places of the ſea.

Promontory Metapano.

Malea.

Malea (which the common ſort call *Caomalie*) as *Servius* relates, is a promontory of *Laconia*, which is ſtretch'd out into the ſea for the ſpace of fifty miles, where the current is ſo violent, that it ſeems to purſue thoſe that ſail there. It took its name from *Maleus* a king of the *Argives*, who built upon it a magnificent temple for *Apollo*, which he alſo call'd after his own name. On the ruins of this temple there is at this day a chapel built to the honour of *Michael* the archangel. Here we could not but laugh at the fooliſh ſuperſtition of the ſailors, who ſay, when the wind blows from that place, that 'tis occaſion'd by the violent motion of *Michael*'s wings, becauſe, forſooth, he is painted with wings: And for that reaſon, when they ſail by *Michael*, they pray to him that he may hold his wings ſtill. It happens ſometimes that 'tis two or three months before ſuch as ſail from the eaſt can get clear of this promontory; but by the ſingular goodneſs of GOD, we paſt it very quietly, which made us labour ſtoutly leſt we ſhould be forced back again to ſtruggle longer with' it.

Origin of the name.

Superſtition of the ſailors.

On the fourth day, by the favour of a ſouth wind, we joyfully paſt a great many promontories, with which *Peloponneſus* is divided as by ſo many fibres. Sailing by *Chorona* a city of the *Morea*, we loſt a partridge. This bird had been carried from *Chorona* to *Candia* where we bought it; and by our careleſneſs being ſuffered to fly out of the ſhip, ſmelling its own country, and endeavouring to get thither, was drown'd before it could get ſo far. The ſame day about ſun-ſetting we ſail'd by *Modona* and *Lepantum*, both cities of *Peloponneſus*.

BAUMGARTEN

A partridge loſt.

On the fifth day in the morning we ſail'd by the *Strophades*, which are commonly call'd *Strivali*. Theſe iſlands (as *Pliny* witneſſeth in his fourth book of *Nat. Hiſt.* and *Virgil* in his third *Æneid*) are ſituated in the *Ionian* ſea againſt *Cephalonia*, firſt call'd *Plotæ*, afterwards *Strophades*. Of which *Virgil*,

Iſlands Strophades.

Plotæ.

At length we land upon the Strophades,
Safe from the danger of the ſtormy ſeas.
Thoſe iſles are compaſs'd by th' Ionian *main:*
The dire abode where the foul Harpies *reign:*
Forc'd by the winged warriors to repair
To their old homes, and leave their coſtly fare.
Monſters more fierce, offended heaven ne'er ſent
From hell's abyſs, for human puniſhment:
With virgin faces but with wombs obſcene,
Foul paunches, and with ordure ſtill unclean;
With claws for hands, and looks for ever lean.

Dryden.

Theſe iſlands are two in number, the one greater, and the other ſmaller. In the former is excellent paſturage for cattle; in the latter a very fine *Greek* monaſtry. The ſame day we had a fair wind, ſet our ſails, and went merrily on whither the wind and our pilot directed us.

Then we diſcovered woody *Zacynthus*, which is now call'd *Alſanto*, a ſmall but pleaſant iſland. *Zacynthus* has one city of its own name, with a fortified caſtle, both ſeated on a riſing ground.

Zacynthus.

When we endeavour'd to leave *Zacynthus* on our right hand as we ſail'd by it, a contrary wind aroſe, which obliged us to leave it on our left, and there we lay at anchor all that night waiting a fair wind.

Baumgarten

On the ſixth day, having ſuffered the ſame fortune as before, we faſtened the ſhip at the very mouth of the harbour of the city, and ſent out our boat, but had much ado to get any proviſion.

CHAP. XXV.

Caſtle of Tornez. *A Gun loſt. Iſland* Ithaca. Dulichium. Leucada. Nicopolis. *Promontory of* Acarnania. Paxus. Antipaxus.

Caſtle of Tornez. ON the ſeventh we weighed anchor, and ſail'd towards the caſtle of *Tornez*, hoping there to find a fair wind: which not happening according to our mind, we put out our lead to ſound the bottom, and found it twenty five fathom, which we were very glad of, and ſo let down our anchors, and rode there. Here we killed the deer we got at *Cythera*, and dividing it in equal portions among the men, feaſted upon it, and ſo paſt the time very merrily in eating and drinking, for the whole lading of the ſhip was almoſt *Malmſey* wine. The caſtle of *Tornez* is ſeated on a very high hill in *Peloponneſus*, which the *Venetians* ſhamefully ſurrendred to the *Turks*, by virtue of an article of a treaty they made with them.

The eighth day the wind not ſerving, we came again to the port of *Zacynthus*, where a great number of our men went on ſhore to the city and caſtle, and brought with them ſome proviſion.

On the tenth looſing from thence, we ſailed between *Celaphonia* (but truly called *Cephalonia*) and *Zacynthus*, which are very near one another, and both belong to the *Venetians:* There we met a *Cretan* ſhip, which perceiving us to be friends by the ordering of the ſhip and ſails, they ſaluted us very kindly with loud ſhouts, and hoiſting up their flags. And while they were diſcharging a great gun, that it ſeems had not been well enough fixed in its place, ſo ſoon as it was off, the force of the powder drove it quite over-board, ſo as it was never ſeen again. And thus ſeeking to put an obligation on us, they did themſelves a miſchief. Preſently after there came another contrary wind, which forced us back to the left ſide of *Cephalonia*, ſo that we loſt as much of our way this night as we had got the day before.

A gun loſt.

On the twelfth we paſt by an iſland commonly call'd *Vallis de Compare*, by the *Latins*, *Ithaca*. This, as *Pliny* in his fourth book of *Nat. Hiſt.* has it, is ſituated againſt *Leucada* and *Achaia*, and was the celebrated dominion of *Ulyſſes*, in which there is a mountain call'd *Neritos*, whence the whole iſland is called *Neritos* iſland.

Ithaca, *or* Vallis de Compare.

Mount Neritos.

Amidſt our courſe Zacynthian *woods appear;*
And next by rocky Neritos *we ſteer.*
Virg. Æneid. 3.

Near this iſland is another call'd *Dulichium*, having on the eaſt ſide *Strophades*, and on the weſt *Ithaca*. The ſame day we paſt the iſland *Leucada*, in which is a caſtle called S. *Maura*, which was given up to the *Turk* by the *Venetians*, in a capitulation they made with them, in the ſame manner as *Tornez* was. The iſland *Leucas*, according to *Pomponius Mela*, lies right againſt the bay of *Ambracium*, where alſo there is a city of the ſame name, which *Auguſtus* named *Nicopolis*, having obtained there a victory over *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, which iſland has a very high mountain of the ſame name. *Leucas* was once joined to the continent, as *Ovid* ſays, *Metamorph. lib.* XV. It is a ſmall channel, and hardly capacious enough to admit of two galleys at once, that parts *Leucas* from the continent. Then alſo we paſt a promontory of *Acarnania*, which is now called a dutchy.

Dulichium.

Nicopolis.

Promontory of Acarnania.

The *13th* we paſt by *Paxus* and *Antipaxus* iſlands, known only for their names, being but very ſmall. Then we came within ſight of *Corcyra* a ſmall creek, and were forced there to anchor all night for the calmneſs of the weather.

Paxus *and* Antipaxus

CHAP. XXVI.

Corfu. *The* Venetian *Admiral and three thouſand Men drowned. An Earthquake in* Candia. *The Damage done by it. Story of a* Genoeſe *Traitor.*

ON the 14th in the morning we arrived at *Corcyra*, or *Corfu*, and making faſt our ſhip in the harbour, we went into the city, where we made much of our ſelves for a conſiderable time, eating and drinking of the beſt we could have for our money.

On the 15th while we were here, there came in a brigantine, that brought the ſad news of the *Venetian* admiral's being caſt away in a ſtorm, (juſt when he had diſcharged that office his appointed time, and was on his return to reſign his commiſſion) with

The Venetian *admiral ſhipwreckt*

with two great gallies, one ſhip, and ten other ſmaller veſſels of ſeveral ſorts; of three thouſand men he had with him, ſix only were ſaved, the reſt with the admiral himſelf were all drowned.

Earthquake of Candia.

On the 16th (as human affairs are always fluid and uncertain) there arrived another brigantine, with little better news, *viz.* That the city *Candia* on the 29th day of *May* was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an earthquake, moſt of the buildings both ſacred and private being either quite overthrown, or ſo ſhattered and broken that none durſt inhabit them; that above ſix hundred people had been deſtroyed by it, among whom the chancellor, a very worthy man, and to whom we were extremely obliged, beſides many other noble perſons both *Greeks* and *Italians*, citizens and common people. And not only *Candia* but ſeveral other cities and towns in the iſland felt the dire effects of this earthquake, particularly *Sittia*, where the cittadel and moſt of the houſes fell to the ground, and truly the inhabitants were ſenſible of it all over the iſland. Another iſland hard by named *Santorini*, was ſo ſplit and cleft in the middle, that it became two iſlands, which in ſome meaſure confirms the opinion of the ancients concerning *Sicily* and *Italy*; *viz.* that both formerly had been one land.

Miſchief done by it.

Iſland Santorini.

The Italian *ſhore,*
And fair Sicilia's *coaſt were one before,*
An earthquake caus'd the flaw. The roaring tides
The paſſage broke, that land from land divides.
The lands retire, the ruſhing ocean rides.

On the 17th another piece of bad news was brought of a wicked deſign that was enterprized, but by the providence of God not brought to perfection, of a *Genoeſe* traitor.

Story of a Genoeſe *traitor.*

This fellow having long lived among the *Turks*, did acquire their language and manners perfectly, and being drunk with the poiſon of malice went to the *Turk*, and proffered to deliver *Rhodes* into his hands without the expence of any of his ſubjects blood. The *Turk* believed, and encouraged him to it with fair words, gifts and promiſes, to go on with the deſign. He taking upon him a *Turkiſh* habit immediately went to *Rhodes*, as if he had been a priſoner of the *Turks*, and having falſely told them that he was among the *Turks* counſellors, he pretended to diſcover many of the ſecret councils of the *Turks*. In ſhort, he had ſuch a faculty of diſcourſe, and ſo great a power of perſuading, that they really believed what he ſaid to be true, and received him among the chief men of the *Rhodians*. Now he had ordered before, when he was in *Turky*, that there ſhould be ſent to him twenty barrels or veſſels with *caviare*, which is much uſed there, in the middle of which caſks there ſhould be put ſwords, darts, arrows, and other weapons. And he had laid his deſign ſo, that in the harveſt time when moſt of the people of the city were gone out to their harveſt into the fields, he would take his opportunity, and ſet at liberty all the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Africans*, *Jews*, and others that were kept priſoners there, and ſo arm them with theſe weapons; by which means they might eaſily put all the inhabitants to the ſword, ſeize the city, and ſend to the *Turk*, who was to lie with an army not far off, expecting the iſſue. But God turned this miſchievous deſign on the head of the traitor: for in the mean time another who had really fled from the *Turks*, coming to *Rhodes*, and had privately certain intelligence of the whole matter, diſcovered it to the great maſter of *Rhodes*, ſhews him the projector of the villany, and gives him information of ſeveral priſoners who were privy to it; ſeveral of whom being put to torments confeſſed the matter, nor did the traitor himſelf deny it. Many of the conſpirators were put to death, and the reſt put in fetters, and cloſer priſon. The traitor himſelf they reſerved to be tortur'd with more exquiſite puniſhments, becauſe theſe arms were daily expected, which were concealed in the *caviare*. This *caviare* is a certain meat or ſauce prepared of the entrials of fiſh.

BAUMGARTEN

His induſtry and cunning.

Stratagem of the traitor.

The plot diſcovered.

Caviare.

CHAP. XXVII.

Country of Epirus. *Mountain* Dodone. Caſope. Velona Hydruntum, *ruin'd by the* Turks. Dyrrachium. Scutaris, *&c.*

Baumgarten

Caſtle of the great men of Corcyra.

ON the 18th, which was the feaſt of the *holy Trinity*, looſing from *Corcyra* we ſailed cloſe by a rock near *Corcyra*, upon which is erected a caſtle full as big as the hill itſelf; to which caſtle the great and wealthy men of *Corcyra* are wont to retire in the time of a peſtilence, and ſometimes to divert themſelves.

The ſight of high Pheacia *ſoon we loſt,*
And ſkim'd along Epirus *rocky coaſt.*
Then to Chaonia's *port our courſe we bend,*
And landed, to Buthrotus *heights aſcend.*

At this laſt place our men having purchaſed for us ſome ſmall fiſhes caught in the river running by it, and ſome eggs, returned to us again, and having made the ſhip faſt, becauſe of the boiſterous wind that blew, we ſtaid there two days.

Epirus.

Epirus (in which is *Buthrotus*) in *Latin* is called the *firm land*. This country of old was called *Moloſſa*; afterward from *Choon*, *Helen*'s brother, it was called *Chaonia*. In it the mountain *Dodone*, the wood and temple of *Jupiter*, made famous by the verſes of the *Greek* and *Latin* poets, were remarkable. To this temple they feign'd that two doves were wont to reſort, which gave reſponſes from heaven, one of which flew to *Delphos* a city in *Bœotia*, and there made the oracle of *Apollo Delphicus* renowned. They gave out that the other flew to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, which propheſied and delivered oracles at *Chaonia*; the devil being induſtrious to find a new theatre for himſelf.

Chaonia.

Mountain Dodone.

Doves of Apollo.

This city is very poor and almoſt ruined, being under the dominion of the *Venetians*, who ſqueeze out of their ſubjects all their ſubſtance, and carry it to *Venice*.

On the 21ſt day with a gentle eaſt wind, we weigh'd from thence, and came near to *Caſope*, a town of *Corcyra*, of old a colony of the *Epirots*. From thence putting out to ſea to the right-hand, we paſt by *Ceraunia*, which I made mention of in the firſt book, whence we had a very ſhort and ſpeedy paſſage to *Italy*. We ſail'd by *Saſyno* too, and the two *Merlera's*, *Phanon*, and ſeveral other iſlands.

Caſope.

Iſlands Saſyno *and* Merlera's.

On the 22d day we ſailed with a very fair wind, and quickly loſt ſight of ſeveral towns on our right-hand, one whereof is call'd *Velona*, ſituated in *Albania*. *Bajazet* the firſt king of the *Turks*, conquered this city, and *Amurath* ſubdued it afterwards when it revolted. Out of this town the *Turk* march'd *an.* 1480. when he took *Hydruntum* a city in *Apulia*, having put to the ſword many thouſands of men, and levell'd it to the ground. Next to it we ſaw *Dyrrachium* in *Epyrus*, built in the time of *Ancus Marcus* the fourth king of the *Romans*, which had formerly been call'd *Epidamnos*. For as *Pomponius Mela* relates, when this town had been the common port to all *Greece*, and that name ſeeming to portend ſome loſs or misfortune, abandoning the old, it took a new name, *viz. Dyrrachium*. This they call likewiſe *Epidaurus*, and it is now ſubject to the *Venetians*. Then we ſailed by *Scutaris*, once *Cozora*, ſeated in *Albania*, which alſo the *Venetians* ſurrendred to the *Turks* in a capitulation. After this we ſaw and loſt ſight of *Budua*, and *Cathera* cities of *Dalmatia*.

Hydruntum. Peucer. *lib.* V. *Chron.*

Dyrrachium.

Epidamnos.

Epidaurus

Scutaris.

Budua. Cathera.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Raguſium *a City of* Dalmatia. *Iſland* Meleda. *A Sea-Dog. City* Leſina. *Iſland* Liſſa; *great plenty of Fiſh here, which yield the* Venetians *Tribute. A new Admiral.*

ON the 23d about break of day, we ſailed by *Raguſium*, one of the principal towns in *Dalmatia*, which for its magnificent buildings, both private and publick, excels all the reſt, having a very convenient harbour ſecured by a chain. It is a free ſtate, and govern'd by its own ſenators, as *Venice* is. The ſame day and the next we ſail'd by ſeveral other iſlands belonging to the *Raguſians*, not far from the continent, *viz. Calamutho*, iſland *de Medio*, *Zupana* and ſome others.

Calamutho. Zupana.

After this, ſailing under the iſland *Melida*, by the violence of the winds, we were driven into a certain harbour, where we ſaw fiſh as big as cockboats tumbling in the water; and when ſome of the ſailors went out of the ſhip to cool themſelves with ſwimming, one of them ſpied from the topmaſt a ſea-dog, which alarmed the ſwimmers,

Melida.

A ſea-dog.

mers ſo, they immediately came aboard, and with flinging ſtones at him drove away the ſea-dog.

From hence on the 26th we ſailed between *Melida* and the continent; and then ſteering our courſe to the right of the iſland
Auguſta. *Auguſta*, we faſtened the ſhip among the rocks of the iſland *Corſula*.

Leſina. On the 27th ſailing between *Leſina* and
Corſula. *Corſula*, in no ſmall danger both from the rocks and ſtorms, we put into the harbour of the city *Leſina*; for not many days before a ſhip laden with corn had been caſt away there.

On the 28th day we went into the city, made much of our ſelves, and ſet out our things in the ſun-ſhine to dry. The town it ſelf has no wall about it, but it hath a caſtle, which by reaſon both of ſituation and fortification, is impregnable. In the *harbour of Leſina we ſaw ſuch a prodigious ſwarm of fiſh, as no other place could* produce. Within view of *Leſina* is the iſland *Liſſa*, where all ſorts of fiſh are taken in ſuch plenty, that they are able ſufficiently to furniſh ſuch as ſail from *Venice*, *Apulia*, *Genoa*, *Crete*, *Corfu*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other ſtrangers: And they ſay there ariſes a vaſt income to the *Venetians* yearly out of the duty impoſed on fiſh alone.

BAUMGARTEN *Plenty of fiſh.* Liſſa. *Revenue from fiſhing.*

In the evening of this day arrived an armed galley of *Leſina*, bringing the new admiral, with beating of drums and ſounding of trumpets. After which there arrived another galley like the former, with three brigantines, in the dark night, in the ſame harbour. *A new admiral.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Port of Seſſula. Cahociſta *Promontory.* *A Storm.* *A Quarrel among the Sailors.* Rubinum *of* Hiſtria. *Return to* Venice. *Another Earthquake in* Candia.

Bracia. Solta. ON the 30th day of *June* we left *Leſina*, and ſailed by the iſlands *Bracia* and *Solta*; and afterwards we were driven
Port of Seſſula. by the wind into a port call'd *Seſſula*. This port is in figure like a hemicycle (or half-circle) a very convenient harbour for ſhipping, and ſo ſafe that ſhips can ride here without anchors: It is eighteen *Italian* miles from *Spalatrum* a city in *Dalmatia*.

On the firſt of *July* we ſailed from *Seſſula*, and paſſing by St. *Andrew*'s rock,
Promontory of Cahociſta. came in ſight of a certain promontory they call *Cahociſta*, about which place the ſailors, by an old and inbred cuſtom, do pay
Sailors cuſtom here. their debts, if they owe one another any thing. There are not far from this promontory many craggy rocks that make it dangerous ſailing here.

The ſecond, third, and fourth days we were becalm'd, and could not ſtir by help of wind or oars; beſides, our proviſion fell ſhort, the wood we put on the fire vaniſh'd into ſmoke, the ſun ſcorched us ſeverely, and in ſhort, we were grievouſly diſtreſs'd. However, we made a ſhift to
Sibinigo. ſail by the caſtle *Sibinigo*.

On the fifth day as we were ſailing out of a certain harbour, the winds roſe, and there came on a terrible ſtorm, which ſplit
A ſtorm. in two our ſprit-ſail, which they call *Trincketo*, and much ado we had to mend it again.

On the ſixth day having met with the
Oſſera. like bad weather, we ſail'd by *Oſſera*, and ſaw as we ſailed the mountains of *Ancona* over againſt it. The ſame day the
Ancona. maſter of the ſhip, the pilot, and moſt of the ſailors, being madly drunk, roſe up in arms one again another, pulling and lugging one another by the hair, and throwing down ſtones from the round-top; ſome engaged with ſwords, and run one another through the legs and arms, in the mean time expoſing the ſhip to manifeſt danger. At laſt when they thought they had enough, they began to ſteer again, and in a very little time we got clear out of ſight of *Pola*. Pola.

On the ſeventh of *July* we arrived at *Rubinum* in *Hiſtria*, where being unwilling to truſt our ſelves any longer in this drunken ſhip, we paid for our paſſage, and having got our things out, hired a boat to carry us to *Venice*. Rubinum.

The eighth day, the weather promiſing very fair, we went on board our boat, and ſetting up a ſail, and plying our oars, we had a very ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage to *Venice*, miſtreſs of the ſeas; for about ſix a clock our watchman from the maſt-head cried out aloud to us, that he diſcovered the towers of the city and tops of the churches. We no ſooner heard the name of this deſirable and welcome city, but we all at once joyfully cried aloud, *Venetiæ*, *Venetiæ*. After ſun-ſetting we entred into the wiſhed for city, where being welcomed with the utmoſt expreſſions of joy by our friends and acquaintance, we ſpent a great part of that night in their company; for it was not enough to them to hear us once tell how we did, but they aſked us a thouſand queſtions of what we had done and ſuffer'd, and ſeen and heard, and they liſtened very attentively while we told them. *Return to* Venice.

The day following we went to church to give God thanks; and having offered up

up our prayers, beſtowed our charity upon the poor.

Second earthquake in Candia.

On the 26th one *James Todiſchin* a *Venetian* factor, whom we had formerly been acquainted with (having gone paſſengers in the ſame galley with him to *Alexandria*) told us that *Candia* had again ſuffered very much by another earthquake that happened there on the 9th of *July*; and that what the former earthquake had left ſtanding of the town, had been deſtroyed by the ſecond: That the ſtately tower which guarded, and was an ornament to the harbour, and many more fine buildings had been thrown down: And that the *capitan* himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons of note had loſt their lives by it.

CHAP. XXX.

Their Journey from Venice *to* Kueffſtein *home. They give Thanks to* God.

ON the 29th of *July*, leaving *Venice* with a reſolution to return home to our own country, the firſt place we came to was *Margera*; and here we hired horſes, which they commonly and truly call *martyrs*, and came to *Terviſium*; from thence to *Velteres*, next to *Trent*, *Bulſanum*, *Brixina*, *Oenipons Hallas*, *Schwatz*, *Rotemburg*, and at laſt into our dear little native country *Kueffſtein*, a ſmall town, but very pleaſant and well fortified. Here we were received very affectionately, and welcomed by all the town, in a ſplendid and triumphant manner. We gave our moſt hearty thanks, in the beſt manner we poſſibly could, to the immortal, holy, and moſt gracious God, by whoſe merciful providence we eſcaped ſo many dangers of ſea and land. To the eternal Trinity be eternal thanks.

A

VOYAGE

To the KINGDOM of

Chili in *America.*

Performed by

Mr. *Henry Brewer*, and Mr. *Elias Herckeman*,

In the Years 1642, and 1643.

With a Deſcription of

The Iſle of *FORMOSA* and *JAPAN.*

Illuſtrated with Copper Plates.

Tranſlated from the High-Dutch *Original, Printed at* Frankford *upon the* Maine, 1649.

Advertiſement to the Reader.

MR. Henry Brewer, *one of the directors of the* Dutch Weſt-India *company, having in the year* 1642. *frequently urged the ſettling of a commerce with the inhabitants of the kingdom of* Chili *(who were then declared enemies of the* Spaniards) *the ſaid voyage was reſolved upon accordingly: And Mr.* Brewer *offering his ſervice, was pitch'd upon as commodore of the ſhips intended for that expedition. Accordingly he ſet ſail with three ſhips from the* Texel 1642. *and arriving the* 22d *of* Decemb. *at* Fernambuco *in* Brazil, *purſued his voyage from thence* Jan. 15. 1643. *with five ſhips,* viz. *the* Amſterdam, Fliſſingen, Concord, Orange-tree, *and the* Dolphin-*yacht*; *and arriv'd the* 30th *of* April *upon the coaſt of* Chili. *They met with no ſmall difficulty before they could diſcover the real inclinations of the* Chileſes *towards them. During which Mr.* Henry Brewer *died,* Aug. 7. 1643. *of a lingering diſeaſe*; *and his corps was buried,* Septemb. 16. *at* Baldivia, *purſuant to his own directions in his life-time. Mr.* Elias Herckeman *being by commiſſion appointed his ſucceſſor, knew ſo well how to inſinuate himſelf with the* Chileſes, *that they ſhewed a great deal of readineſs to comply with his demands, offer'd all the ſervice they were able to perform, and what proviſions they ſtood in need of*; *and at laſt entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with them againſt the* Spaniards. *But the general coming aſhore,* Sept. 23. *with moſt of the officers, in order to mark out the place for a fort, agreed to be built near* Baldivia; *they found the* Chileſes *not in a condition either to furniſh them with ſufficient proviſions, or to give them any real aſſiſtance till about three months after*; *which made them reſolve in a council of war,* Octob. 18. *to quit that coaſt. Accordingly the general took his leave of the* Chileſes *the* 19th, *who alledged their inability of not furniſhing neceſſaries, by reaſon they had not notice given them of their coming*; *promiſing, that if they could return in two years time, they might be aſſured of all poſſible aſſiſtance. Hereupon they ſet ſail from that coaſt* Octob. 28. *and about the end of* December *following, arrived ſafely with the remainder of this ſquadron at the* Reeief *in* Brazil.

An Account of a Voyage to the Coaſt of Chili, *performed by Order from the* Dutch Weſt-India *Company, in the Years* 1642, *and* 1643, *under the Command of Mr.* Henry Brewer *their General.*

IN the year 1642, it was reſolved in a court of the directors of the *Weſt-India* company in *Holland*, to ſend ſome ſhips to the coaſt of *Chili*, a country of *America* bordering upon the kingdom of *Peru*, to endeavour the ſettling a good correſpondency with the *Chileſes*, the better to annoy the *Spaniards* on that ſide.

Among the directors of the ſaid company, there was one Mr. *Henry Brewer*, who knowing the *Chileſes* to be at enmity with the *Spaniards*, did not only encourage this undertaking, but alſo offered himſelf to go in perſon to accompliſh it. Purſuant to this reſolution, Mr. *Brewer*, with ſeveral other gentlemen, were ordered firſt to ſteer their courſe to *Braſile*, to conſult with his excellency earl *Maurice* of *Naſſau* then governor there, how to put their intended deſign in execution.

Accordingly the beforemention'd Mr. *Henry Brewer*, being conſtituted commander in chief, ſet ſail from the *Texel* with three good ſtout ſhips on the ſixth day of *November*, in the year 1642, and with a proſperous gale arrived the next following 22d of *December* ſafely at *Fernambuco*, where he was welcomed at his landing the ſame evening, under the diſcharge of the great artillery from all the forts and batteries.

After ſome time ſpent in conſultations about the proſecution of their intended deſign, it was reſolved at laſt to ſend five ſhips well equipp'd, with men and other neceſſaries, to the coaſt of *Chili*; to wit, The *Amſterdam* admiral, which was to carry the general; the *Fliſſingen* vice-admiral, in which was to be counſellor *Elias Herkeman*; the *Concord*, in which was to be counſellor *Elbert Criſpinſon*; the *Orange-Tree*, and *Dolphin* yacht: which five ſhips put to ſea on the 15th of *January*, in the year 1643.

The next following day, being the 16th, the allowance was ſettled among the ſeamen in the following manner: A good cheeſe to each for the whole voyage; three pounds of biſket, half a pound of butter, and a quartern of vinegar, *per* week; about a pint of freſh water *per diem*; every *ſunday* three quarters of a pound of fleſh; ſix ounces of ſalted cod every *monday* and *wedneſday*; a quarter of a pound of ſtock-fiſh for every *tueſday* and *ſaturday*; gray peaſe, and three quarters of a pound of bacon, for *thurſday* and *friday*: beſides this, as much oatmeal boiled in water as they could eat. BREWER. *Allowance for the ſeamen.*

On the fifth day of *March* we got ſight of the ſtraits of *le Maire*; the weſtern ſhore (which is called *Mauricius Land*) was all covered with ſmall round hills; but upon the eaſtern ſhore (commonly known by the name of *Staaten Land*) they diſcover'd many precipices and high piquet mountains covered on the tops with ſnow. It happening to be a very clear day, we had the ſatisfaction to behold, that this *Staaten Land*, which hitherto has always been taken for a part of the continent, was an iſland of about nine or ten leagues long, deſtitute of any convenient bay or port fit for anchorage; of a barren ſoil, producing nothing but ſome few trees: The ſhore ſurrounded with many rocks, and ſo boiſterous a ſea, that there was no landing but with a great deal of danger. We were four days together endeavouring to paſs the ſtraits; but finding it impoſſible by reaſon of the boiſterouſneſs and changeableneſs of the winds we were forced to change our courſe on the 9th of *March*, and reſolve to ſail round about the ſaid iſland. The weather continued ſo ſtormy, that we were ſeveral days (during which time we ſaw many whales) before we could get clear of the iſland, and did not come to *Valentines* bay till the 18th of *March*, where we came to an anchor the ſame evening. *They get ſight of the ſtrait* Le Maire. *Iſland called* Staaten land.

Valentines

BREWER. *Deſcription of Valentines bay.*

Valentines bay is ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the ſtraits called *Mauricius*'s *Land*, under forty four degrees and four minutes, where there is pretty ſafe anchorage in ſeveral places for ten or twelve ſhips, there being nine or ten fathom depth, a black ſand; but by reaſon of the nearneſs of the mountain, ſubject to ſtorms, and changeableneſs of the winds. The ſhore is full of rocks, but covered with a muddy earth, in ſome places ten foot deep: There is good ſtore of ſprings and fuel here, but no wood fit for building, or any other uſe. It affords a kind of currants both black and red, which were then juſt come to maturity; as alſo a herb not unlike our parſley; muſcles and ſnails in great abundance: and the ſeamen ſhot ſome wild ducks, not unlike ours, but that their bills were not ſo broad, and their feathers diſtinguiſhed by various colours. Fiſh they met with none, but ſaw among the rocks ſeveral ſea-lions and ſea-dogs, about the bigneſs of a good *European* calf, ſome of a grayiſh, ſome of a browniſh colour, making a noiſe not unlike our ſheep; and at the approach of our men they betook themſelves to the ſea. They could not get ſight of any of the inhabitants, it being very probable, that being terrify'd at the diſcharge of our cannon from the ſhips, they had ſheltered themſelves in ſome more remote places. Their footſteps, which appeared to be ſeventeen and eighteen inches long, ſeemed to intimate that they were ſtrong and robuſt. Their huts were very artificially twiſted, and made up of ſtraw and graſs in the form of our ſoldiers tents: they afforded nothing within but muſcle-ſhells, which probably may be their daily food.

Our general ordered the *Dolphin* yacht to ſail again towards the *iſland of the Staaten*, to endeavour to make ſome diſcovery, and gave them ſome pigs to be put on ſhore there.

On the 25th of *March* it was reſolved to continue our voyage towards the coaſt of *Chili*.

On the 30th the ſhip called the *Orange-Tree*, having loſt her maſt, was forced to ſtay behind; and having heard no tidings of her afterwards, it was concluded ſhe was returned to *Fernambuco*.

Whilſt they were ſteering their courſe towards *Chili*, we met with very bad weather; ſo that after having weathered ſeveral great ſtorms mixed with hail, at laſt we got ſight of the coaſt of *Chili* on the 30th of *April*.

On the 1ſt of *May* they perceived a great ſmoke near the ſea-ſhore, which made the general order the *Dolphin* yacht to approach as near that way as ſhe could, and to endeavour to get ſome priſoners, from whom they might have ſome information concerning the place. Accordingly the yacht approached as near the ſhore as was poſſible, and hoiſted up her white flag to ſee whether any body would come on board: ſome few on horſeback, attended by ſeveral footmen, came in ſight of them upon the ſhore, but ſoon retired into the adjacent woods; and the ſea running ſo high at that time that they durſt not venture to land, they returned, and gave the general an account of what they had ſeen. 1643.

The ſaid yacht being again ordered to ſound the coaſt thereabouts, ſpent eight days before they could meet with a bay fit for anchorage, ſo that it was the 9th of *May* before the fleet caſt anchor in a bay which they called *Brewer*'s harbour. They all put out their white flags as a ſignal of peace, but no body offering to come aboard, it was reſolved that the yacht ſhould ſound the entrance of a ſmall river which was thereabouts. *Brewer's harbour.*

The 10th of *May* it blew ſo hard that the yacht durſt not venture to go, and the ſhip *Fliſſingen* was forced from her anchors among the rocks, and they were obliged to cut down her main-maſt.

On the 11th, the weather being pretty fair, Mr. *Elbert Criſpinſon*, one of the counſellors and aſſiſtants to the general, and major *Blewbeck*, with twenty five ſoldiers, came on aboard the yacht, and paſſing within the river's mouth, came towards evening to anchor at twelve fathoms depth.

On the 12th, the major with ſome ſoldiers went higher up the river to try whether he could meet with ſome who could give him intelligence of the conſtitution of the place they were in. Being returned, he gave an account that after he had ſail'd about two leagues up the river, he had met with two ſmall boats not unlike thoſe of our watermen, but ſomewhat flatter; and not far from thence with two houſes built on the top of a very high hill; the houſes were covered with reeds, and a great wooden croſs ſtood at the entrance of them: he diſcovered alſo at a conſiderable diſtance about four or five on horſeback, two of whom came down to the very bank, but retired ſoon after into the woods. The major took a ſmall white flag, a knife, and ſome corals; theſe he left upon the bank near that place where he had ſeen the horſemen, crying out to them as he went aboard, That they were friends, and they needed not fear any thing. Upon this two on horſeback, and three footmen came and took up the things, which they carried to the reſt, who being at ſome diſtance on the top of a high hill, immediately after ſent back one of the horſemen to throw *They endeavour to get intelligence.*

1643. throw them into the water, which he did before our eyes. In the afternoon we perceived ſeveral more both on foot and horſeback to approach the banks of the river, but ſo as not to give the major and his people the leaſt opportunity to ſpeak with them; ſo he left again a few corals near the place where he had laid them before, and went aboard again.

On the 13th they ſaw a great number of people appear upon the banks of the river, ſome being in black, ſome in red, others in white; the major landed again in the ſame place where he had left the corals the day before, but could not perceive that they had been touch'd by any body; and perceiving a great ſmoke at ſome diſtance from thence, he ordered his longboat to row that way immediately: they ſaw there two houſes, but no inhabitants; tho' the vaſt number of oxen, horſes and ſheep, which were feeding in the circumjacent plains, were ſufficient to give us to underſtand that the country was not deſtitute of them, but that they were retired to ſome places of ſafety, which together with the large wooden croſſes ſtanding at the entrances of their houſes, gave us all the reaſon in the world to believe that this country was under the ſubjection of the *Spaniards*; tho' at the ſame time thoſe we had ſeen near the ſhore had appeared in the dreſs of the *Chileſes*. The grounds all thereabouts were very well cultivated, and irrigated with many rivulets, which flowing from the tops of the hills, did exonerate themſelves in the bay.

On the 14th the yacht returned to the fleet, and after they had given an ample account of what they had obſerved, it was reſolved, that the major ſhould be ſent back again up the river, with a whole company of ſoldiers, to bring certain intelligence, either by fair or foul means. Accordingly they came on the 16th of *May* (after they had been ſtruggling for ſome time with the contrary winds) to the ſame place where they had ſeen thoſe horſemen before, and diſcovered in an adjacent plain abundance of horſemen, at the head of whom appeared one with a lance in a threatning poſture. Thoſe in the yacht put out the white flag again as a ſignal of peace, and ſaluted them with two cannon-ſhot; but thoſe that were on ſhore, called to them in a language they did not in the leaſt underſtand; till ſome of them at laſt began to cry out in *Spaniſh*, *Ha connados hyos de pontos*; *You don't come here with any good intention:* Which being a convenient argument to thoſe in the yacht, that they were no *Indians* but *Spaniards*, they put out the red flag as a ſignal of war. The next thing they did was to cannonade the woods, under favour of which the major having landed his men, marched in good order up the ſame hill, where they had diſcovered the two houſes before, which they found deſolate, the inhabitants having left their habitations at our approach. The ſame afternoon a detachment was ſent deeper into the country under the command of a lieutenant, who brought back an old *Chileſe* woman with two children, whom he had made priſoners, but ſhe could not well be underſtood by any body there. There were alſo ſeveral ambuſhes laid, under the command of the two captains *Oſterman* and *Flori*, the laſt of which had the good fortune to ſurprize a *Chileſe*; but neither he nor the old woman underſtanding the *Spaniſh* tongue, they were uſeleſs for to make any diſcovery by them. Some of the ſeamen had alſo got aſhore, and loſt one of their comrades, from whom without queſtion the *Spaniards* got intelligence of the deſign of the *Hollanders*.

BREWER.

Some priſoners taken.

On the 19th of *May* it was reſolved in a council of war to ſend the major with a company of ſoldiers towards the channel of *Oſerno*, and the gulph of *Ancued*, to endeavour to take ſome priſoners in ſome of iſlands thereabouts, by whom they might be informed concerning the preſent condition of the city of *Caſtro*. Purſuant to this reſolution the major went on board the yacht, and for their better conveniency took a great boat along with him; they came to an anchor towards evening near the ſhore; and becauſe the great boat was ſomewhat behind, they ſet up a lanthorn upon the ſtern of the ſhip, and gave them the ſignal by the diſcharge of ſeveral cannon: but having received two or three cannon-ſhot from the ſhore, they took in their lanthorn as ſoon as the boat came up with them. It was reſolved to ſend the mate of the yacht with ſome ſeamen, and ſixteen muſquetiers, under the command of lieutenant *William van Bergen*, to ſound the bay, and to get what intelligence they could aſhore, which was put in execution accordingly; and thoſe in the yacht hearing very briſk firing near the ſea-ſide, were of opinion to ſend ſix muſquetiers more under the command of a ſerjeant to their aſſiſtance: but whilſt they were buſy in preparing themſelves, the lieutenant return'd, and gave an account how he had diſcovered a great number of houſes behind an adjacent hill, where he had heard them ſound the alarm both with drums and trumpets, that he had been fired at briſkly by ſome of them, and had returned them the ſame; in the mean while that the mate had been ſounding the coaſt, which he found from nine to eighteen foot deep: thus they continued till break of day.

BREWER. The 20th, after they had put up the red flag, the lieutenant was ordered to land with fifty men, within half a muſquet-ſhot from the before mentioned houſes, being followed by the major with ſixteen muſquetiers in a leſſer boat: he ordered the enſign, that as ſoon as the great boat had landed the lieutenant, he ſhould ſend all the remaining ſoldiers to their relief. He was no ſooner got aſhore but he put his men in a fighting poſture, whilſt the enemy both horſe and foot to the number of ninety were marching from the town towards them, but met with ſo warm a ſalute from the cannon of the yacht, that the horſe ſcamper'd off immediately to the woods, and the foot fell down upon the ground, and ſo likewiſe made towards the hedges and buſhes. The major having in the mean while had ſufficient time to put his men in order, marched up to the enemy; the lieutenant led the van with ſome fuſileers, who as they advanced to the wood had ſix men wounded by the enemy's fire; but then they entred the wood, and ſoon put them to the rout, leaving ſix of their men dead, and ſixteen horſes, which were taken by the *Hollanders*, behind them. From thence the major directed his march towards the hill, from whence they had cannonaded the yacht the night before; but meeting with no cannon there, he concluded they had thrown them into the ſea. He mounted ſome of his men upon the horſes; and ſo ſearching all the corners of the wood they met with a *Chileſen*, whom they made a priſoner; and having diſcovered ſeveral troops of horſe and foot poſted in a plain behind the wood, he diſpatched the enſign to the general, to give him an account how matters ſtood with them. In the afternoon the lieutenant was commanded with ſixty men towards the wood, and took the *Chileſen* along with him, to try whether they could find out ſome of the enemy's treaſures, which they believe to be hidden thereabouts, but were not advanced very far, when they met with the enemy drawn up in order of battle in a ſmall plain: they attacked them ſo ſucceſsfully, that they forced them to retreat into the wood, leaving their commander in chief, *Andreas Munes Iſſerera*, among the ſlain, and their whole baggage to the enemy. Thus the *Dutch* became maſters of *Carel Mappa*, a fort built near the ſea-ſide, ſurrounded with ſtrong paliſades, and defended by a garriſon of ſixty men, and two pieces of ordnance. The *Spaniards* have another fort about four leagues further, called St. *Michael de Calibuco*, in which there is commonly a garriſon of forty men, and one piece of ordnance; they both are frontier places, built againſt thoſe of *Oſerno* and *Coneo*, with whom they are conſtantly at enmity. 1643.

A ſkirmiſh near Carel Mappa.

Which is taken by the Dutch.

The general had no ſooner received intelligence of what was paſs'd thereabouts, but he reſolved to come thither in perſon, and took the two companies commanded by capt. *Oſterman* and *Flori* along with him. They arrived in the ſhip called the *Concord* on the 21ſt, and continued there till the 24th, when orders were ſent us to prepare every thing for our departure.

On the 25th *Carel Mappa* was burnt to the ground by the general's order; and after we had deſtroyed all thereabouts, and even kill'd our horſes, we reimbark'd to purſue our voyage towards St. *Michael de Calimbuco*, ſituate in the gulph *de Acued*; but the harbour being of very difficult acceſs there, by reaſon of the creeks and ſands that ſurround it, it was reſolved to leave it unattempted, and to continue our courſe to the fort of *Caſtra*.

Accordingly we purſued our voyage on the 29th, when we came to an anchor towards night betwixt two iſlands, at fourteen fathoms depth. Some of the men got aſhore to take ſome cattle, but with nothing but one ſheep which they found tied to a tree.

On the 30th we came to an anchor near another iſland, and not knowing what place it was, the major in perſon went aſhore, with both the captains and all the ſoldiers, to endeavour to take ſome priſoners, but could meet with none of the inhabitants, who were fled, leaving their ſheep behind them; of which they took a good number, and among them three camel-ſheep, whoſe necks are near four foot long; their wool is very fine, but their fleſh not fit to eat.

Camel-ſheep.

The ſheep are thus deſcribed by the *Spaniards: Among other qualifications belonging peculiarly to the ſheep of* Peru, *this is very remarkable, that they are able to carry a burden from fifty to ſeventy five pounds weight with eaſe, juſt as camels do, whom they reſemble much in ſhape, except that they have no ſuch bunches upon their backs. They are able (if the* Spaniards *may be believed) to carry a man four or five leagues a day. When they are tired, they lie down upon the ground, and are not to be raiſed again by beating, or any other way, but muſt be unloaded. If their riders force them by beating, or otherwiſe, beyond what they can bear, they turn their heads, and blow their ſtinking breaths into their faces. It is a very uſeful creature (eſpecially thoſe call'd* Pancos) *they eat and drink very little, ſometimes they don't drink in four or five days.*

The

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The Figure of a Camel-Sheep, with a Chileſe *and his Wife.*

The reſt of the ſheep were both in bigneſs and otherwiſe like our *European* ſheep, and proved beneficial to us.

On the 6th of *June* the fleet came within ſight of *Caſtro*, and diſcovered the enemy, both horſe and foot, upon the hills near the ſhore. The major, by order from the general, landed with all the ſoldiers, the lieutenant leading the van; ſo they march'd in good order towards the city, which they entered without any reſiſtance, the inhabitants being all fled, after they had laid moſt of the houſes in aſhes, had untiled the churches, and carried their ornaments, and all their other precious moveables and beſt houſhold-goods along with them into the woods. Several parties were ſent abroad to endeavour the taking of ſome priſoners, but in vain; they having got the ſtart of us, and being better acquainted with the by-ways than it was poſſible for us to be without a guide. The ſoldiers found a *Chileſe* in a ditch, whom we ſuppos'd to be lately killed by the *Spaniards*, with an intention to ſhew him after our retreat to the neighbouring *Chileſes*, to deter them from joining with us againſt them: but the *Dutch* officers took care to have him buried before they left the place, thereby to diſappoint the *Spaniards* deſign againſt them. The ſeamen got abundance of very good apples, and the ſoldiers carried aſhore all night, in hopes to meet with ſome cattle the next day.

They enter Caſtro.

On the 7th of *June* the general finding that there was but little proſpect of getting any priſoners, order'd the country thereabouts to be laid deſolate, and that we ſhould ſet ſail again the next day.

Deſcription of Caſtro.

The city of *Caſtro* was formerly a magnificent place, full of very ſtately buildings, but is now laid deſolate, it is pleaſantly ſituate upon a high hill, ſurrounded with all ſorts of fruitful trees, and many fine ſprings; the grounds thereabouts are very well cultivated, and at the time of our arrival the fruits of the earth were for the moſt part as yet ſtanding in the fields.

On the 8th being becalmed, we were forced to come to an anchor at night not far from thence; and the major going aſhore with ſome ſoldiers, brought back a booty of above a hundred ſheep, and twelve hogs, and ſet fire to ſome houſes near the ſea-ſide.

On the 13th we came to an anchor near an iſland; the major being again order'd to land ſome of his men, the lieutenant took a young *Chileſe*, and ſome of the other ſoldiers an old *Caſtilian* woman of ſeventy five years of age, and ſuch a vaſt number of ſheep, that they were forced to leave many behind.

On the 16th we came back to the channel of *Oſorno*, which we paſs'd, and arrived on the ſeventeenth ſafely at *Brewer*'s harbour. Our general was fallen ſick in this laſt voyage, and continued ſo till his death.

The general falls ſick.

On the 21ſt it was reſolved in a council of war, to ſend the ſhip the *Concord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht, forthwith to *Baldivia*, and that the yacht ſhould come back to give an account to the general concerning the ſituation of that harbour, and the conſtitution of their inhabitants, their government, and what enemies we were like to meet with there: After which the two ſhips, the *Amſterdam* and *Fliſſingen* were to follow them thither. But it happening to blow very hard for a conſiderable time together out of the north, they were forced to ſtay till they were all ready to ſail.

On the 23d it was reſolved, that proviſion beginning to fall ſhort, each man ſhould have no more than two pounds and half of fleſh for his weekly allowance.

On the 2d of *July* complaint being made, that there were many among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, who made it their buſineſs to ſteal bread, meat, and tobacco from the reſt, a ſtrict order was iſſued againſt it, forbidding the ſame under pain of death.

On the 8th it was reſolved, that ſeeing there was no going out to ſea from *Brewer*'s harbour, by reaſon of the ſtrong north-winds, we ſhould return to *Carel Mappa*.

Accordingly we arrived on the eleventh before *Carel Mappa*; ſome ſoldiers being landed to fetch cattle, they found that the *Spaniards* had been thereabouts ſince our retreat, becauſe they found abundance of empty cheſts in the woods, which they had dug from under the ground where they had been hidden before.

On the 16th the lieutenant of capt. *Flori*, whoſe name was *Rembach*, was ordered with thirty ſoldiers to go out upon parties deeper into the country. He return'd on the ſeventeenth, bringing along with him three *Spaniards*, whom he had taken near a place called *Las Babias*, about three leagues from *Carel Mappa*, where they kept guard with three more that made their eſcape, to keep a watchful eye over the *Aneaos*, or the rebellious *Chileſes*. One of them was call'd *Juan Maſcaregnas de Soſa*, a *Portugueſe* by extraction, but born at *St. Franciſco de Quito* in *Peru*. He told us he was about threeſcore and eight years old, of which he had ſerved forty in *Chili*; to wit, ſeven years in the fort of *Conception*, and three and thirty at *Carel Mappa*, where he had ſerved as a ſerjeant. That ſince his arrival in *Chili*, he was not acquainted with any of the *Spaniſh* garriſons there, except with thoſe two before-mentioned, and with *Caſtro* and *Arauco*, which as he ſaid was defended by a fort royal call'd St. *Philippo*, about a cannon ſhot from the ſea-ſide, in which the *Spaniards* us'd to keep a garriſon of five hundred men; and that at ſome farther diſtance from the ſea there was another fort, but of no great conſequence. He further told us, that this was their winter, but that the worſt was paſt; beſides, that they had had no extraordinary great ſtorms of late, which ſometimes were ſo violent thereabouts, as to tear up trees by the roots, blow down the houſes, and to ſhake the very mountains: That in *Auguſt* the wind uſed to begin to blow from the weſt, but did not continue there very long: That there was vaſt ſtore of gold in *Oſorno*, and rather more in *Baldivia*, but that they wanted miners to dig it: That the *Indians* wear pieces of it of half a finger's length for ornament, which they faſten upon ſtrings, and wear about the neck and head; but that there was no gold to be ſeen of late years in *Caſtro*, becauſe the *Indians* had not dug in the mines theſe forty years, ſince their laſt revolt. 1643.

They take three Spaniards *priſoners.*

Their depoſitions.

He alſo related that the preſent governor of *Caſtro* was a native of *Oſorno*, of *Spaniſh* parents, his name *Don Ferdinando Alvaredo*, a generous and quiet perſon; who being but lately come to *Caſtro*, had not had the opportunity as yet to enrich himſelf, his yearly ſalary not exceeding a thouſand patacoons; and the whole cargo he brought along with him thither upon his own account, conſiſting only in forty pipes of wine, and ſome woollen and linen cloth.

He gave further an account, that it was near forty eight years ſince the *Spaniards* were chaſed out of *Baldivia:* That ſome time after they had ſent another governor thither, with three hundred *Caſtilian* ſoldiers, but moſt of them periſh'd for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries, the reſt with their commander eſcaping, not without a great deal of danger, to *Oſorno:* That about ſixteen years before a *Spaniſh* ſhip coming from *Lima*, had landed ſome men thereabouts, under the conduct of *Pedro Ricquo Marſeillan*, and had made great booty, ſo that many of the common ſoldiers got from ſix to twenty pounds weight of gold. He aſſured us further, that in the fort *Conception*, not above a league diſtant from thence, there were not above a hundred ſoldiers, and about two hundred inhabitants, very ſlightly fortified, but the harbour inacceſſible to ſhips of any burden or bulk; and that *Imperial* was quitted by the *Spaniards*, the place lying quite deſolate.

Depoſitions of a Spaniſh *woman.*

The *Spaniſh* woman whom they had taken in one of the *Chileſe* iſlands, was called *Loyſa Pizarra*, widow of *Jeronimo de Tinchillo*, a native of *Oſorno*, which ſhe had been forced to quit in the year 1599, at the time of the rebellion of the *Chileſes*, ſince which time ſhe had lived at *Quintiau*; ſhe

ſhe declared, That about forty years ago, before the *Indians* revolted from the *Spaniards*, the laſt lived in great ſplendor in *Oſorno*; the meaneſt *Spaniard* having three hundred *Indians* for his vaſſals, who were obliged to pay their lords a certain weekly tribute in gold: But that the *Indians* being quite tired out with this ſlavery, and other intolerable impoſitions, had taken up arms in the year 1599, and beſieged the *Spaniards* ſo cloſely in their forts, that after they were driven to ſuch extremity as to eat the barks of trees, deſpairing of relief, they were forced to capitulate with the *Indians*; according to which they were to retire to *Carel Mappa*, and *Calimbuco*, where they arrived at laſt with the miſerable remainders of their forces; after they had been travelling a whole month, and undergone incredible fatigues by the badneſs of the ways and the ſeaſon; beſides, that they had been forced to carry their canoos, or little boats upon their backs, for the conveniency of their paſſage over three ſeveral large and rapid rivers: Since which time they had fortified *Carel Mappa*, and *Calimbuco*, to prevent the incurſions of thoſe of *Oſorno* into the *Chileſe* iſlands under the *Spaniſh* juriſdiction.

She related alſo, that the iſland of *Chili* was divided into about a hundred *encommendorns*, or lordſhips, the chiefeſt of which had twenty eight or thirty *Indians* under them, the leaſt five or ſix. Theſe *Indians* are ſlaves to their lords, who employ them in making them quilts, cultivating the ground, ſowing peaſe, beans, flax, hemp, and ſuch-like: As alſo to look after their ſheep (of which they have vaſt numbers) goats, hogs, horſes, and cows, tho' they have but very few of the laſt.

Theſe poor *Chileſes* have nothing that they can call their own, the *Spaniards* allowing them nothing elſe but food and clothes; and they take care alſo that they be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. They have but one privilege belonging to them, that they muſt not be ſold, or be tranſported into another country, but are to end their days in their native country. The *encommendorns* are beſtowed by the king upon ſuch as have ſerved him faithfully in the war, or otherwiſe, and are inheritable by their ſons or daughters, and for want of them by their widows; but after their deceaſe return to the king.

She further added, that there was no gold or ſilver now to be found in *Chilove*; tho' ſome years before a certain quantity of both had been dug out of the mines there: That ſince the year 1633. this had been quite given over, becauſe a violent plague had taken off at leaſt one third part of the inhabitants, and the reſt finding no conſiderable overplus in the digging of the mines had apply'd themſelves to the manuring and cultivating of their lands; ſo that of late there was no ſuch thing as any gold or ſilver coin or oar to be ſeen among the *Spaniards* there; and if they were aſk'd for any of that metal, their anſwer was, that they muſt go and look for it in *Oſorno* and *Baldivia*, where it was in great plenty; that for this reaſon they carry on their traffick by way of exchange, ſo that the ſhips coming every year from *Conception* and *St. Jago* (being only three in number) with linen and woollen clothes, oil, ſlower, wine, pepper and iron, carry back in lieu of them quilts, deal-boards, flax, hemp and ſuch like. The deal-boards were brought from among the mountains about ſeven or eight leagues diſtant from the ſea-ſide, where they are cut with axes only, without any ſaws, not without a great deal of time and incredible labour, but that both ſtand them there in little or nothing. BREWER.

She gave an account that in the month of *March* laſt paſt a *Spaniſh* veſſel call'd the *St. Domingo* was ſent from *Conception* to reinforce the garriſons of *Carel Mappa* and *Calimbuco* with thirty ſoldiers; in which veſſel her own daughter was come over, and had brought letters to ſeveral perſons there, which all agreed in this, that thoſe of *Oſorno*, *Baldivia*, *Imperial*, *Villanca*, *Tucapel*, *Auraco* and *Pureen*, who for ſeveral years laſt paſt had liv'd in a good correſpondence with the *Spaniards*, had now taken up arms againſt them, which had made the governor of *Conception* to cauſe ſeveral of their hoſtages in his cuſtody to be beheaded there; that about three weeks before the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet in thoſe parts, the *Spaniards* had made an incurſion out of *Carel Mappa* into the territories of thoſe of *Oſorno*, where they had taken thirty priſoners, for whom they expected a conſiderable ranſom; but during the general conſternation they were put in at the arrival of the *Dutch*, they had found means to make their eſcape. This is the whole ſubſtance of what was depoſed by the *Spaniſh* woman.

Our ſoldiers had among the reſt taken a *Chileſe*, with his wife and child; theſe were ſet at liberty on the 18th of *July*, under condition that they ſhould undeceive their countrymen of what had been inſinuated to them by the *Spaniards* concerning the barbarity of the *Dutch*, and to aſſure them that they were their friends, and enemies to the *Spaniards*.

On the 19th the major was ſent aſhore again with ſome priſoners, who promiſed to ſhew the place where ſome ſilver was buried *They find ſome ſilver.*

BREWER. buried deep under ground; they return'd on the 20th, and brought a cheſt along with them, in which were three hundred and twenty five reals or pieces of eight, and twenty five pound weight of plate. The ſame day came on board of us ſix *Chileſes*, among whom were two *Caſiques* (or leaders) who aſſur'd us, that having underſtood that the *Hollanders* were their friends, and were come to aſſiſt them againſt the *Spaniards*, they had been extremely rejoiced at ſo welcome a piece of news; upon which they were told, that we had brought good ſtore of arms along with us to exchange them with thoſe of *Oſorno*, *Baldivia*, and others deſirous of our aſſiſtance, for ſuch commodities as their countries afforded; by which means they might be enabled to carry on the war the more vigorouſly againſt the *Spaniards*; and that we were ready to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of our power. The *Chileſes* return'd this anſwer, that many of them had ſome time ago taken a reſolution to retire towards *Oſorno* and *Baldivia*, to ſhelter themſelves againſt the tyranny of the *Spaniards*; and that nothing elſe had made them delay this their reſolution, but the hopes they liv'd in of being ſhortly reliev'd by the *Dutch* fleet; that therefore they intreated them to receive them with their wives and children into their veſſels in order to tranſport them to *Baldivia*, the ways thither by land being at preſent, by reaſon of the *Spaniards* who would obſerve their motions, and the great rains which had ſwell'd the rivers, impaſſable for women and children. Our general was ſo generous as not only to grant them their requeſt, but alſo preſented each of them with a half-pike and ſword, ſo that they parted from us extremely well ſatisfied, and gave ſo advantageous an account of their good reception, and the great quantity of arms brought by the *Hollanders* for the uſe of the *Chileſes*, that there paſt not a day but many of them came to viſit us aboard our ſhips, whilſt the reſt were providing themſelves with proviſions and all other neceſſaries for their intended voyage to *Baldivia*.

Some Chileſes *come on board.*

On the 21ſt ſome *Chileſes* came aboard to diſcover a certain place near the ſhore, where the *Spaniards* had buried one of their braſs cannon, which being dug up was found to be eight foot long. The ſame day it was reſolv'd in the council of war to lay up our ſhips for the winter-time in *Brewer*'s harbour, conſidering that the general's ſickneſs increaſed daily, and the danger there was of the tempeſts, which commonly rage moſt violently on that coaſt in the month of *Auguſt*, and had about eight years before continued for forty days together with ſuch fury as to ſhake the earth and adjacent mountains, and had torn vaſt numbers of trees up by the roots. 1643.

On the 28th two principal *caſiques* (or chief captains) came aboard of us from *Carel Mappa*; one was called *S. Don Diego*, the other *Don Philippo*, who both commanded about *Carel Mappa:* they teſtified their ſatisfaction at our arrival, and the aſſurance they had received of the good inclinations of the *Dutch* towards their nation, and of the enmity they bore to the *Spaniards*; they aſſured us that they were glad to underſtand that they had brought ſo many arms to exchange with them, offering at the ſame time their ſervice againſt the *Spaniards*, whoſe yoke they were reſolved to ſhake off: As a confirmation of which *Don Philippo* produced a *Spaniard*'s head, whom he ſaid he had ſlain about fourteen days before, the ſcent of which was very offenſive to our noſtrils. They further added, that they were reſolved to retire to *Oſorno* and *Baldivia*, for which purpoſe they had already brought together two hundred *Chileſes*. Our general confirmed them in their good intention, deſiring them to make all poſſible haſte, to be there before our arrival; and for an encouragement they were preſented with eighteen ſwords, and as many pikes, beſides five muſquets, with neceſſary powder and ball, in lieu of which they promiſed to ſend us five cows, which they performed accordingly; the boatſwain with ſome others being ſent to *Carel Mappa* to fetch them, and at the ſame time to deliver a letter to the governor of *Caſtro* about a ſeaman, who had been taken by the *Spaniards* on the 14th of *May*, as we told you before.

On the 6th of *Auguſt* eighteen *Chileſes* came in a canoo from *Dolphin's-ferry* towards us, deſiring to be tranſpored to *Baldivia*, which was readily granted.

The general dies.

On the 7th Mr. *Henry Brewer* our general died betwixt ten and eleven a clock in the forenoon, after a very long ſickneſs: his laſt requeſt was, that his corps ſhould be interred in *Baldivia*; accordingly his entrails being taken out and buried on the 15th near *Brewer*'s harbour, the carcaſe was embalmed in order to be tranſported to *Baldivia*.

A ſtrange adventure.

On the 9th the boatſwain who had been ſent to *Carel Mappa* returned, and gave an account of a very ſtrange adventure that had happened to them. They were forced by a violent ſtorm to ſhelter themſelves with their boat under an iſland called the *Horſe-Iſle*; and the boatſwain ordering ſome of the ſeamen to put her into ſome convenient place for ſafety ſake, ſeven of them who endeavoured to execute his orders, were on a ſudden carried by the tempeſt

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On the 10th ſome ſoldiers ſtraggling about the country, found in a wood a letter affixed to a tree, being an anſwer of *Ferdinando de Alvaredo* governor of *Caſtro*, to a letter writ on the 29th of *July* laſt paſt by Mr. *Herckeman:* The letter was writ in *Spaniſh*, and had the following direction; To Mr. *Elias Herckeman* lieutenant general of the *Dutch* ſhips now at anchor in the *Engliſh* harbour, whom God bleſs.

My Lord, Lieut. general;

I *Received yours, out of which I perceive your intention of exchanging one of your ſeamen call'd* John Lomberts, *with one* Doiſi *a* Spaniard; *I am not at the leaſt ſurpriz'd at your requeſt, it being no more than what is allowable by the cuſtom of war; if you will be pleaſed to ſend me the ſaid* Doiſi, *I promiſe you upon the word of a* cavalier, *that I will intercede in the behalf of the other priſoner with the king; if the ſaid priſoner were as yet in my cuſtody, I would have ſent him to you immediately, but it is near a month ago ſince I ſent him in an advice boat to the marqueſs* de Bayde *governor of the* Conception *fort, where I believe him to be very well uſed. If you had been in my ſtation, you would have done as I did, it being my duty ſo to do, which I don't queſtion you will accept of as a ſufficient reaſon, being my king's and natural liege lord's ſubject, for whom I am bound to ſacrifice my life.* God *bleſs him.* BREWER.

On the 12th the boat of the under commander was ſent to *Dolphin's-ford* with ten ſoldiers, becauſe the *Spaniards* appeared as yet ſometimes thereabouts; they returned the next day, and brought a good number of *Chileſes* along with them; theſe were followed by more every day.

On the 18th Mr. *Elias Herckeman* open'd his commiſſion in the preſence of the council and all the captains, by which he was conſtituted commander in chief of this expedition: on which occaſion he received the congratulations of all there preſent, and was ſaluted with ſix cannon from each ſhip.

By this time a great number of *Chileſes* being ready to embark for *Baldivia*, were put on board our ſeveral veſſels. *Don Diego* and *Don Philippo* had prepared themſelves to go with their followers by land; but having received certain intelligence that the *Spaniards* kept a ſtrict guard on all the paſſes, they deſired likewiſe permiſſion to come on board us to purſue their voyage, which was granted to their ſatisfaction; ſo that there were in all four hundred and ſeventy *Chileſes*, who had provided themſelves with all neceſſaries, ſuch as barley, peaſe, beans, potatoes, ſheep and hogs. Before we ſet ſail, there was one among them who propoſed, that ſince it could ſcarce be adviſable to come in ſo great a number to *Baldivia* without giving notice of it beforehand, for fear they ſhould be taken for enemies, he would venture to make his way by land notwithſtanding all the precaution of the *Spaniards*, provided there were two more among them who would accompany him in this journey; and there being two brave fellows ready to undertake it, they accordingly proceeded forthwith on their journey by land to *Baldivia*.

On the 21ſt the weather being very fair, and the wind blowing a favourable gale from the ſouth eaſt, the ſignal was given to hoiſt up our ſails, and we directed our courſe to the north-weſt by north, being under the elevation of forty one degrees and twenty ſeven minutes.

An Account or Deſcription of Brewer's Harbour, *and the circumjacent Places on the Coaſt of* Chili.

THIS harbour or bay, which by ſome is called *Chilova*, by others the *Engliſh* harbour, and by us *Brewer*'s harbour, is ſituate forty one degrees thirty minutes beyond the line, a very convenient harbour for anchorage, fiſhing, and going out into the open ſea. There is great plenty of wood for firing, and freſh water, as alſo

Brewer. alſo of fiſh; about the full moon you meet with very large crawfiſh and muſcles, but not quite ſo big as thoſe found in the ſtraits of *Le Maire*, where they are near a foot long and a hand broad.

The country thereabouts, and adjacent iſlands abound in cattle, ſuch as ſheep, hogs, horſes, and goats; have alſo plenty of fowl, the grounds being likewiſe fertile in wheat, peaſe, beans, turnips, potatoes and flax; but it often happens that the fruits of the earth are ſpoiled by the ſtorms before they come to maturity.

Their potatoes are ſome round, ſome of an oval figure, of all ſorts of colour, red, white, and yellow, but moſt generally white; they roaſt them, and uſe them for their ordinary food.

The *Spaniards* affirm that there are ſeveral rivulets thereabouts which flow in the day-time, and are quite dryed up in the night; which ſeems ſtrange to thoſe who don't gueſs at the true cauſe, which is, that the ſun melts the ſnow upon the hills in the day-time, which ceaſing in the night, the rivulets alſo ceaſe to run. 1643.

The men in thoſe parts are not very tall, but very ſtrong and well ſet, reſembling the inhabitants of *Braſil*; they are of a dark brown complexion, their hair coal black, cut ſhort to their ears; they pull out the hair of their beards, and tie a broad ribbon about their heads. *The men of Chilova.*

Their apparel is very mean, but very neat; the men wear a kind of wide pleated breeches like the *Dutch* ſeamen, and about the waſte a ribbon in the nature of a girdle: they don't uſe either ſhirts or waſtcoats, but only a piece of the ſame ſtuff they make their breeches of, of half a yard ſquare, in which they make a hole, putting their heads through let it hang down over their ſhoulders, their arms and legs being left bare, without either hat or ſhoes: their weapon is a pretty long pike.

Their women are not ſo tall as the men; they *The women.*

The great Gulf of Chili.

1643. they wear only a piece of ſtuff faſtened to their middles, and another about their neck, which hangs down backwards, their heads, breaſts, arms and legs being quite bare. Some among them twiſt their black hair with ribbons of divers colours, others let them hang careleſly down their backs. Notwithſtanding their clothes are not very well fitted for the coolneſs of the climate, yet they are commonly extremely healthful, which we made frequent obſervations of whilſt they were on board us, when we ſaw ſometimes their women go about their buſineſs in half an hour after they were brought to bed, with their bantlings upon their backs; their breaſts are ſo long, that they can throw them over their ſhoulders when they ſuckle their children: They are very ſeldom idle, but conſtantly employed in weaving ſtuffs for their wearing apparel.

The inhabitants of *Chilova* it ſelf were then not above two hundred in number, becauſe a few years before, to wit in the years 1637 and 1638, two thirds of them had been ſwept away by the plague.

Are vaſſals to the Spaniards. Moſt of the inhabitants of *Chili* are ſubject to ſeveral lordſhips of the *Spaniards*, ſome of them having forty, fifty, a hundred, nay a hundred and fifty vaſſals under their juriſdiction; but they can't ſell them, or tranſport them to any other but their native place.

The lords employ theſe *Chileſes* in cultivating the ground, and other ſervile works, has been told before.

Their habitations are very mean and low, without any windows, except the hole which paſſes for the chimney.

There is no gold or ſilver to be found or digged here now; partly becauſe the *Chileſes* are very hard to be brought to digging in the mines, partly becauſe the mines turn but to a ſlender account.

Every year in the months of *February*, *March* and *April*, there commonly arrive three ſhips from St. *Maria* and *Conception* laden with wheat, wine, clothes, and all ſorts of iron-work, which they exchange for deal-boards, tents and quilts; there is alſo every year a veſſel ſent from *Lima* a cruiſing thereabouts, to ſee whether any foreign ſhips are in thoſe ſeas.

The naval force of the king of *Spain* at *Lima* conſiſted in ſix or ſeven men of war, the biggeſt of which carried forty ſix guns, the reſt from twenty four to thirty guns, beſides abundance of merchant-men. *Lima* is the only place hereabouts where they build any men of war; in the harbours of *Valgariſe* and *Conception* there are no men of war, but only ſome merchant-men and other ſmall craft.

We proceed on our voyage. On the 24th of *Auguſt* our fleet came to the mouth of the river *Baldivia*, the entrance of which they found about a league over: after we had ſailed about half a league within the mouth of the river, we let fall our anchors, there being three ſeveral branches, which made us uncertain which to chuſe; at laſt we entred the middle branch, where we got upon the ſands, and ſo were forced to tarry there till next morning. BREWER. *Come to Baldivia.*

On the 26th ten inhabitants of *Baldivia* came with three canoos, (cut out of the trunks of trees) aboard us; their chieftain brought along with him a ſmall veſſel laden with all ſorts of merchandizes to exchange them with us, they ſeemed to be mightily ſurprized at our ſhips, and that we had ſuch a quantity of arms and men on board.

On the 28th the ſhip called the *Concord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht being got clear of the ſands, came to an anchor before the city of *Baldivia*. This city was inhabited by the *Caſtilians* till the year 1599, when the *Chileſes* chaſed them from thence, burnt the town, and killed all the *Spaniards*. The governor they poured melted gold down his throat whilſt he was alive, they uſed afterwards his ſkull for a drinking cup, and made horns out of the bones of his legs. There were as yet remaining ſome ruins of their ancient gates, which appeared to be very high and ſtrong; it had contained formerly about four hundred and fifty large houſes, was divided into ſeveral large ſtreets, beſides lanes, and had two ſtately market-places; but when we ſaw it, it was quite deſolate, full of buſhes and weeds, reſembling more a wilderneſs than a city: We ſaluted the place, each ſhip with ſix cannon; the *Indians* came aboard in whole troops, and were much ſurprized at our ſhips; the worſt was, that we found them much inclined to ſtealing, eſpecially of iron, tho' they ſpared nothing that came in their way, even to the compaſſes themſelves, which they took out of the caſes; ſo that the next time we were better aware of them, and kept every thing under lock and key.

There appeared at the ſame time about three hundred more upon the ſhore, all well armed with pikes eighteen feet long, both horſe and foot; ſome of the *Caſiques* begged heartily of Mr. *Criſpinſon* that he would order his ſoldiers to be drawn up in order of battle in their preſence, to inſtruct the *Chileſes* in warlike exerciſes, of which they were altogether ignorant; and for want of which they were not in a condition to cope with the *Spaniards*: but he excuſed himſelf upon that point, becauſe the general with the other two ſhips were not come up with them as yet, but hoped they would be by next day. In the mean

BREWER. while thoſe *Chileſes* whom we had brought along with us from *Carel Mappa* and *Caſtro*, were buſy in unloading their baggage, and landing their men.

On the 29th the general *Herckeman* finding that the two ſhips the *Amſterdam* and the *Fliſſingen* could not ſo ſoon get off of the ſands, cauſed two companys of the ſoldiers to be embarked in the yacht, and landed them near the city of *Baldivia*, where they found about ſeventy *Chileſes* ſtanding at their arms, the reſt to the number of two hundred being marched away the day before, with an intention to return in a few days. The general made an harangue to them, addreſſing himſelf to their chieftain, who was a *Baldivian*. He told them that the reaſon of their coming to this place was, to make them ſenſible that ſince the *Dutch* had got a firm footing in *Braſil*, they ſhould be in a condition to aſſiſt them with arms, and all other neceſſaries againſt the *Spaniards*. He delivered at the ſame time his credentials from the prince of *Orange*, which being interpreted to them by one of the *Spaniards*, who was a priſoner among us, they ſeemed to be extremely well ſatisfied. He likewiſe preſented the *Caſique* with two ſwords and a pike in the name of the prince of *Orange*, which he received with a moſt profound reſpect. After ſeveral other diſcourſes, they parted towards the country, (the city being uninhabitable) with a ſolemn promiſe to return ſuddenly, as ſoon as thoſe of *Oſorno* and *Coneo* could join them, when they would agree upon the articles, which were to be the conditions of the future conferderacy. We were very ſenſible, that unleſs thoſe *Chileſes* that came from *Carel Mappa* had aſſured them that the *Hollanders* were enemies to the *Spaniards*, we ſhould never have been able to bring them to any compliance or conference with us, eſpecially ſince there was not one among the *Chileſes* who underſtood the *Spaniſh* tongue.

General's ſpeech to the Chileſes.

On the 30th a certain *Caſique*, attended by eight *Chileſes*, came aboard us, to let us know, that he had been informed by ſome *Chileſes* who were lately come by land from *Conception*, that there lay two ſtout *Spaniſh* ſhips ready to ſail to *Baldivia*. Our general deſired to ſee thoſe *Chileſes*, partly to ſhew them his acknowledgment, partly to learn from them the poſture the enemy was in, in that place. They gave further information, that a good number of *Chileſes* of *Coneo* and *Oſorno* were upon the road, and that they would be at *Baldivia* in two or three days; that the governour of *Caſtro* had cauſed many of the *Caſiques* to be hanged upon ſuſpicion that they intended to make their eſcape; which had ſo exaſperated the reſt, that they were all fled to *Oſorno* and *Coneo*, with an intention to follow the others to *Baldivia*. 1643.

On the 2d day of *September* the general went aſhore to view the ground where to build a fort. The ſame afternoon arrived above a thouſand *Indians* of *Oſorno* and *Coneo* to be preſent at the concluſion of the league, which was concluded the next following day.

On the 3d of *September* all the ſoldiers were landed with their baggage, and about thirty canoos brought us ſome cattle, and abundance of *Shitie*, which the *Chileſes* uſe for their drink, and is prepared thus: They take a good quantity of the root *Inilie* roaſted in the ſands, which their wives chew for a conſiderable time, and then throw it into a veſſel with water, adding to it ſome other roots peculiar to that country; after it has ſtood two or three days, it works like our beer, ſome of it being red, another ſort white; but reſembles in taſte our milk when ſowred: they exchanged it for old iron.

Second ſpeech.

The ſame afternoon our general *Herckeman* made another Harangue to the *Caſiques* of *Oſorno*, *Coneo*, and *Baldivia*, being attended in the field by about 1200 *Chileſes:* He told them, that the chief motive of their voyage to *Chili* was the renown of their brave actions, which had reach'd as far as the *Netherlands*, and how bravely they had defended themſelves againſt the *Spaniards* ever ſince the year 1550. That the *Hollanders* having been at war with the *Spaniards* upon the ſame ſcore of their liberty for eighty years laſt paſt, had carried on the ſame with ſuch ſucceſs as to have extended their conqueſts to *Braſil*, from whence they might in leſs than two months time ſail to *Chili*; whereas before, by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance of their country, and that the enemy's were betwixt them, they could not come to them ſo ſoon nor ſo well as they could have wiſhed: But that things being now in a better condition, they were come on purpoſe to enter with them into a confederacy; for which end they had brought along with them good ſtore of arms and cannon, muſquets, pikes, ſwords, powder and ball, which they were ready to exchange for the products of their country, to enable them not only to defend themſelves againſt the *Spaniards*, but alſo to act offenſively againſt them.

Which done, a letter from the prince of *Orange* was delivered to each of the *Caſiques*, which they received with a great deal of reverence, kiſs'd the ſame, and told the general, That they looked upon themſelves as the moſt fortunate people in the world, that they ſhould come from ſo far diſtant countrys to furniſh them with weapons.

Our

1643. Our general to ſound the bottom of their inclinations, then propoſed to them, That being in want of proviſions, he deſired they ſhould ſend on board us hogs, ſheep, cows, and other proviſions, in lieu of which they ſhould have arms and other merchandizes; but if they were not willing to comply with his deſire, they would be neceſſitated to leave this coaſt. The *Chileſe* anſwered with one voice, That they were ready to do what they aſked, their country being plentifully furniſhed with cattle, provided our fleet would not ſtir from thence.

Enter into a confederacy. The general and his counſellors looking upon this declaration as a full aſſurance of their good intentions, offered in the name of the *States* and the prince of *Orange*, to enter with them into a confederacy againſt the *Spaniards*. Which being readily accepted by them, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded, by virtue of which they were to aſſiſt one another againſt any aggreſſors.

They could not however be prevailed upon to have the articles drawn in writing, this being, as they alledged, againſt their cuſtom; there mutual promiſes being look'd upon among them as the ſtrongeſt tie, and that as a pledge of it they would keep the prince of *Orange*'s letter.

It was then propoſed that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for their mutual ſecurity to build a fort near *Baldivia*, which might ſerve them for a ſafe retreat upon all occaſions; which they willingly aſſented to, leaving the whole management of it to the general and his counſellors.

Matters being thus far brought to a happy end, ſome of the *Hollanders* began by degrees to ſound their inclinations, whether they would not be willing to exchange ſome gold for arms, (this being indeed the main motive of our voyage) becauſe they had been credibly inform'd that there was great plenty of this metal there. The *Caſiques* hereupon declared unanimouſly that they knew of no gold mines there, neither was any gold now in uſe, or wrought among them; that they remembred very well that formerly they had been forced to pay heavy taxes to the *Spaniards* in gold, and that in caſe of failure they had paid for it with the loſs of their noſes and ears, which had created in them ſuch an antipathy againſt this metal, that they could not endure ever ſince to hear it named among them, much leſs that they ſhould either value or covet it.

The Dutch *inquiry after gold to no purpoſe.* The general gave them for anſwer, That neither he nor any that belonged to him were come thither to exact any contributions from them, but were ready to pay them for it with arms, and ſuch other merchandizes as they had brought along with them. Neither did they deſire to oblige them to any certain quantity to be delivered monthly, but every one ſhould be at his own liberty to exchange what he pleaſed. The *Caſiques* then look'd ſtedfaſtly upon one another, without returning one word in anſwer. BREWER.

We had at the ſame time certain intelligence that there was very rich gold mines thereabouts; which gave us ſome reaſon to hope that conſidering the eagerneſs of the *Chileſes* after our *European* weapons, they would by degrees be prevailed upon to exchange it for them: but knowing them to be a barbarous and unpoliſh'd people, we thought it not convenient to urge them any further upon that head for the preſent, leſt they ſhould imagine we would ſerve them for their gold ſake as the *Spaniards* had done.

On the 7th it was reſolved in the council that Mr. *Criſpinſon* ſhould ſail forthwith with the ſhip *Amſterdam* to *Braſil*, to give an account to the government there concerning the ſtate of affairs in *Chili*; accordingly Mr. *Criſpinſon* went the next day aboard the ſaid ſhip, and after having made an inventory of what was to be found there belonging to the late general *Brewer*, return'd to *Baldivia*. *Ship* Amſterdam *ſent back to* Braſil.

On the 11th a certain *Chileſe* came to us, whom we look'd upon as a ſpy, to diſcover our intentions, whether we were real enemies of the *Spaniards*; he pretended a great deal of ſimplicity in all his actions, and would needs ſpeak with the general himſelf, being proſecuted by his countrymen the *Chileſes*: He told us, he was come in ſix days from *Manckmes*, that he had been at *Conception* to trade with the *Spaniards* about ſome iron, that two ſhips lay ready there to ſail with the firſt fair wind to *Carel Mappa* and *Caſtro*; that the *Indians* about *Arauco* had lately revolted againſt the *Spaniards*, and that two of their principal *Caſiques* were retired towards *Imperial* to carry on the war againſt them. *A* Chileſe *ſpy.*

On the 16th in the afternoon the body of the late deceaſed general *Brewer* was magnificently (conſidering our preſent circumſtances) interred at *Baldivia*. *Burial of the late general* Brewer.

The ſame day Mr. *Criſpinſon* took his leave of the general, and the other counſellors, in order to embark aboard the ſhip *Amſterdam*, bound to *Fernambuco* in *Braſil*; leaving with us the ſhips, the *Fliſſingen*, the *Concord*, and *Dolphin* yacht, with a hundred and eighty ſeamen, and three companies of ſoldiers making two hundred and ninety men commanded by major *Blewbeck*, by captain *Oſterman*, and captain *Flori*. Our general then went aboard the *Concord*.

On

BREWER. On the 23d the general went aſhore with all the officers; and a place being mark'd out to erect a fort, they began to work upon it immediately.

On the 24th the general thought fit to ſend the boatſwain of the *Concord* to Mr. *Criſpinſon* on board the *Amſterdam*, riding then at anchor in the river of *Baldivia*, where ſhe was taking in her ballaſt, with a letter containing that *Courewang* the chief *Caſique* or captain of *Villaricea* was come with two hundred men, to give him a viſit a ſecond time; that he intended to ſend the ſhip the *Concord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht againſt *October*, (if nothing prevented his deſign) to the iſle of St. *Mary*, to make themſelves maſters of it; that he intended to have done it before, if he could have ſpared ſo many men, who were now buſy in working on the deſign'd fort at *Baldivia:* That he did not in the leaſt doubt of the ſucceſs, but much queſtioned whether any of the *Chileſes* would be prevail'd upon to tranſplant themſelves thither from the continent to cultivate the ground; becauſe the *Spaniards* in *Conception*, and ſome other neighbouring garriſons might eaſily intercept their paſſage, and make them their ſlaves: That thoſe of *Oſorno*, *Coneo*, *Baldivia*, *Imperial* and *Villaricea*, were all unanimous in perſuading him to chaſe the *Spaniards* out of *Arauco*, *Penco*, and *Bio Biv*; and offered their aſſiſtance in this expedition: That if theſe places were taken, it would be no difficult taſk to attack them in *Conception* it ſelf, and conſequently to deliver a great part of *Chili* from the *Spaniſh* yoke, or at leaſt to reſtore *Chilova* to its ancient liberty; he being aſſured that the whole force of the *Spaniards* in *Chili* conſiſted only in one thouſand and five hundred diſciplin'd men, to wit, three hundred in *Vale Parayſo* and *St. Jago*, three hundred in *Conception*, a hundred in *La Zarena*, a hundred near the river *Bio-Biv*, ſixty in *Junbel*, five hundred in *Arauco*; a hundred and twenty in *Chilova*, *Carel Mappa*, and *Calimbuco*; without reckoning the *Spaniſh* inhabitants, who were more numerous: That he was fully perſuaded, that in caſe ten ſhips, and three yachts with eight hundred ſoldiers (ſeamen, cannon and ammunition in proportion) were ſent to his aſſiſtance, he did not queſtion to make himſelf maſter of theſe places, with the aſſiſtance of the *Chileſes*, without the leaſt fear from the enemies naval force at *Lima:* That this might ſerve as a means to encourage thoſe of *Peru* to a revolt againſt the *Spaniards*; it being unqueſtionable that the *Indians* had conceived a general hatred againſt the *Spaniards*, and had a ſtrong inclination to, and great confidence in the *Dutch*, as was evident from hence, that four hundred and ſeventy *Chileſes* had voluntarily embark'd themſelves with their wives and children aboard their ſhips, to be tranſported from *Chilova* to *Baldivia*, where both they and the *Dutch* were met and congratulated by the *Caſiques*, of *Baldivia Oſorno*, *Coneo* and *Villaricea*, in the preſence of twelve hundred of their beſt men, who had ſhewn a moſt particular reſpect for the prince of *Orange*'s letter, and look'd upon it as their greateſt happineſs, that they ſhould come from ſo far diſtant a country to their aſſiſtance; deſiring the *Dutch* to continue on their coaſt, and promiſing to furniſh them with all manner of neceſſaries. 1643.

Strength of the Spaniards *in* Chili.

He gave him alſo an account, how he had been credibly inform'd, that the *Indians* of *Rio de la Plata* had lately murdered ſeveral jeſuits, which he look'd upon as the forerunner of a revolt to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* yoke; that he deſir'd this might be taken into ſerious conſideration in the council of *Braſil*, to ſend them what aſſiſtance they were able to encourage their undertaking, it being not improbable that when the war ſhould be once kindled on that ſide, the flame might ſpread all over the *Spaniſh Indies*, and conſequently fly over *Chili*, as far as to mount *Potoſi*.

On the 26th the general went again aſhore, to confer with the *Caſiques*, who were arrived the day before; they told him, that it was impoſſible for them to furniſh any quantity of cattel, ſheep or ſwine, till about four or five months hence, which was very ſurprizing to the general, eſpecially when he found that thoſe of *Oſorno* and *Coneo* confirm'd what the others had ſaid, knowing the proviſions began to be ſcarce aboard; for which reaſon he diſpatch'd an advice-boat to Mr. *Criſpinſon* to give him notice of this unexpected change, but too late, the ſhip *Amſterdam* being gone to ſea ſome time before. On the 27th the general went aſhore again, and brought along with him ſome *Caſiques*, who were very well entertained aboard our ſhip the *Concord*; he took this opportunity to talk to them once more concerning the promiſed proviſions, whether they could not procure them ſooner, and they ſhould have ſome of the beſt arms in lieu of them; but they would not engage to furniſh us with any till after the expiration of two months, and ſo left our ſhip.

The Chileſes *refuſe us proviſions.*

On the 5th of *October*, came aboard us *Manquiante* the head-*Caſique* of *Manquiante*; he did not return till the 7th, and at his departure was ſaluted by the general's order with one cannon: he preſented the general with twenty ſix ſheep, two hogs, and eight cows; and was preſented by him with ſome glaſs beads, two hatchets,

1643. and ſome other toys. He promiſed to come aboard again within eight days after, and to bring us more cattel of all ſorts, and ſome gold, to exchange it for ſome weapons, which he admir'd much; eſpecially ſince (as he ſaid) his vaſſals were more ingenious and induſtrious in ironwork than the other *Chileſes*, which they uſe to purchaſe for gold from the *Spaniards* at *Conception*, and for the future would willingly exchange from the *Hollanders*.

Deliverance of a Spaniſh priſoner.

On the 11th the ſecretary of the general gave him a relation of an odd accident which happen'd not long before. As he was walking upon the banks of the river, he ſaw a good number of *Chileſes* in arms, who were carrying away one of our *Spaniſh* priſoners, whoſe name was *Antonio Zanchies Zimes*. They threatned him very hard, and were upon the point of ſacrificing him to their reſentment, becauſe, as they pretended, he was the occaſion that the *Dutch* had erected a fort near *Baldivia*, they being perſuaded by him that there was a great deal of gold among them. He denied the thing, alledging that he was taken and brought a priſoner hither by the *Dutch*; but in vain, for they were juſt a going to kill him, if the ſecretary had not come very opportunely, and had ſatisfied them that he was not guilty of what they had laid to his charge.

The ſame day the beforementioned *Caſiques*, and ſome *Chileſes*, brought us twelve ſheep and one hog; in exchange of which they had four hatchets, two knives, and ſome corals. One of theſe *Caſiques* was call'd *Checulemo*, the other was a deputy of the *Caſique Tunomanquo* from *Imperial*. He brought advice that two thouſand *Spaniards* were rendevouzing near that place, with an intention to march by land to *Baldivia*; and that if the general with ſome of his men would follow his directions, he would put them in a way to get a good booty. But the general who began to be miſtruſtful of them, excuſed himſelf; and to try their inclinations, aſk'd them whether they were willing he ſhould leave that coaſt? Upon which *Checulemo* anſwered, That he would adviſe him to ſtay, and to fortify himſelf well near the ſea-ſide; he gave us likewiſe this caution, not to ſend any of our men along with the other *Caſiques*, for fear they ſhould be had into an ambuſh, from whence there would be no retreating. And ſo they departed towards evening, and were ſaluted at their requeſt with one cannon.

On the 12th ſome more canoos came aboard, with two *Caſiques* of *Baldivia*; they brought ſome ſheep, which they exchanged with the ſeamen. They gave an account that two hundred *Spaniards* were arrived lately with thirteen ſhips at *Imperial*, and that they intended to come to *Baldivia*. The ſame day towards evening the beforementioned *Spaniſh* priſoner *Antonio Zanchies* diſcovered to our fiſcal, whoſe name was *Cornelius Faber*, that one day as he was taking a walk in an adjacent wood, he was met by ſome of our ſoldiers (but of what company he knew not) who perſuaded him to make his eſcape with them to the *Spaniards* in *Conception*, telling him there were fifty more who had taken the ſame reſolution. He having promiſed them to comply with their requeſt (for fear of being murdered by them if he refuſed) they appointed a certain day when they were to meet in the ſame wood again, and ſo left him for that time. Brewer.

On the 13th it was reſolved in a general council, that conſidering proviſions began to be ſcarce, and that they could expect no ſupply from the *Chileſes* (which was alſo uncertain) till about five months after, it would be convenient to prepare every thing for their return to *Braſil*.

On the 14th the beforementioned four ſoldiers appeared at the appointed time in the wood, in hopes to meet with the *Spaniard*; and when they found him to fail in his promiſe, reſolved to proceed alone in their way to *Conception*, for fear they ſhould be ſeverely puniſh'd if they return'd aboard. Towards the evening two *Chileſe* horſemen brought advice that they had met four ſoldiers making the beſt of their way, but did not know whither they were bound, but they ſhewed us which way they had taken. Whereupon an enſign, call'd *Otto ler Vielle*, with two ſerjeants and thirty fuſileers, was ſent in purſuit of them, with orders to kill two of them wherever he could meet with them, and bring the two others alive into our head-quarters.

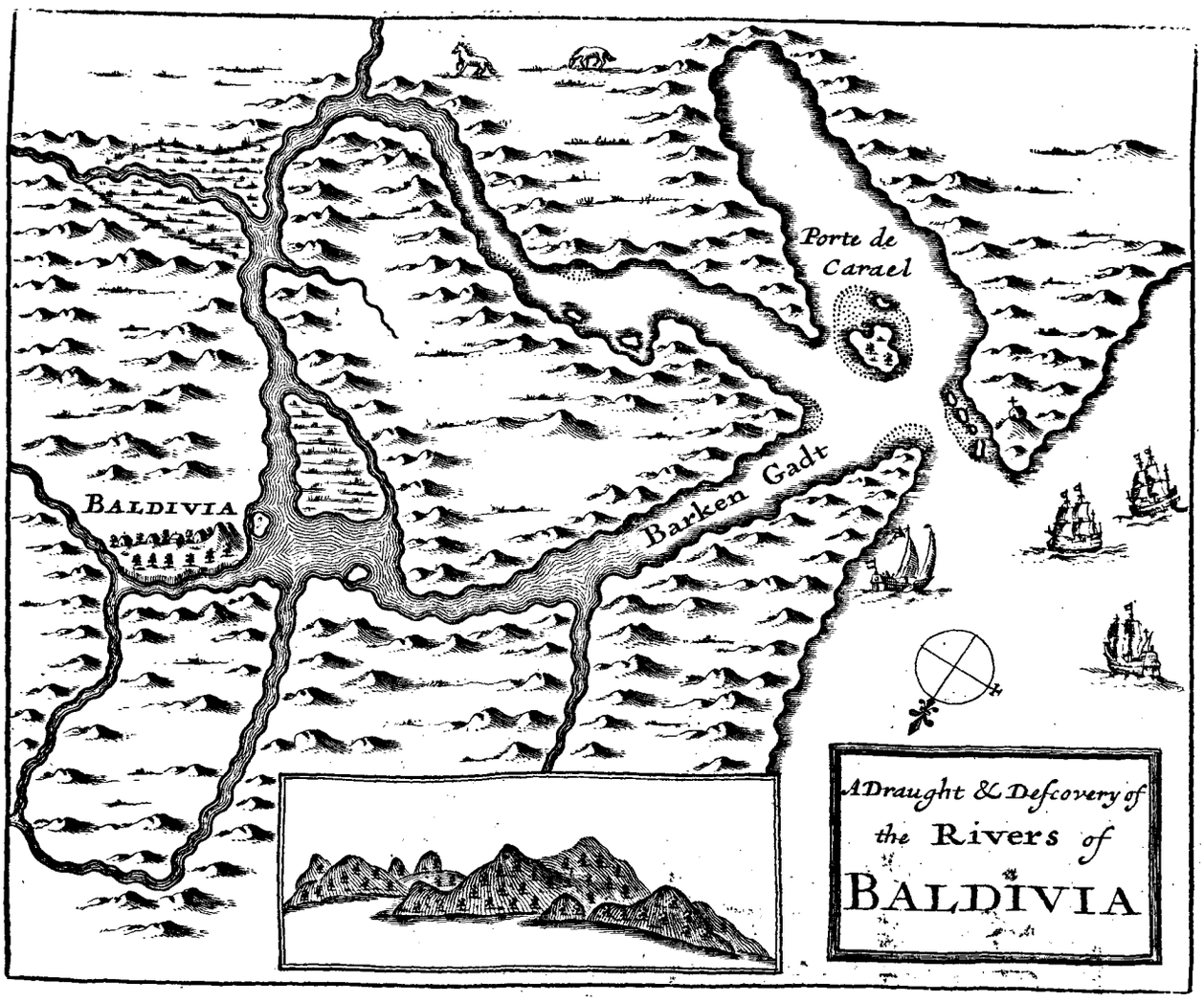
On the 15th as we were buſy in preparing our ſelves for our intended voyage, word was brought to the general, that ſome of our men being gone aſhore to exchange ſome toys for cattle with the *Chileſes*, they had refuſed to let them have any, under pretence that they had orders to the contrary from their *Caſiques*. Whereupon the general immediately ſummoned another general council, in order to put the reſolution taken on the 13th laſt paſt, concerning our departure, in execution. Purſuant to which a certain writing was drawn, which was to be ſubſcribed by all the officers of the ſhips: Whereas it was reſolved in council, on the 13th laſt paſt, that conſidering we ſtood in want of proviſions, and the *Chileſes* ſhewed but little inclination to furniſh us with any, or to dig in the gold mines, we ſhould prepare for our departure, that we might reach *Braſil* before

BREWER. all our proviſions were ſpent, and prevent any ſuccours to be ſent from thence to our aſſiſtance. We the underwritten officers of the ſhip *N.* confeſs by theſe preſents, that we don't only approve the ſaid reſolution, but alſo judge it abſolutely neceſſary to begin the ſaid voyage to *Braſil.* In the ſhip *N.* the 18th of *October*, 1643. 1643.

On the 16th the enſign returned to the garriſon, having according to order ſhot two of the deſerters upon the ſpot, and brought the other two to our quarters.

On the 12th the general went once more aſhore to take his laſt farewel of the *Caſiques*, who for that purpoſe were aſſembled in an adjacent field. They excuſed themſelves that it had not been in their power to furniſh us with ſufficient proviſions; and in caſe they had had any notice about twelve months before of our deſign, they would have taken effectual care to provide us all we could expect; it being their cuſtom not to ſow any more corn, peaſe and beans, than for their own conſumption, for fear of the *Spaniards*, who uſed frequently to take away all they could meet with; and that if our general would promiſe to return in two years time, or thereabouts, they would lay up proviſions accordingly. Towards evening the general returned aboard with all the ſoldiers, who had their quarters aſſigned them in the ſeveral ſhips.

A Deſcription of the River of Baldivia, *and the circumjacent Country, under* 39 *deg.* 59 *min.*



The river or harbour of *Baldivia*, is ſituated under the elevation of 39 deg. 40 min. to the ſouth of the equinoctial line, in a large bay. At the mouth of this river is a ſmall iſland, which if it were fortified would command its entrance, all veſſels being obliged to paſs and repaſs not above a good muſquet-ſhot from thence.

The

1643. The people of *Baldivia*, *Oſorno*, and *Conception*, do much reſemble thoſe of *Chilova*, except that they are fatter and more corpulent, becauſe they ſpend moſt of their time in eating and drinking, dancing and feaſting, leading an idle life, without religion. Every one has as many wives as he pleaſes, whom they buy from their parents, and are obliged to cultivate the ground, unleſs perhaps one or two who are their favourites, the reſt being no more than their ſlaves, who are to attend their huſbands pleaſure; ſome of them have fifteen, or twenty wives at their devotion. They don't differ from the *Chiloveſes* in their habits; they alſo pull out the hair of their beards, and cut the hair very ſhort upon their heads, to prevent their enemies from laying hold by it. They are ſo much ſtrangers to the *Spaniſh* tongue, that we could not meet with one among them who underſtood the leaſt of it.

The country abounds in ſheep, cows, hogs, goats, tame-fowl, and horſes; and produces good ſtore of peaſe, beans, and ſome wheat; as alſo very good apples, and ſeveral other ſorts of fruits. Their weapons are long pikes, about fourteen or fifteen foot long; ſome tipp'd with iron, others only ſharpned at the end; ſometimes you meet with ſome *Spaniſh Stocadoes*, and armours among them which they have taken from the *Spaniards*. They are good horſemen, and manage their lances with great dexterity on horſeback.

Deſerters condemn'd. On the 26th a court-martial was ſummon'd on board the *Concord*, to try the deſerters and their accomplices; ſix of whom were condemned to be ſhot to death, and ſix others to undergo the ſtrapado; which was executed accordinly, one of the ſix being only ſaved, who was pardoned after his five comrades were ſhot to death, and he ſtood at the ſtake in expectation of his fate. Scarce was the execution over, when ſeveral *Chileſes*, and among them a *Caſique* of *Canten* or *Imperial*, whoſe name was *Canmanqui*, and another call'd *Caſique Nicolanta* of *Calicaly*, preſented a camel-ſheep to the general, and ſeem'd to be much concern'd at our reſolution of leaving their coaſt; they were told that it was occaſion'd by their want of faith in not ſending us proviſion: ſo they departed without making the leaſt reply; and we made a preſent to them of two ruſty ſwords. The *Chileſes* call theſe ſheep *Chiluweek* in their language, which is as much as to ſay a province: They never kill them but againſt an extraordinary feaſt; and when they are in the height of their mirth, they take the heart, of which each there preſent bites a piece as a token of friendſhip, and their fraternity. BREWER.

On the 27th the following allowance was ſettled for our intended voyage: A quart of oatmeal for eight men *per diem*; a pound and a half of ſtock-fiſh, four pounds of meat; beſides for each man four pounds of bread, and three pounds and a half of biſket *per* week, a quarter of a point of oil, as much vinegar, and a quart of water *per diem*.

On the 28th we got out at ſea, and continued our voyage till the 21ſt of *November*, when we repaſs'd the ſtraits of *le Maire*, without diſcovering any land; ſo that having no opportunity of getting freſh water, the daily allowance of water was ſhortned to one pint and a half till the firſt day of *December*, when by order from the general they were told, that if we did not meet with contrary winds, they ſhould receive their former allowance.

On the 28th of *December* we diſcovered the coaſt of *Braſil* about ſix leagues at ſea, and not long after met with a ſmall veſſel, the maſter of which told the general that the ſhip call'd the *Amſterdam*, that had left us on the 25th of *September* laſt paſt near *Baldivia*, was arriv'd with Mr. *Criſpinſon* about three weeks before: and the *Orange-tree* but fourteen days ago, they having met with many and great tempeſts at ſea: That the ſhip *Hollandia* was ready to ſail to *Baldivia* to our relief; and that a yacht call'd the *Hunter* was to be ſent to *Holland* to give an account how matters went with us. We came the ſame evening to an anchor in the harbour of *Fernambuco*.

A ſhort

A ſhort Account of the Iſland of Formoſa *in the* Indies, *ſituate near the Coaſt of* China; *and of the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Religions of its Inhabitants. By* George Candidius, *Miniſter of the Word of God in that Iſland.*

The PREFACE.

CANDIDIUS

AFTER the Dutch *had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the* Eaſt-Indies, *they made it their chiefeſt care to ſettle a good correſpondence in* China, *both to carry on their traffick in thoſe parts, and to annoy the* Spaniards *their enemies, who carried on a conſiderable commerce with the* Chineſes *from the* Philippine *iſlands. But tho' ſeveral treaties were ſet on foot for this purpoſe, the* Chineſes *could not be brought to any reaſonable terms, till ſuch time that the* Dutch *equipped a good fleet, which was ſent to the river* Chincheo *one of the principal rivers of* China, *where they built a fort in one of the iſlands called* Pehou *by the* Chineſes, *from whence they intercepted the* Chineſes *trading to the* Philippine *iſlands, and committed many other hoſtilities, as is evident from the relation of the voyage of capt.* William Bontekuhe. *The* Chineſes *being at laſt tired out by theſe inconveniences, began to hearken to their propoſitions, purſuant to which it was agreed, that the* Dutch *ſhould raſe their fort in the iſland of* Pehou, *as being too near to the coaſt of* China; *in lieu of which the harbour of* Tagowang *in the iſle of* Formoſa, *ten leagues further from the coaſt, ſhould be aſſigned them, where they ſhould have the liberty of erecting a fort at pleaſure, and whither the* Chineſes *were to come to traffick with them. The* Dutch *were willing enough to accept of this offer, becauſe the* Chineſes *had blocked them up in their fort with four thouſand men, and a hundred and fifty ſmall veſſels at that time, and great preparations were making in* China, *to ſink ſeveral thouſand veſſels at the entrance of the harbour, to render it uſeleſs. Accordingly the* Dutch *cauſed a ſtrong fort to be built in the ſaid iſle of* Formoſa *(called by the* Chineſes Paceande) *a deſcription of which iſland being come to our hands from a perſon who had been ſeveral years a miniſter among the* Dutch *there, we thought we could put no greater Obligation at this time upon the curious World, than to impart to them ſo authentick a Relation.*

A ſhort Deſcription of the Iſle of Formoſa, *by* George Candidius *Miniſter of the Word of* God *there.*

THIS iſland is ſituate in the 22d degree of northern latitude, its circumference one hundred and thirty leagues; 'tis very populous and full of large and fair villages, having no peculiar language of their own, neither are the inhabitants govern'd by any king or prince, whom they acknowledge for their ſovereign, being conſtantly at war with one another. The country abounds both in cattle and fiſh; there are alſo ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts here, among the reſt one with horns like a ſtag, called *Olavangh* by the inhabitants; ſome tygers, and a certain creature called by them *Tinney*, not unlike a bear, but much bigger; its ſkin is in high eſteem among them.

The country is very fertile, but is not much cultivated; moſt of their trees grow wild, tho' there are ſome few that are planted and bear fruits: There is alſo ſome ginger and cinnamon there; and many are of opinion that this iſle is not deſtitute of gold and ſilver mines. Thus much of the country in general; the manners and cuſtoms of all the inhabitants I will not pretend to enlarge upon at this time, as being unknown hitherto, but will confine my

ſelf

ſelf to thoſe whoſe manners, language, cuſtoms and religion I am ſatisfied in by my own experience: Theſe being comprehended within the compaſs of eight cantons, or large villages, are called by the following names, *Linkan*, *Mandaw*, *Soulang*, *Backeloany*, *Taffacan*, *Tifulucan*, *Teopan* and *Tefurang:* All theſe agree in their manners, language and religion, are ſituate along the ſea-ſhore within two days journey of the fort; the laſt, which is alſo the furtheſt, lying only among the mountains, about three days journey from us.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants appear at firſt ſight to be very wild and barbarous, the men very tall and ſtrong limbed, beyond the ſize of other men; they are of a dark brown complexion like moſt of the other *Indians*, they go naked in the ſummer; their women are low of ſtature, but very ſtrong and fat, their complexion inclining more to an olive colour: they wear clothes, and don't diſcover their nakedneſs, unleſs when they waſh themſelves, which they do conſtantly twice a day in warm water.

This nation is very good natured, affable and faithful; they have always been courteous to us; they are not addicted to ſtealing, but if they meet with any ſtolen goods they will not reſt ſatisfied till they have ſeen it reſtored to the right owners, unleſs it be in the canton of *Soulang*, where live abundance of robbers and thieves. They are very truſty to one another, and will rather ſuffer death than betray their accomplices, and have a good natural underſtanding, and a very ſtrong memory. Moſt of the *Indians* are addicted to begging, but this nation exceeds them all in this quality; the beſt is, they are ſatisfied with a very ſmall matter.

Their way of living. Their chief buſineſs is agriculture, they ſow rice; and tho' they have plenty of very rich grounds, ſo as that it is believed, that theſe eight before-mentioned cantons could be able to maintain one hundred thouſand men more, yet they don't cultivate any more than they think will juſt ſuffice for their preſent maintenance, ſo that ſometimes they happen to fall ſhort. The women are to cultivate the ground, and to do all the ſervile labour; they uſe neither horſe, oxen or plough: if the rice happen to come up thicker in one place than in another, they tranſplant it, which is not performed without a great deal of labour and pains; they know nothing of ſcythes or ſickles, but make uſe of an inſtrument like a knife, wherewith they cut their corn *halm by halm*; neither do they threſh it, but the women hang in the evening two or three ſmall bundles over the fire to dry, and riſe early in the morning to ſtamp it for their uſe the next day, and this they repeat every day throughout the year. They ſow likewiſe another ſeed not unlike our beans; they plant ginger, ſugar, rice and water-lemons, and ſome other fruits unknown to us. They have no wine or other ſtrong liquor, ſuch as flows from the trees in ſome other parts of the *Indies*; but they make in lieu of that another ſort of drink, both pleaſant and no leſs ſtrong than other wine, which is made by the women in the following manner: They take rice which they boil up a little, then they ſtamp it till it becomes of the ſubſtance of a paſte; afterwards they take rice flower, which they chew, and afterwards put into a veſſel by it ſelf, till they have a good quantity of it; this they uſe inſtead of our leven, and mix it among the before-mentioned paſte, and work it together till it be like a baker's paſte; this they put in a large veſſel, and after they have poured water upon it, they let it ſtand thus for two months. In the mean while the liquor works up like new wine, and the longer they keep it the better it is, and will keep good many years; it is a very pleaſant liquor, as clear as fair water a top, but very muddy to the bottom, which they eat with ſpoons, or elſe they put more water upon it. When they are to go abroad into the fields, they take ſome of the muddy part in a veſſel of cane along with them, and in another as much water as they have occaſion for; a little quantity of the uppermoſt fine liquor ſerves to refreſh themſelves. When the women have any leiſure, they go abroad fiſhing in their little boats (which they call *champanes*) for next to their rice they eſteem fiſh their beſt food; they ſalt their fiſh with ſcales, guts and all: when they take them out of the ſalt, they are commonly full of maggots, but this is not in the leaſt nauſeous, but rather pleaſing to them.

CANDIDIUS.

Stalk by ſtalk.

The men lead generally an idle life, eſpecially the young ones, from the age of eighteen till twenty four: the old ones of fifty and ſixty years are the only perſons who are abroad with their wives in the fields, where they have ſmall huts, in which they ſleep and dwell, and come ſcarce once in two months to the village. Their greateſt paſtime is hunting and fighting; they hunt three ſeveral ways, either with nets, with ſmall lances (called *aſegays*) or with bows and arrows; their nets are again of two different kinds, ſome they ſpread croſs the roads or by-ways where they know the ſtags and wild boars uſually paſs; and ſo they force them into the net, which is made of canes twiſted together; or elſe they lay traps, which they cover with earth, in thoſe places where they know the deer or other wild beaſts come in great

Their manner of hunting.

CANDIDIUS.

numbers; and if one of them happen to touch but the trap, they are catched. When they go abroad a hunting with their lances, a whole village, or ſometimes more, meet together, each having two or three lances; they carry likewiſe a vaſt number of hounds into the field to put up the wild beaſts; then they make a great circle, ſometimes a whole league in circumference, and ſuch beaſts as once are forced within this circle ſcarce ever eſcape with life. Their lances are about ſix foot long, made of cane, have a bell at one end, and a ſmall rope faſtened to the other where the iron is, which has three or four hooks to prevent its being torn without great difficulty from the wounds of the beaſts: This iron is not ſo well faſtened to the wood of the lance, but that it falls eaſily out, when the beaſt is running away, and being entangled in the ſtring, prevents its running ſo faſt as it would do otherwiſe, the bell being at the ſame time a ſure ſignal to them whereabouts the beaſt is. With their bows and arrows they hunt in the following manner; Two or three of them go abroad together, and when they diſcover a troop of deer or ſtags, they purſue them (for they are very ſwift on foot) and let fly their arrows among them till they have killed one or more; thus they kill abundance of them throughout the year: they ſeldom eat their fleſh, but exchange it with the *Chineſes* for linen, wood, and ſuch like commodities; the entrails alone they keep for their own uſe; if they can't eat them freſh, they ſalt them juſt as they take them out: ſometimes they cut a piece of their fleſh (immediately after they are killed) warm out of the ſide or otherwiſe, which they devour raw, ſo that you may ſee the blood run along their chops; ſometimes they devour the young ones with hair and all, immediately after they have cut them out of their mother's bellies. This is one of the mens employments.

Their warlike exploits.

The ſecond exerciſe is, when they go abroad a fighting, which is performed in the following manner: If a difference ariſes betwixt two or more cantons, they denounce war to one another; which done, twenty or thirty join in company, or more if they pleaſe, and row in one of their boats near to the place, where they hope to meet with the enemy, and ſtay there till night (for it is to be obſerved, that their wars are carried on by treachery only) then they ſearch the fields thereabouts to ſee whether they can ſurprize ſome of them in their field-cottages; (where, as we told you before, thoſe advanced in years ſleep moſt commonly) if they meet with any, they are ſure to kill them immediately without any reſpect to age or ſex: afterwards they cut off their heads, arms and legs, nay ſometimes they cut the whole carcaſe in pieces, that every one may have a ſhare to carry home to his village; if they are in haſte to get off, they take only the head along with them; and if purſued, are ſometimes contented with the hair as a token of victory. If they happen to meet with no body in the field, they make up to the next village, where they ſurprize the firſt houſe they meet with, kill all that comes before them, and away with the heads, arms and legs they go before the village can be raiſed; for they have a certain ſignal to alarm the reſt when an enemy is at hand, ſo that if they don't retire ſpeedily, they often pay for it with their lives before they can ſave themſelves by flight. If they think themſelves ſtrong enough, they are the firſt who ſound the alarm in the village to draw out the enemy into the open field, where they fight it out ſtoutly, till one party is worſted, which is commonly done as ſoon as a few men are killed; for the loſs of a man is looked upon with them as much as among us *Europeans* the loſs of an army is. Their chief weapons are lances, but ſomewhat different from thoſe they make uſe of in hunting; for the irons are without hooks, and without bells, and the iron very well faſtened to the pike: they alſo fight with ſwords, and have long and broad ſhields to cover the greateſt part of their bodies. They alſo uſe ſometimes *Japoneſe* ſcymitars, bows and arrows. They go to the war without any commander or leader, the only title to a command among them being the heads of their enemies; for if any one can ſhew ſome of them, he is ſure never to miſs of twenty or more who will follow him, and acknowledge him for their head; neither is it much enquired into whether he has ſlain the perſons with his own hands or not, provided he can but produce the heads, his title ſtands good among them. They are not altogether without ſtratagems in their wars, they ſometimes divide themſelves in ſeveral bodies, and whilſt one is ingaged with the enemy in the field, the others fall into the village, and ſurprizing thoſe within their houſes carry off a few heads; which done, they draw off, and attribute to themſelves the honour of the day. Sometimes they take a great number of canes, pointed at one end, of about a yard in length; theſe they ſtick pretty deep into the ground, bending that way with their points from whence they expect the enemy; who being eager in the purſuit, and very ſwift, are apt to run upon them, and being wounded are forced to deſiſt: this is done in the night-time.

Sometimes they deceive their enemies under

under the ſpecious pretence of friendſhip, as it happened whilſt I was there: You muſt know, that about three leagues from *Formoſa*, there is another iſland call'd in their tongue *Tugin*, by us the *Golden-Lion* iſland, becauſe a certain ſhip call'd the *Golden-Lion* being driven upon their coaſt by tempeſt, they kill'd the captain and moſt of his crew. This iſle is in perpetual enmity with ours, they being a people ſo jealous of ſtrangers, as not to ſuffer them to ſet a foot on their ſhore. 'Tis true, they have ſome traffick with the *Chineſes*, but they don't come aſhore, but remain in their ſmall veſſels: The iſlanders come out to them in their boats, and ſo exchange their commodities, taking with the right hand what they are to have, whilſt they give with the left their portion to the *Chineſes:* and they are ſure not to let go their hold, before they are well ſatisfied in the other, ſo jealous they are of one another. Not long ago about ſixty men belonging to the canton of *Soulang*, ſail'd thither diſguiſed like *Chineſe* merchants, under pretence that they came to exchange ſome commodities with them; whereupon ſome of the iſlanders coming out to them as is uſual, they took hold of one's arm, which he was ſtretching out to lay hold of what they offered him; and ſo forcing him into their veſſel, cut him in pieces, which they brought home as a token of a moſt ſignal victory. So much for their manner of making war.

After they have brought home one or more heads of their enemies, nay if it be but a handful of hair upon a lance, they enter their village in triumph. The head they fix on a pike, which is thus expoſed to the ſight of all the inhabitants, who dance and ſing to the praiſe of their gods, and wherever they paſs by they are entertain'd with ſtrong liquor. Afterwards the head is carried to the temple belonging to the family of him who has gain'd the victory (for to ſixteen or eighteen families there appertains a temple, where alſo the young folk ſleep anights) there it is boil'd all to rags; the bones are dry'd again, and dipp'd afterwards in ſtrong liquors: they offer ſacrifices of hogs to their idols, and feaſt for fourteen days without intermiſſion. Theſe heads, weapons, arms, or legs of their ſlain enemies, are as much eſteemed among them, as in *Europe* gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. If a fire happen to break out in one of their houſes, they leave all and take care to ſave ſuch a head; for he that can boaſt of ſuch a victory, is reſpected by all; ſo that for the fourteen days after ſcarce any body dares to approach him.

Their government. All theſe villages in general acknowledge no head, no more than each of them in particular is govern'd by any ſuperior power. The only thing which has any reſemblance to a civil ſtate, is a council of twelve men; theſe are changed every two years, they muſt be all of the ſame age, and above forty years old; and tho' they are ignorant of the computations of time as uſed among us, yet they have certain marks whereby to diſtinguiſh their ages. After the expiration of the term of two years, thoſe who have been members of this council, cauſe ſome of their hair to be pull'd out on the crown, and below both the temples, as a token that they have borne this office. Their authority is kept within very narrow bounds, for they have no authority of making a deciſive decree, but in matters of any moment they are oblig'd to ſummon the whole village to appear in a temple, where they propoſe the matter to the people, and endeavour with various arguments (of which they treat with a great deal of eloquence, even to admiration) to perſuade them to what has been conſulted in the council beforehand: if they accept of it, it is valid; if not, it has no force. Their chief authority conſiſts in this, that when their prieſteſſes (for prieſts they have none) think fit to enjoin any thing to appeaſe the anger of their gods, to ſee it put in execution, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors: But this puniſhment does not extend to impriſonment, much leſs to death, but only to an inconſiderable fine, perhaps of one of their ſuits of clothes, of a waſtcoat, a buck-skin, a ſmall quantity of rice, or a certain meaſure of their ſtrongeſt liquor. There is a certain time in the year appointed for the men to go quite naked, elſe, they ſay, the rice will not thrive for want of rain. Now if it happen that a member of this council meets any one during that time who appears in his clothes, he has a power to take them away, or to make him pay a fine of a buck-skin, or ſuch-like: For which purpoſe they watch them towards the evenings, and in the mornings, in thoſe places where they muſt needs paſs, going to and coming from the village. Of this I ſaw once an inſtance my ſelf; for as I was coming one day from the village of *Sincan* to the village of *Mattan*, I met with ſome who were returning home out of the fields: one of them having ſome clothes about him, and ſeeing at a good diſtance ſome of thoſe counſellors, deſired me to take his clothes till we were paſt them; which I did accordingly. As we came near to them, one was very preſſing with me to tell him to whom thoſe clothes I carried belonged; which I refuſed to tell, and ſo we went into the village, where I

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reſtored them to the owner, who was very thankful to me.

At certain times of the year they are allow'd to wear clothes, but nothing made of ſilk, unleſs they will run the hazard of having it taken away by theſe counſellors. If their females are exceſſive in their clothes upon their feſtivals, they have power to puniſh them, or to cut their clothes in pieces. Theſe conſellors are alſo confined to certain rules of abſtinence; when the rice begins to ripen, they muſt not drink to any exceſs. They muſt not eat any ſuet or fat, for elſe, as they pretend, the deer and wild-boars would conſume the rice. If they happen to tranſgreſs in any of theſe points, they are deſpiſed by the reſt.

There is no puniſhment appointed here for thieving, fornication, adultery, or murder: in theſe caſes every one is his own judge, and gets the beſt ſatisfaction he can. If any thing be ſtollen, and the thief diſcovered, he that has loſt his goods, goes with his friends to the other's houſe, where he takes as much as he judges to be an equivalent for what he has been robb'd of; if the thief makes any reſiſtance, they fetch it out by force. So if any one finds another man to have an amorous commerce with his wife, he makes himſelf amends, by taking two or three of his hogs. If any one be kill'd, the thing is made up among the friends of both parties, who are commonly ſatisfy'd with ſome hogs or buck-ſkins, to diſcharge him who has committed the fact.

Tho' there be no ſuch thing as different degrees of dignities among them; nay, tho' their language does not ſo much as afford a word by which you might expreſs what we call by us *maſter* or *ſervant*, they are nevertheleſs not void of all reſpect to one another: And it is very obſervable that they don't meaſure their eſteem by riches, but by the age. If a young man meets another pretty well advanc'd in years, he goes out of his way, and turns his back to him till he be paſt by. Nay if they happen to talk with one another, the younger will be ſure not to turn about till they have done. If an aged perſon bids a young one to do a certain thing, he never dares to refuſe it, tho' it were to go two or three leagues. When old and young people are mix'd in company, the latter never attempt to ſpeak; and at a feaſt thoſe advanced in age are always firſt ſerved.

Their marriages.

Their men are not at their own liberty to marry when they pleaſe, no man being allowed to marry before he comes to the age of twenty one. And tho', as I told you before, they have no certain computation of time, yet they have a way of putting ſuch as are born in the ſame year in one claſs, which they call in their tongue *Saar Caſſiuwang*; ſo that thoſe who don't belong to the ſame *Caſſiuwang*, muſt not marry with the reſt.

They have a cuſtom of clipping the hair of young people up to the ears, till they are ſixteen or ſeventeen years old; after which time they give it full liberty to grow, as the *Chineſes* do; and when it is come to a certain length, they judge them fit for marriage. But their women are not reſtrain'd to any certain time, but may marry when they are come to maturity. Their courtſhips they perform in the following manner: If a young man fancies a young woman, he ſends his mother, aunt, ſiſter, or ſome other friend to his ſweetheart's habitation, who bring along with them the preſents uſually offered upon ſuch occaſions, to obtain her parents or friends conſent; if they accept of them, the buſineſs is done, and the young man has free admittance the next night, without any further ceremony.

Theſe preſents differ in value, according to the perſons that give them: The richer ſort give commonly ſeven or eight coats, with as many ſhirts; three or four hundred arm-rings twiſted, of reed or canes; ten or twelve other rings, which they wear on their fingers; theſe are made either of metal or white harts-horn, four or five inches in circumference, and tied to their fingers with red dogs-hair; four or five girdles made of coarſe linen-cloth; ten or twelve waſtcoats made of dogs-hair, call'd in their language *Etharno*; twenty or thirty *Chineſe* waſtcoats, each of which coſts about half a florin; a bundle of dogs-hair, as much as a man is able to carry, which is a commodity mightily eſteem'd among them; a cap made in the form of a mitre, made of ſtraw and dogs-hair, very artificially twiſted together: four or five pair of breeches of buck-ſkin: all which together do not amount to above the value of ten pounds *ſterling*. This is for the rich, but the poorer ſort come off with leſs.

Man and wife do never habit here in one houſe, but each lives in a houſe by it ſelf: the wife always eats, drinks, and ſleeps in her own habitation, whither the huſband has the privilege to come in the night-time; but he muſt be careful either not to come before they are all in bed, or if he does come before, he muſt not come near the fire to be ſeen by any body, but to bed he ſneaks; and if he wants any thing he dares not call, but by coughing or otherwiſe gives the ſignal to his wife, who ſteals to him as ſoon as the reſt of the family are gone to ſleep. They make

make uſe of no pillows; their bolſters are pieces of wood, and their under-beds the ſkins of ſtags or deers. The next morning before break of day, the huſband muſt retire again, and not appear near the houſe in the day-time, unleſs he be ſure his wife be at home alone, and then he muſt not venture in without deſiring firſt admittance: if the woman be in a good humour, ſhe gives him leave; if not, away he goes again. The wife has her own grounds and family, and ſo has the man; the man does not provide for her, nor ſhe for him. The children are kept by the mothers till they are three years old, and then they are ſent home to the father. But one thing is very remarkable in them, that their wives are forbidden to bring forth any live children, till they are thirty ſix or thirty ſeven years of age; wherefore they are oblig'd to kill their children in the womb, which they do thus; One of their prieſteſſes is called in, who lays the woman with child upon a bed, and ſqueezes her ſo long, till the child is forced thus from her, which puts them into more violent pains, than if they brought forth a child according to the regular courſe of nature: They declare, they do this not for want of tenderneſs to them, but becauſe they are forced to it by their prieſteſſes, who perſuade them that they cannot commit a greater crime, than to bring children into the world before the age of thirty ſix, by which means many thouſands are loſt in a year. I remember a certain woman there, who told me her ſelf, that ſhe had thus been forced to miſcarry ſixteen ſeveral times, and ſhe was then big with the ſeventeenth, which ſhe promiſed ſhe would bring forth alive. When they are arrived to the age of thirty ſix, or thirty ſeven, they then firſt begin to bring children into the world as our women do, and from that age till fifty. They cohabit together in the ſame houſe, tho' at the ſame time they are but ſeldom at home, but live for the moſt part abroad in the fields, where they have little huts made on purpoſe to ſleep in.

Their divorces. They may be divorced from one another at pleaſure, with this difference only, that if the huſband can't alledge any real cauſe of divorce, the wife keeps the preſents he made her before marriage; but if he can prove either adultery, or any other miſdemeanour againſt her, ſhe is forced to leave all behind her. The women have the ſame liberty allow'd them in reſpect of their huſbands. Hence it comes, that you may ſee a man here have every month a new wife; ſome have two or three at a time, but theſe are but few, and are not much eſteemed of by the reſt, who generally have no more than one at a time. They are in general very laſcivious, and will frequently follow other women beſides their own wives, provided it may be done in private. They are very careful not to intermarry with thoſe that are ally'd to them by conſanguinity, are jealous of their wives, and take it very heinouſly if any body enquires after their health, or whether they be handſome, or ſo, eſpecially if it be done in the preſence of ſtrangers. Young men that are unmarried have their peculiar places to ſleep in. I told you before that a certain temple belongs to fifteen or ſixteen families: here it is they have their beds, where all the young men, from the fourth year of age, ſleep in the night-time. CANDIDIUS.

Their houſes and furniture. Their houſes are very ſtately and lofty, beyond what is to be obſerved in any other part of the *Indies*, are all built upon a ſmall eminency, their floors are of cane; their ornaments both within and without are the heads of boars and ſtags; their furniture is of *Chineſe* linen, (which they exchange for rice and veniſon) buck-ſkins, which paſs among them at the ſame rate as gold and ſilver in *Europe*; ſome inſtruments belonging to agriculture, lances, ſhields, ſwords and bows: but their beſt ornaments were the heads of their enemies. Their eating veſſels or diſhes are all of wood, not unlike our hog-troughs; their drinking cups, ſome earthen, ſome of cane; all their victuals are naſtily dreſt except rice: they have neither ſet-feſtivals, nor any other days appointed for their devotions; beſides, that they meet at certain times of the year to be merry, when they dance with their wives, who then appear in their beſt apparel.

Their beſt ſtuffs for clothes and other ornaments are made of dogs-hair, which are pull'd out of the dogs-ſkin whilſt alive; theſe they dye red and of other colours, and uſe them as the *Europeans* do wool.

Their burials. Their burials differ from all other nations, for they neither bury them, nor burn them, as moſt of the pagans do throughout the *Indies*. They lay the dead carcaſe upon a table of about three foot high from the ground; round about which, at a convenient diſtance, they make a moderate fire, in order to dry by degrees the moiſture of the corps: in the mean while they feaſt and dance, kill abundance of hogs, and drink briskly of their ſtrong liquor. The women have a very odd way of dancing at this time; for they take ſeveral trunks of trees hollowed out within, theſe they lay before the mourning houſe, and four or five of them at a time (after they have been ſummon'd together by beat of drum, made likewiſe of the trunk

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of a hollow tree) jumping upon it with their backs turn'd to one another, they make a ſtrange ſort of a noiſe, which ſerves them for their beſt diverſion for about two hours in a day: this is continued ſucceſſively for nine days, when the corps being well dry'd, and waſh'd in the mean time once a day, is wrapt up in mats; and being laid upon a pretty high ſtage in one corner of the houſe erected for that purpoſe, it continues there three whole years; after which they take the remnants, which are nothing but the bones, and bury them in a certain place of the houſe.

I can't forbear to mention here, how I once ſaw them my ſelf handle one of their ſick men, in the canton of *Theoſany:* this man being very ill, and complaining of a moſt violent pain all over his body, they ty'd a rope about his neck, and ſo drawing him up quite to the ceiling, let him fall again all on a ſudden to haſten his death.

Their religion and ſacrifices.

Before we conclude, we muſt alſo not paſs by in ſilence their manner of worſhip, or religion. They are not acquainted with any thing like books or writing, all that they know of this kind being tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors by tradition. They believe the immortality of the ſoul; which queſtionleſs has introduced this cuſtom among them, that as ſoon as any perſon dies, they erect a ſmall hut before the entrance of the houſe, adorned with green boughs and flags; in the middle of it they put a veſſel full of fair water, with a cup by it to fill it out; this is intended to purify the ſoul from all excrements: This is practiſed by every body; but there is not one in a hundred who can give a reaſon for it, unleſs it be a few of the ancient and moſt underſtanding among them, who did alledge this cuſtom for their opinion of the immortality of the ſoul to me; and at the ſame time affirmed to me, that it was a very ancient tradition among them, that ſuch as had not lived well, would be precipitated in a deep hole, full of dirt and filth, where they would be forced to undergo great torments; but that ſuch as had led a good life, would dwell in a very pleaſant and plentiful country. Their opinion is, that croſs this great hole there is a bridge, which the ſouls muſt paſs over, before they can enter into this pleaſant country; and that when thoſe that have not lived well, are likewiſe to paſs that way, the ſaid bridge gives a turn and precipitates them into the hole. The ſins which are ſuppoſed to deſerve this puniſhment are far different from what is believed among Chriſtians as to this point, as having not the leaſt reference to the ten commandments; they conſiſt only in a neglect of their ſuperſtitions; ſuch as to have neglected the certain ſeaſons of the year, when they were to go naked, or to abſtain from wearing of ſilk; to have brought forth live children before the age of thirty ſix; to have catch'd fiſh or oyſters out of ſeaſon; to have deſpiſed the obſervations made of the flying of the birds, and ſuch like: tho' at the ſame time they don't encourage lies, murder and thefts, yet they are not accounted mortal ſins. When they are to confirm any thing by a ſolemn oath, they break a piece of ſtraw ſtalk betwixt them, which is look'd upon as a thing ſo ſacred, that they ſeldom forfeit it. Drunkenneſs as well as fornication is accounted no ſin neither in men nor women; tho' as to the laſt they are very cautious not to do it in publick. And it is worth obſervation, that a ſtranger will find it a hard taſk to perſuade a woman here to lie with him; tho' at the ſame time they are of opinion (as I have heard them confeſs my ſelf) that their gods take a great deal of pleaſure in fornication; for which reaſon it is, that parents never take any notice of it in their children, but rather ſport with it, and look upon it as a thing allow'd to young people, they being not to marry till they have attain'd to the 21ſt year of age.

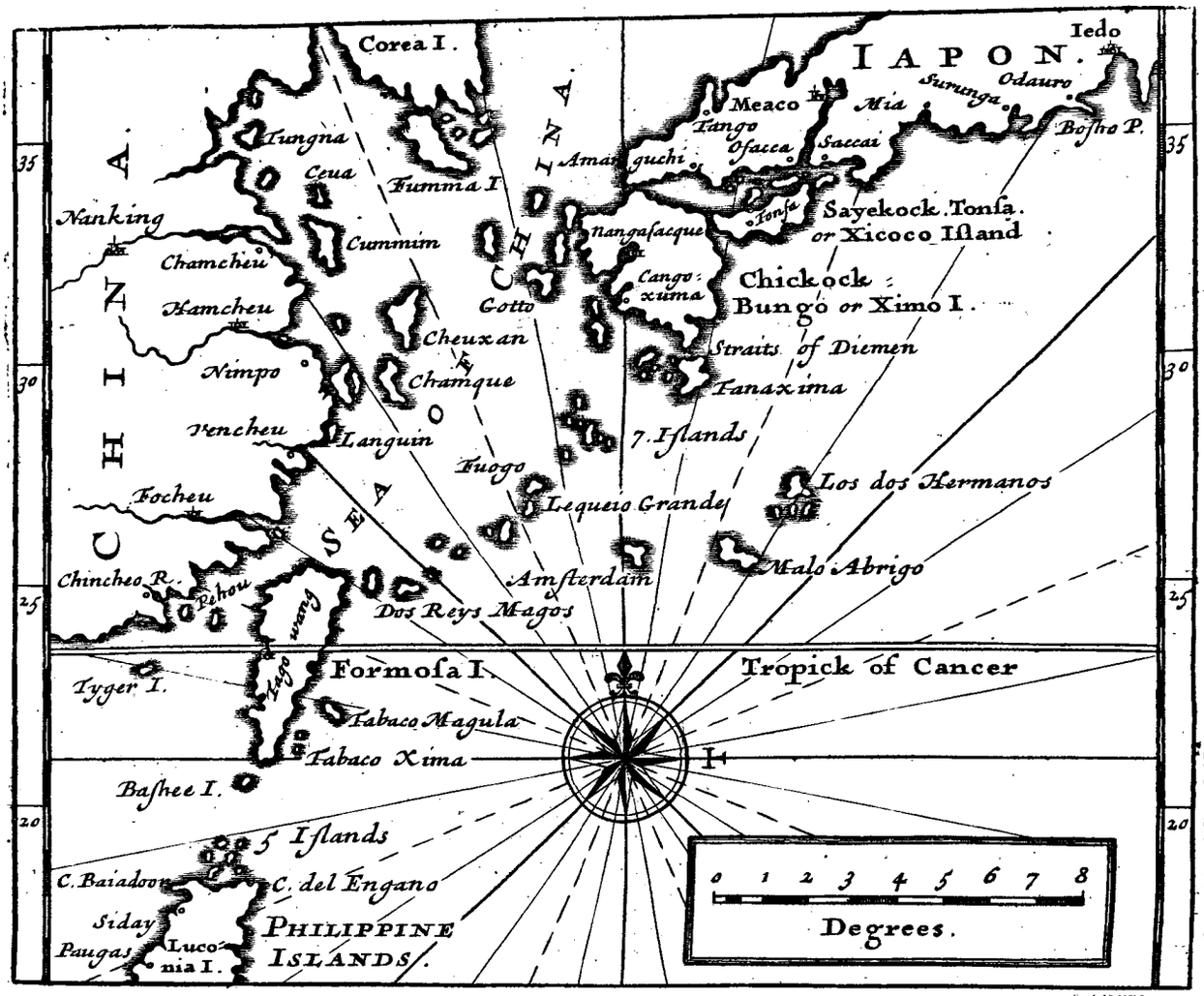
They know nothing of the reſurrection of the body; inſtead of one GOD, they acknowledge many, unto whom they offer their prayers and ſacrifices. One of theſe gods is called *Tamagiſambay*, his reſidence being in the ſouth; he is reputed to make them handſome and vigorous. His ſpouſe, they ſay, dwells in the eaſt, being called *Taxanepada*. When a ſtorm of thunder ariſes in the eaſt, they ſay this goddeſs is attending her huſband, becauſe he ſends not rain; and the huſband being over perſuaded by his ſpouſe, furniſhes them with wet weather. Theſe are the two favourite gods of the women. They have alſo another whoſe reſidence being in the north, is very hurtful to mankind: they ſay, that after the god *Tamigiſanbach* has made them beautiful, this god renders them deformed by the *French* pox, and ſuch like diſtempers: wherefore they adore him, for fear he ſhould hurt them, and offer their ſacrifices to *Tamigiſanchan* to bridle his malice, he being the ſupreme governor of the reſt. They pray likewiſe to two other gods, as often as they go to war; one's name is *Talafula*, the other's *Tapaliape*; theſe two laſt are in greateſt eſteem with the men: beſides theſe they have ſeveral other gods, too many to be named here.

All other nations, as far as ever I knew, make uſe of men for their prieſts, to ſacrifice and attend the other rites belonging to their

their Divine worſhip: theſe people are the only one who have women for their prieſteſſes, whom they call *Inibs*. Their publick ſervice is performed by praying and ſacrificing; the laſt is performed with the ſlaughter of a great number of hogs, by offering rice and ſtrong liquor in the temples to their gods; after which one or two of their prieſteſſes make a long oration to them, and whilſt they are talking turn the eyes in their heads, make many exclamations, till their gods (as they ſay) appear to them; at which time they fall down upon the floor in an extaſy, like dead: ſeveral perſons are employed to recover them; which being done, at laſt they tremble as if they were in the greateſt agony in the world, whilſt the people ſend forth miſerable crys and lamentations. After they have continued this for an hour, the prieſteſſes get on the top of the temple, ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked in the preſence of the whole congregation (who are for the moſt part women) they ſhew their nakedneſs to the gods, pointing their fingers at, and clapping with their hands upon it, whilſt they addreſs their prayers to them in a long and tedious harangue: the whole ceremony is concluded with taking a large doſe of their ſtrong liquor. Theſe *Inibs* or prieſteſſes are alſo ſent for ſometimes into private houſes, where they perform certain ceremonies belonging to their function; they alſo pretend to baniſh the devil, and to foretel things to come: when they baniſh the devil, they do it with their *Japoneſe* ſcymitars, with a hideous clamour, and doleful noiſe, by which they ſay, they frighten the devil, who drowns himſelf in the next river. CANDIDIUS.

Some

Some Curious Remarks upon the Potent Empire of JAPAN.



CANDIDIUS.

JAPAN is generally esteemed to be an island, tho' this is call'd in question by some. From the province of *Oceanto*, the most considerable of the whole empire, where is also the imperial residence. *Jedo*, is accounted twenty seven days journey to the north-east to the lands-end, call'd *Sungay*: from thence you may cross the sea for eleven leagues to the country of *Jesso*, abounding in rich furs, but for the rest barren, and full of inaccessible mountains. Its circumference is not known hitherto, tho' the *Japoneses* have several times endeavour'd to find it out, but in vain, being forced to desist from that enterprize, for want of provisions and other necessaries. In some places they met with inhabitants, who are hairy all over; the hair of their heads and beards exceeding the rest in length, resembling the wild *Chineses* living in the north parts of that empire. This sea does neither ebb nor flow, but is rather a lake enclosed betwixt *Japan* and *Jesso*, being forty leagues in circumference; washing the high mountains in the desarts of *Japan*, near the province of *Ochio*, the sea-shore of which is as yet undiscovered.

The two islands call'd *Chickock* and *Sayekock*, the two biggest lying near the continent of *Japan*; the first is under the jurisdiction of a king and three lords, the second

ſecond is bigger than the former. The empire of *Japan* it ſelf, called by the inhabitants *Nippon*, is oppoſite to theſe two iſlands and the before-mentioned country of *Jeſſo*, and is divided into ſix provinces, viz. *Dewano*, *Jetcheſen*, *Jamayſſiro*, *Jethengo*, *Quito* and *Ochio*. Out of theſe provinces and the lordſhips belonging to them, the chief men of the empire draw their revenues, as you find them ſpecified in the following pages.

A Liſt or Account of the Revenues (without reckoning thoſe belonging to the Emperor himſelf) of all the Kings, Dukes, Princes and Lords of the Japoneſe *Empire, together with the Names of the Lordſhips, Cities and Caſtles from whence they ariſe; calculated according to the Value of the* Japoneſe Coekiens, *each* Coekien *making four* Rixdollars, *or* 18 *s.* Sterling.

CAngano T. Siunango king of *Canga*, *Itſien* and *Natta*, his reſidence being in the caſtle of *Natta*; his revenues amount to 1190000

Surngano Daynangon king of *Surngatoto* and *Nicauva*, reſident in the caſtle of *Faytſiu*, his yearly revenue 700000

Ouwarino Daynongon king of *Ouwary* and *Aſuno*, reſides in the caſtle of *Nangay*, his revenue 700000

Sendeyno T'Siunangon king of *Maſſamme* and *Oyſio*, his reſidence is in the impregnable caſtle of *Sendoy*, his revenue 640000

Satſumano T'Siunangon king of *Satſuma*, *Oſumy*, *Fianga* and *Liukio*, reſides in the caſtle of *Cangaſuna*, his revenue 600000

Oynocouny Daynangon king of *Kino* and *Icke*, his reſidence is in the caſtle of *Wacke Jamma*, his revenue is 550000

Catto Finganocamy king of *Fingo*, and of the circumjacent countries, reſides in the caſtle of *Koumamotta*, his revenue 554000

Matſendeyro Jemonoſke king of *Tſiukiſen* and *Faccata*, is reſident in the caſtle of *Fonkoſa*, his revenue 510000

Matſendeyro Isjonocamy king of the large province of *Jetcheſen*, reſides in the caſtle of *Oedy*, his revenue 500000

Catta S'Cibo king of the vaſt province of *Ochio*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Ais*, his revenue 430000

Oſſano Tayſima king of *Bingo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Oby*, his revenue 420000

Matſendeyro Nangoto king of *Sovo*, his reſidence is in the caſtle of *Fangy*, his revenue 370000

Mitono T'Siumangon king of *Fytayits*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Mito*, his revenue 360000

Nabiſſima Sinano king of *Fiſien*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Logiois*, his revenue 360000

Matſendeyro Sintaro king of *Inqbafocky*, he reſides in the caſtle of *Tackians*, his revenue 320000

Tado Iſumy king of *Inga Iche*, reſiding in the caſtle of *T'Sou*, his revenue 320000

Matſendeyro Coundy, king of the country of *Biſen*, his reſidence is in the caſtle of *Ocalamma*, his revenue 310000

Inno Camman king of *Tolomoy*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Sanoalamma*, his revenue 300000

Foſſacauwa Jetibien king of the country of *Boyſen*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Cocora*, his revenue 300000

Ojeſungy Daynſio king of the large province of *Jetſengo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Juny Samwa*, his revenue 300000

Matſendeyro Senſio king of *Jetſengo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Foriando*, his revenue 300000

Matſendeyro Auwa duke of *Auwa*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Inots*, his revenue 250000

Matſendeyro Jetibigono Camy duke of *Conge*, reſides in the caſtle of *Tackato*, his revenue 250000

Matſendeyro T'Siuſio duke of *Jo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Mats Jamma*, his revenue 250000

Arima Cimba duke of *T'Sickingo*, his reſidence is in the caſtle of *Courme*, his revenue 240000

Mormo Imaſack prince of *Mimaſacka*, reſiding in the caſtle of *T'Sijamma*, his revenue 200000

Tory Ingonocamy prince of the country of *Dewano*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Jammangatta*, his revenue 200000

Matſendeyro Tola prince of *Toſanocory*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Tocoſi Jamme*, his revenue 200000

Satake Okiou prince of the great province of *Dewano*, he reſides in the caſtle of *Akita*, his revenue 200000

Metſendeyro Simoſanocamy prince of *Simoſa*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Tatebayr*, his revenue 200000

Foriwo Jamayſiro prince of *Inſino*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Matſdayt*, his revenue 180000

Icouma Ickino Camy prince of *Sainke*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Koeqnon*, his revenue 180000

Fouda Kynocamy knight and lord of *Fariman*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Taytno*, his revenue 150000

Sackay Counay knight and lord of the large province of *Siſen*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Fackfo*, his revenue 150000

Tareſouma Sunad knight and lord in the great province of *Fiſen*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Carats*, his revenue 124000

Kicaſngock Wacaſa knight and lord of *Waoa*, he reſides in the caſtle of *Offamma*, his revenue 120000

Fory Tango knight and lord in the great province of *Jetcheſen*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Kawano Kiſſima*, his revenue 120000

Minſno Fiongo knight and lord of *Bingo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Foucki Jamma*, his revenue 120000

Sachay Borra S'Kibou knight and lord of *Cooſke*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Tattayts*, his revenue 120000

Matſendeyro Couwats governor of the imperial caſtle of *Quano*, his revenue 110000

Ockendeyro Imaſacha knight and lord of *Simotſke*, reſides in the caſtle of *Oetſnomio*, his revenue 110000

Taitſibana Finda knight and lord of *T'Sickingo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Jannangauwa*, his revenue 110000

Ongaſaura Ouchon knight and lord of *Farima*, reſides in the caſtle of *Akays*, his revenue 100000

Indaty Toutomy knight and lord of *Jyo*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Itaſima*, his revenue 100000

Namboy Simano knight and lord of the large province of *Ochio*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Marilamma*, his revenue 100000

Niwa Groſeymon knight and lord likewiſe of the province of *Ochio*, he reſides in the caſtle of *Siracawa*, his revenue 100000

Abeno Bitchion governor of the imperial caſtle of *Iwatſuky* in the large country of *Maulays*, his revenue 80000

Kiungock Oemnio knight and lord of *Tanga*, reſiding in the caſtle of *Tannabe*, his revenue 70000

Mickino Surngo lord in the large country of *Jetzing*, his ſeat called *Nangawecka*, his revenue 70000

Nackangauva Neyſien lord of *Bonge*, ſeated in the city of *Nangonu*, his revenue 70000

Matſendayro Tamba lord of *Simano*, his ſeat at *Mathmute*, his revenue 70000

Neytoſamma lord of *Fitayits*, his ſeat in the city of *Iwayno*, his revenue 70000

Ickenda Bitchion governor of the imperial caſtle of *Gens mathjamma* in the country of *Bitchion*, his revenue 60000

Matſura Fiſenno Camy lord of *Fis*, his ſeat at *Firando*, his revenue 60000

Sengockſiobo lord of *Sinano*, his ſeat at *Ojenda*, his revenue 60000

Catta Deward lord of *Jyo*, his ſeat is at *Oets*, his revenue 60000

Toſauwa Okiou lord in the country of *Dewano*, his ſeat at *Chinchiro*, his revenue 60000

Matſendeyro Iwany lord of *Farima*, his ſeat at *Chiſongorys*, his revenue 60000

Matſcura Bungo lord of *Fien*, ſeated at *Simmabarra*, his revenue 60000

Iſcauwa Tonnomon lord of *Bongo*, ſeated at *Fita*, his revenue 60000

T'Sungaer Jethchieu lord in the province of *Ochio*, ſeated at *Timgaer*, near the ſea-ſide, his revenue 60000

Ongaſauwara Sinano lord in the country of *Farima*, his ſeat is at *Sekays*, his revenue 60000

Itho Chiury lord of *Fonga*, ſeated at *Oraty*, his revenue 50000

Furta Fiobo lord of *Iwani*, lives in the caſtle of *Dayſiro*, his revenue 50000

Wakiſacka Awoys lord of *Sinono*, ſeated at *Ina*, his revenue 50000

Coucky Nangato lord of *Ichc*, his ſeat at *Toba*, his revenue 50000

Arinna Seymonoſke lord of *Nico*, his ſeat at *Ackanda*, his revenue 50000

Outa Fiobo lord of *Jamatta*, ſeated at *Ouda*, his revenue 50000

Mathſendeyro Sewad a lord in the large province of *Jetſeſen*, his ſeat at *Oune*, his revenue 50000

Minſno Knyts Foky lord in the large country of *Jetſengo*, his ſeat at *Chibattha*, his revenue 50000

Inaba Mimbow lord of *Boungo*, ſeated at *Ouſi-ſiro*, his revenue 50000

Corda Kaynokamy lord of *Sinano*, his ſeat at *Comro*, his revenue 50000

Matſendeyro Sou lord of *Iſumy*, lives at *Kiſnowaddei*, his revenue 50000

Tonda Sammon lord of *T'Sounocamy*, dwells in the caſtle of *Amangaſack*, his revenue 50000

Stotſy Janangy Kemnoth lord of *Ichc*, reſides in the caſtle of *Kangon*, his revenue 50000

Fonda Ichenocamy lord of *Micauwa*, lives in the caſtle of *Oſaſacke*, his revenue 50000

Matſendayro Jamoſyro lord of *Tomba*, his ſeat is at *Saſajamma*, his revenue 50000

Mory Caynocamy lord of *Ingaiche*, his ſeat is at *Souroſada*, his revenue 50000

Fouda Notano Camy lord at *Farima*, is ſeated at *Fundys*, his revenue 50000

Akitto Chionoſke lord of *Fitays*, his ſeat at *Chichindo*, his revenue 50000

Aſſano Oenime lord of *Chiono*, dwells at *Caſſama*, his revenue 50000

Nayto

Nayto Chinocamy lord of *Chiono*, his ſeat at *Akandate*, his revenue 50000
Catto Skibodonne lord in the large province of *Ochio*, his ſeat at *Oyns*, his revenue 50000
Soma Dayſiennocamy likewiſe a lord of the province of *Ochio*, his ſeat at the caſtle of *Soma*, his revenue 50000
Foinda Jammata lord of *Tayſima*, ſeated at *Iſius*, his revenue 50000
Ouckaba Cangato lord of *Mino*, dwells at *Canuo*, his revenue 50000
Neyto Boyſen a lord of *Dewano*, his ſeat at *Jodata*, his revenue 50000
Inaba Auways lord of *Tamba*, is ſeated at *Fonkuit Sijamma*, his revenue 40000
Camyn Deyrick lord of *Awami*, his ſeat at *Mongamy*, his revenue 40000
Cattaingiry Liſmou lord of *Jamatta*, lives at *Tatſta*, his revenue 40000
Fanoa Findano Camy a lord of the province of *Jetcheſen*, his ſeat at *Maruko*, his revenue 40000
Itacaura Sovodonne governor of the city of *Miaco*, has his revenue aſſigned him by the emperor upon the country of *Jamayſino*, his revenue 40000
Matſendeyro Bongo lord of *Iwaray*, his ſeat at *Nackaſima*, his revenue 40000
Fonda Nayky lord of *Farima*, his ſeat at *Fimeis*, his revenue 40000
Matſendeyro Tungo a lord of the province of *Ochio*, is ſeated at *Suyky*, his revenue 40000
Cannamovriy Iſoum lord of *Finda*, is ſeated at *Oumory*, his revenue 40000
Chiongock Chiury lord of *Tango*, his ſeat at *Tarmabe*, his revenue 36000
Outa Giobe lord of *Mino*, ſeated at *Itſnoduy*, his revenue 30000
Matſendeyro Jetſio governor of the imperial caſtle of *Jondo*, in the country of *Jamayſſiro*, his revenue 30000
Matſendeyro Ouckon lord of *Farima*, his ſeat at *Ako*, his revenue 30000
Minſonoja Icheno Camy lord of *Kooke*, is ſeated at *Chinotains*, his revenue 30000
Jammaſacka Kaino Camy lord of *Bitchion*, his ſeat is call'd *Narſe*, his revenue 30000
Matſendeyro Jamatta, a lord of the province of *Jetſeſen*, his ſeat at *Goſke*, his revenue 30000
Inno Fiobo lord of *Coſke*, his ſeat called *Anna*, his revenue 30000
Matſendeyro Tonnomon, a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, his reſidence in the caſtle of *Juſſinda*, his revenue 30000
Akiſucky Nangato lord of *Nieko*, his ſeat at *Sununo*, his revenue 30000
Sova Inaba a lord of *Sinano*, reſides in the caſtle of *Sova*, his revenue 30000
Fouſuna Fingo a lord of the country of *Sinano*, reſides at *Tacaboits*, his revenue 30000
Sunganoma Ouribe lord of *Totomy*, dwells in the caſtle of *Seſe*, his revenue 30000
Simas Oemanoſke lord of *Nicko*, his ſeat call'd *Sandobarra*, his revenue 30000
Kinoſtay Jemon lord of *Bongo*, his ſeat called *Fins*, his revenue 30000
Sono T'Siuſſima lord of the iſle of *T'Siuſſima*, his revenue 30000
Koinda Kinano lord of *Tonga*, reſides at *Okoda*, his revenue 30000
Fonda Simoſo governor of the imperial caſtle of *Gens Niſſino* in the country of *Micauwa*, his revenue 30000
Gorick Setſnocamy a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, reſides at the caſtle of *Fammamats*, his revenue 30000
Chinſio Surnga lord of *Fitaits*, his ſeat is call'd *T'Siutoura*, his revenue 30000
Sakuma Fiſen lord of *Sinano*, dwells at *Iralamma*, his revenue 30000
Todo Tauyſima lord of *Mino*, dwells at *Minangauwa*, his revenue 30000
Fondo Iſumy lord of *Fitayts*, his ſeat call'd *Mingauwa*, his revenue 30000
Tongauwa Toſa lord of *Bithiſin*, dwells at *Nikays*, his revenue 30000
Matſendayro Toſa a lord of the province of *Letſeſen*, his ſeat at *Konomata*, his revenue 30000
Sungifarra Foky lord of *Fitayts*, dwells at *Oungoury*, his revenue 20000
Kinoſty Kounay lord of *Biethiou*, his ſeat at *Couroly*, his revenue 20000
Matſendeyro Koyſiro lord of *Farima*, dwells at *Farima*, his revenue 20000
Inaſaſka T'ſouno Camy, governor of the imperial caſtle of *Oſaka*, his revenue 20000
Matſendeyro Kennots lord of *Tamba*, reſides at *Cammejamma*, his revenue 20000
Maſtayſaſke a lord of the province of *Ochio*, is ſeated at *Sambomnats*, his revenue 20000
Oumoura Minbau lord of *Fis*, his ſeat at *Daymats*, his revenue 20000
Matſendeyro Iſumy lord of *Mino*, is ſeated at *Iwamoura*, his revenue 20000
Matſendeyro Cinocamy lord of *T'ſouno Couny*, his ſeat is call'd *Faynotory*, his revenue 20000
Minſno Fayto a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, reſides in the caſtle of *Aria*, his revenue 20000
Neyto Tatewaky lord of *Chiono*, his ſeat at *Iſwaffowa*, his revenue 20000
Ongaſauwara Wakaſa lord of *Aymoſa*, his ſeat is *Jado*, his revenue 20000
Fichicatta Cammon lord of *Chiono*, dwells at *Mawaſſa*, his revenue 20000
Iwaky Sirroty lord of *Chiono*, dwells at *Jedoura*, his revenue 20000
Keckengo Fiongo lord of *Dewano*, is ſeated at *Jury*, his revenue 20000

Tackenacka Oenieme lord of *Boinigo*, his ſeat is called *Founay*, his revenue 20000
Moury Ichenocamy lord of *Boungo*, dwells at *Ounays*, his revenue 20000
Wackeba Sackiou lord of *Totomy*, his ſeat at *Oumiſo*, his revenue 20000
Itſifoys Inſno Camy lord of *Totomy*, is ſeated at *Koſioys*, his revenue 20000

The following liſt contains the names of ſome lords, who draw their revenues from the iſlands.

Sangora Safyoye, his revenue 20000
Fory Mimaſacka 20000
Qua Jamma Sammon 15000
Foſſacauwa Gemba 15000
Sackinadayſen 15000
Matſendeyro Deyſiendo 15000
Gotto Auways lord of the iſles *Gotto* near *Firando* 15000
Cattaingiry Iwany 15000
Cruſſima Jetſingo 15000
Couboury Totomy 15000
Tackandy Mondo 15000
Miake Jetſingo 15000
Saccay Oucondo 15000
Conda Zwany 15000
Naſno Jeuts 15000
Oudaura Biſen 15000
Tojamma Giobo 10000
Faraouka Givemon 10000
Oſeky Jemon 10000
Fuiſſien Gauwa S'Kibouw 10000
Outona Tango 10000
Flno Ouribe 10000
Ouky Cayno Camy 10000
Outona Mouſoys 10000
Mainda Jamatta 10000
Taytſibana Sackon 10000
Tackibe Sangora 10000
Mainangauwa Chimanocamy 10000
Foydſio de Wanocamy 10000
Congay Inaba 10000
Outona Couwayts 10000
Niwa S'Kibow 10000
Fory Auways 10000
Foſio Mimaſacca 10000
Saingowacka Sucky 10000
Tondo Inaba 10000
Mijangy Siuſen 10000
Sannada Neyky 10000
Itou Tangou 10000
Ikenda Letſes 10000
Tonda Neycky 10000

The following liſt contains the names and revenues of ſome of the emperor's privy counſellors, and other miniſters of his court, which are paid them out of the imperial demeſnes.

Dayno Oyedonne, his revenue 150000
Sackay Outadonne 120000
Nangay Sinanod 100000
Sackay Sannicked 90000
Ando Onkioud 60000
Inoye Cauwaytſede 60000
Inaba Tangede 50000
Sackay Auwade 40000
Neyta Ingadame 30000
Sackay Jamaſſinode 20000
T'ſiutſia Nunbonde 20000
Niſiou Ouckioude 20000
Matſendeyro Lemonde 20000
Jammanguyts Taſimad 20000
Matſendeyro Inſde 20000
Abe Boungode 15000
Auwo Jamma Ouckorad 15000
Chiongock Siuſend 15000
Itacaura Neyſiend 15000
Narſie Inſde 15000
Akimonto Tayſunade 15000
Forito Cangade 10000
Miura Simade 10000
Minda Gonoſkede 10000
Miſono Jamattade 10000
Fory Itſnocamy 10000
Miura Oemanoſkede 10000
Fonda Sanjade 10000

Beſides which the emperor of *Japan* allows for his and his ſons tables, and to the reſt of his officers belonging to his court, the yearly ſum of 4000000 Coekiens.

What is allowed to the ſoldiers, and the nobility that ſerve in the army, according to their different qualities, amounts to 5000000 coekiens.

The total ſum of the revenues belonging to the abovementioned miniſters of ſtate, amounts to 28345000 coekiens. Beſides theſe, all the foot-ſoldiers, being not gentlemen, ſuch as muſqueteers, pike and bowmen, and ſuch like (of whom there is a vaſt number) are likewiſe paid out of the emperor's revenues; for which the imperial rents coming from the gold and ſilver mines are aſſigned in particular.

Thoſe ſoldiers, who are gentlemen, ſerve all on horſeback, each of them being obliged to keep five, ten, or twenty ſervants, according to their different qualities and eſtates: theſe ſervants are obliged to fight upon occaſion as well as their maſters.

Theſe following qualifications are required in one who will ſerve as a gentleman on horſeback under the imperial ſtandard: he muſt be very nimble and active, very well inſtructed in the exerciſe of arms, not ignorant in books; and above all, muſt have the reputation of being a man of honour. Nothing is more ſurpriſing, than to ſee ſo many hundred brave choſen fellows, as attend the emperor when he goes abroad as his guard, all clad in black ſilk, to keep their ranks to an admiration; and neither they, nor his halberdiers who

ſurround

ſurround his perſon, ſpeak one word; nay, tho' he paſſes thro' a great city, there is not the leaſt noiſe of men or horſes to be heard, at a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the emperor is. The ſtreets are very well cleanſed, and covered with ſand; no body dares ſo much as to open a window, much leſs to ſtand at his ſhop or houſe-door, as his majeſty paſſes by, but muſt either remain at home, or elſe kneel down in the ſtreet. His nobles, generals and colonels, follow his majeſty at the head of ſeveral thouſand men, horſe and foot, in his progreſs; but they muſt keep at a diſtance, and not come within his ſight.

A gentleman who has a yearly revenue of a thouſand coekiens, is obliged to maintain for the ſervice of the country, twenty foot-ſoldiers, and two horſemen. So that the number of forces which the kings, dukes, and lords are obliged to bring into the field, amounts to 368000 foot-ſoldiers, and 36800 horſe: beſides which, the emperor maintains 100000 foot-ſoldiers, and 20000 horſe at his own charge, who keep gariſons in the frontier, and other ſtrong places and caſtles of the empire.

From *Jedo*, the imperial reſidence, to *Miaco*, is a hundred and thirty five leagues. His majeſty goes once in five, ſeven, or nine years to this laſt place, to pay his reverence to *Dayro:* this journey is perform'd in twenty eight ſtages, in each of which there is a royal palace, furniſh'd with every thing neceſſary to entertain the emperor and his whole court. But among theſe twenty eight palaces, are reckon'd twenty ſtrong caſtles, provided with good gariſons.

There are twelve ſeveral ſects in *Japan*, each of which is inſtructed by prieſts of their own. Eleven of theſe ſects are forbidden to eat any thing that has been killed; they are alſo to abſtain from women, but may commit ſodomy. The twelfth ſect may marry, and eat what they pleaſe.

There is another thing worthy our obſervation, which is, that whenever one of the forementioned kings, dukes or lords, happens to die, their ſervants (to teſtify their love to their deceaſed maſters) rip up their bellies with a knife to accompany them, as they ſay, to the other world; and to teſtify to the world, that they will never ſhrink from the duty and obedience due to their lords, but will ſerve them with the ſame faithfulneſs, even after their death.

A N

ACCOUNT

Of a moſt Dangerous

VOYAGE

Performed by the Famous

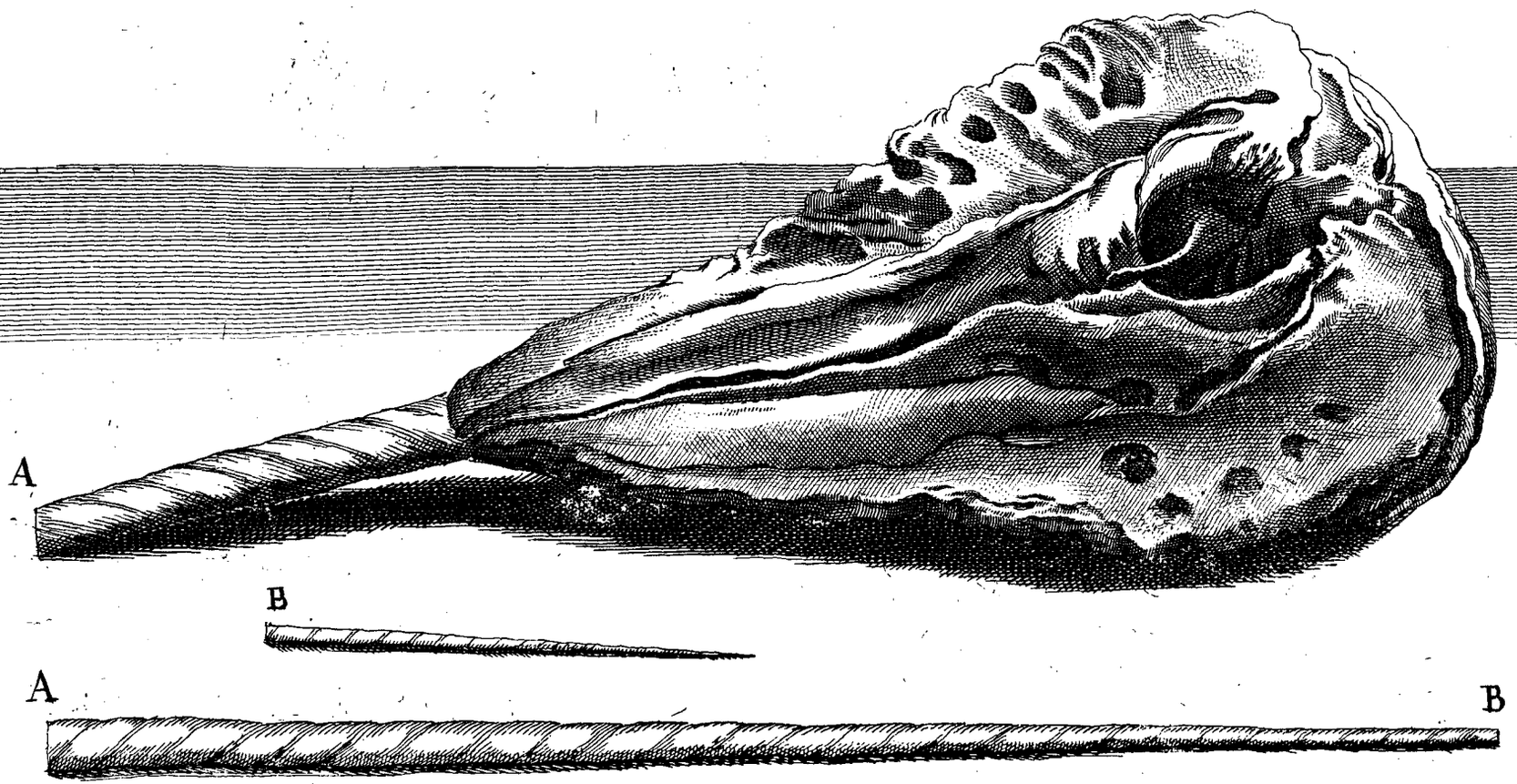
Captain John Monck,

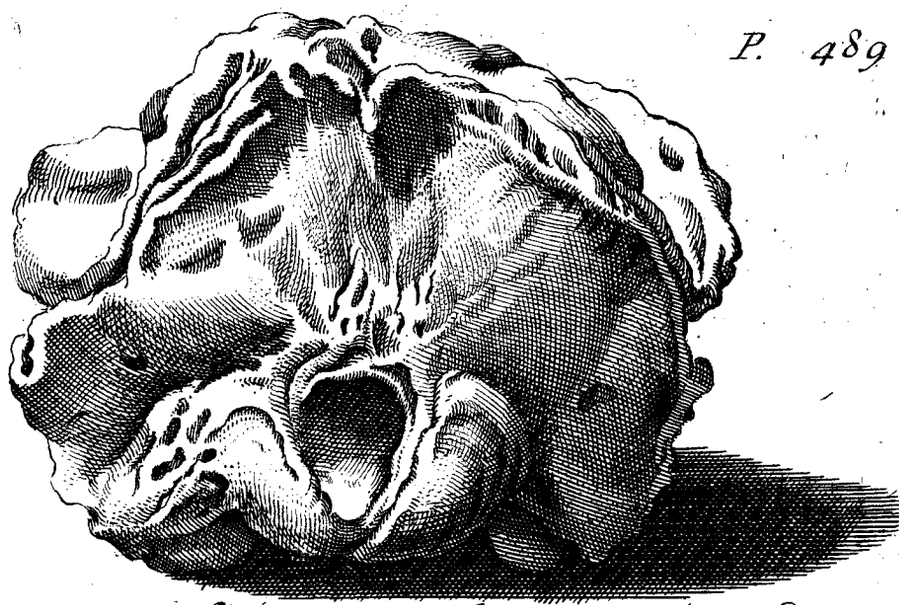
In the Years 1619, and 1620.

By the ſpecial Command of *CRISTIAN* IV. King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. to *Hudſon's Straits*, in order to diſcover a Paſſage on that ſide, betwixt *Greenland* and *America* to the *Weſt-Indies*. With a Deſcription of the *Old* and *New Greenland*, for the better Elucidation of the ſaid Treatiſe.

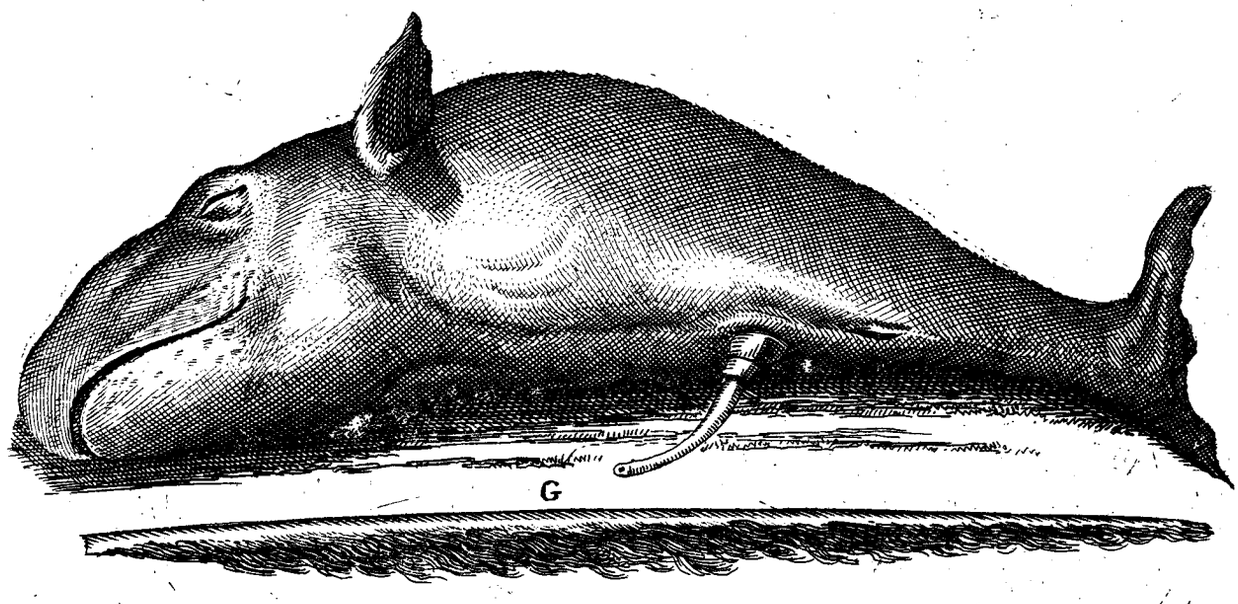
Tranſlated from the High-Dutch *Original, printed at* Frankford *upon the* Maine, 1650.

The Outside of the head of the Unicorn as it looks att the Upper part.

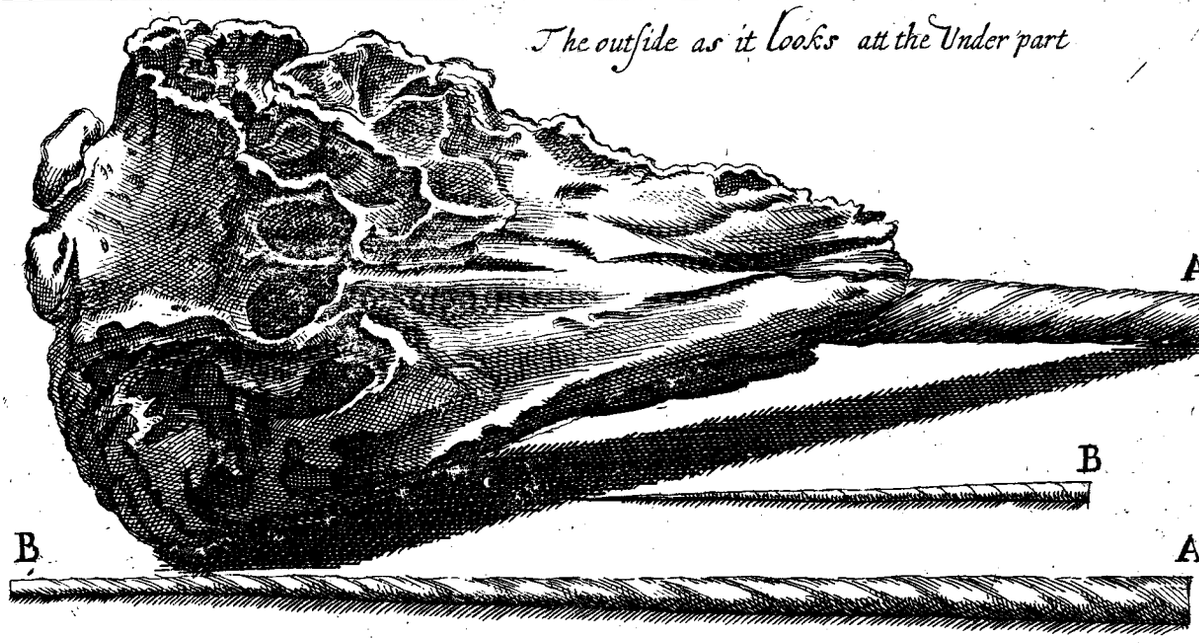




The hinder part of the head of the Unicorn as it looks towards the neck



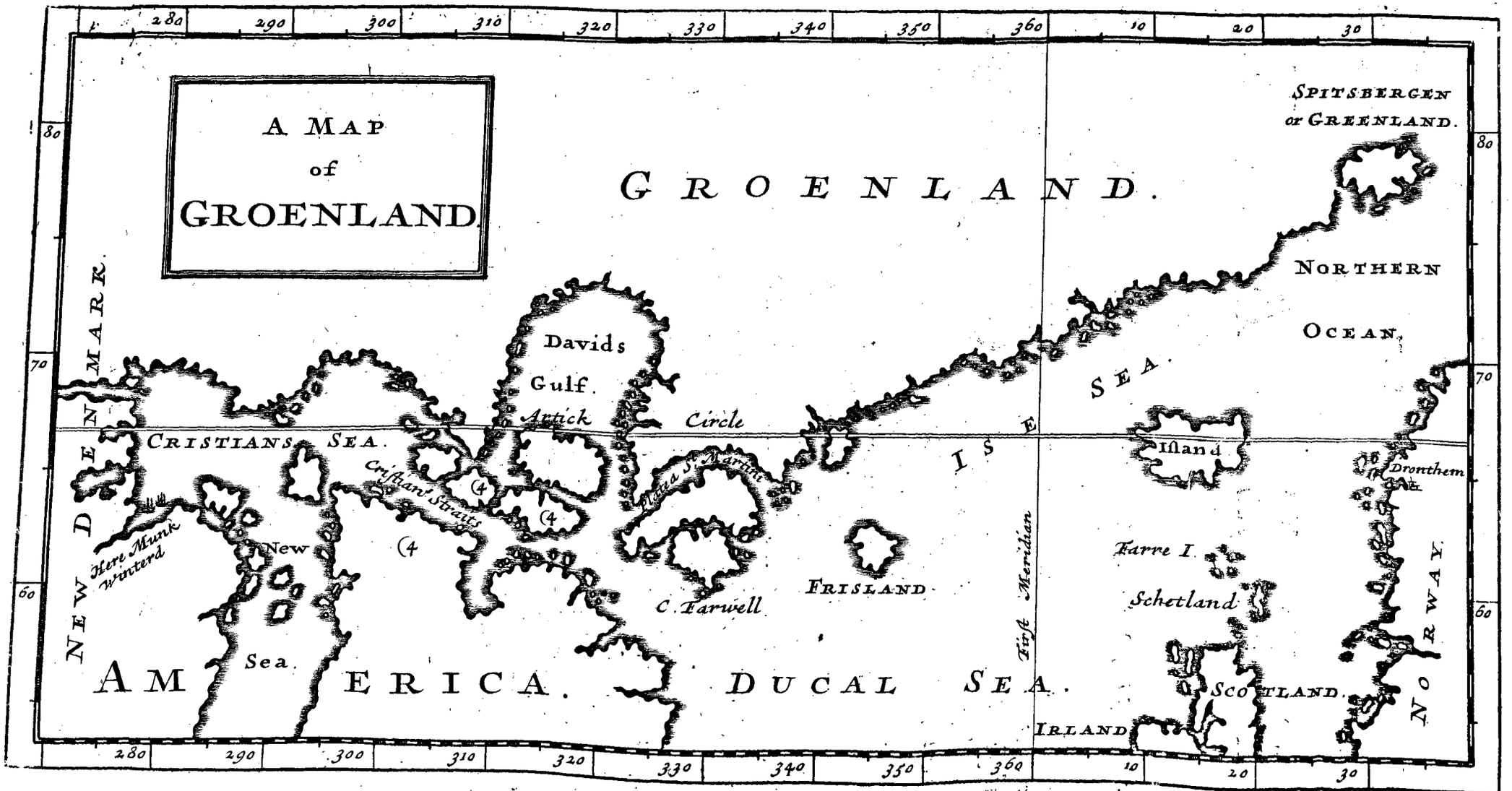
The outside as it looks att the Under part



THE

PREFACE.

THERE are four principal points worth the curious reader's obſervation in the following treatiſe: (1.) *A deſcription of the* Old *and* New Greenland, *their firſt diſcovery, names, fertility, living creatures,* &c. *among the laſt of which thoſe which produce the noted unicorns, being none of the leaſt remarkable, I had the curioſity to get an exact draught thereof from my brother Mr.* Michael le Blou, *who living at* Amſterdam, *purchaſed the ſame from the* Greenland *company. This horn was found on the ſea-ſhore, with part of the body of the fiſh; the head of which, together with the horn, being cut off, was brought entire to* Amſterdam; *the horn being ſo white that no ivory was to compare to it; tho' we were oblig'd, for want of ſufficient extent of the paper, to repreſent it in the annexed draughts in ſeveral pieces. The whole length of the horn is four foot nine inches; the head one foot and ten inches, making together ſix foot and ſeven inches.* (2.) *An account of divers voyages, made by the command of* Chriſtian IV. *king of* Denmark, *&c. for the diſcovery of a paſſage betwixt* Greenland *and* America *to the* Eaſt-Indies; *the ſucceſs of which proved very unfortunate, as will be evident from the enſuing treatiſe.* (3.) *A repreſentation of that part of* Greenland *known by the name of* Spitsbergen. (4.) *A ſuccinct account of that monſtrous fiſh call'd the* whale, *and the manner how it is taken, having not been treated of ſo circumſtantially, as far as I know, by any other author before: the whole of which I have comprehended in ſeveral draughts, mark'd with* A. B. C. D. E. F. *and* G. *Farewell.*


A MAP of GROENLAND
GROENLAND.
SPITSBERGEN or GREENLAND.
NORTHERN OCEAN.
NEW DENMARK.
CRISTIANS SEA.
Davids Gulf.
Artick Circle
Cristians Straits
Here Munk winterd
New Sea.
AMERICA.
Platea S. Martini
C. Farwell
FRISLAND
DUCAL SEA.
First Meridian
ISE SEA.
Island
Farre I.
Schetland
SCOTLAND.
IRLAND
Dronthem
NORWAY.
280
290
300
310
320
330
340
350
360
10
20
30
80
70
60

Advertiſement concerning the Map of GREENLAND.

THIS map is regulated according to four ſeveral elevations, which were beſt known to us; to wit, of cape *Farewel*, of *Iceland*, of *Spitsbergen*, and of that place in *Chriſtians* ſea, where capt. *Monck* paſs'd the winter in his voyage, which in this map is to be found under the name of *Monck*'s *Winter-Harbour*. The longitude of places is taken from the *meridian* fixed to the iſle called *Inſolo del Ferro*, one of the *Canary* iſlands, in which we have followed the footſteps of the moſt and ableſt mathematicians of *Europe*. The longitude of *Monck*'s harbour is remarkable above the reſt, by an eclipſe of the moon mentioned in capt. *Monck*'s relation, to have appear'd there in the year 1619, the 20th day of *December*, about eight a clock at night. The ſame eclipſe did, according to the beſt computation, appear at *Paris* in the ſame year on the 21ſt day of *December* about three a clock in the morning; from whence it is evident, that there was no more than ſeven hours difference betwixt them. Now if you allow fifteen degrees to each hour, it is plain that the difference betwixt the meridian of *Paris*, and the meridian of *Monck*'s harbour, is of 105 degrees: And ſuppoſing *Paris* under $23\frac{1}{2}$ degree of longitude, the beforementioned harbour muſt conſequently be put under the $278\frac{1}{2}$ degree, or $81\frac{1}{2}$ degrees beyond the *Canary* iſlands. And ſuppoſing twelve *French* leagues to make a degree (for two of thoſe degrees make but one in the greater circles) the product will amount to one thouſand and ſixty leagues, the true diſtance betwixt *Paris* and this harbour. MONCK

The ſouthern ſide of *Greenland* is repreſented in this map as if it were compoſed of two iſlands: in which we have followed a map compoſed by the direction of a certain maſter of a ſhip living at the *Briel* in *Holland*; who having made two ſeveral voyages, to wit, in the year 1624, and 1625, to *Greenland*, ſtiles it an *iſland*, tho' it be uncertain whether it be an iſle, or compoſed out of ſeveral iſlands; or whether it be annexed to the continent.

The coaſt from cape *Farewel* to *Hudſon*'s ſtraits, and ſo further to *Monck*'s harbour in *Chriſtians* ſea, is taken from a map drawn by capt. *Monck*'s own hands; which we were the more willing to follow, becauſe it agreed with *Hudſon*'s map (who was the firſt that entred thoſe ſeas.) I will not pretend to determine whether the weſtern coaſt betwixt *Davis*'s ſtraits, and *Monck*'s harbour, is really a part of *Greenland*; it being not impoſſible but that this country may be ſeparated from the continent of *Greenland*, either by ſome other channel, or perhaps by an inland-ſea, and that conſequently it may be annexed to *America*: And in *Denmark* they are not ſo very poſitive as to this point, as they are in relating of the coaſt from cape *Farewel* or *Spitsbergen*, which they unqueſtionably account a part of *Greenland*. What account they make of it in *England* and *Holland* I am not able to tell, my intention being only to inform the reader of what I could find out in *Denmark*.

Memoirs

Memoirs concerning the Old and New

GREENLAND.

MONCK *Situation.*

GREENLAND is called that country lying to the utmoſt point of the north, which extends from ſouth to eaſt, from cape *Farewel* through the *Mare Glaciale*, or frozen ſea, as far as *Spitsbergen* and *Nova Zembla*. Some are of opinion, that it adjoins to the *Great Tartary*, without any certain reaſon, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. To the eaſt it borders upon the frozen ſea, to the ſouth upon the ocean, to the weſt upon *Hudſon*'s ſtraits, by which it is ſeparated from *America*, and its bounds to the north are unknown hitherto. Some are of opinion, that it is upon the ſame continent with *America*, becauſe the ſuppoſed ſtraits, called *Davis*'s ſtraits, have ſince been found to be no more than a bay; but capt. *Monck* who attempted the ſame paſſage, gives us great reaſon to believe that it is ſeparated from *America*, as will appear from his own relation.

Two different chronicles of Greenland.

In this preſent deſcription of *Greenland* we have followed the footſteps of two chronicles, one of which was very ancient, and written in the *Iceland* tongue originally, but tranſlated into *Daniſh*; the ſecond being a *Daniſh* chronicle of a newer date. The author of the *Iceland* chronicle was one *Snorro Storleſon*, who in his life-time was judge in that country. The ſecond is compoſed by a *Daniſh* miniſter, called *Claudius Chriſtoferſon*, who about twenty years ago writ the ſame in verſe.

The *Daniſh* chronicle makes the firſt inhabitants of *Greenland Armenians*, who being by tempeſt forced upon that coaſt, ſettled and continued there for ſome time; till afterwards paſſing over to *Norway*, they fixed their habitations among the rocks. But this favours much of the ancients fables, who uſed to fetch their origin from far diſtant countries; it being much more probable that the *Norwegians* were the firſt inhabitants of *Greenland*, which they poſſeſs'd themſelves of in the following manner.

Firſt diſcovery of it.

A certain *Norwegian* gentleman of conſiderable quality, called *Torwald*, and his ſon *Erick*, having committed ſeveral murders, were forced to fly to *Iceland*. *Torwald* died there ſoon after; and his ſon *Erick*, ſirnamed *Red Hair*, being of a turbulent ſpirit, and being proſecuted on the account of another murder committed there, went to ſea in queſt of a country, which lying weſt off of *Iceland*, was called *Gundebiurn*; he was not long at ſea before he diſcovered two promontories, one of which jetted out into the ſea from the continent, the other from an iſland very near to the ſhore. The promontory on the iſland was called *Wiſſercken*, that on the continent *Warf*; betwixt both is a good bay, where there is ſafe riding at anchor: unto this he gave the name of *Sand Stafn*. The promontory of *Wiſſercken* exceeds the other both in height and circumference. *Erick Red hair* called this promontory of the iſland *Mucka Jockel*, which is as much as to ſay, the *Great ice ſhoal*; afterwards it got the name of *Bloewſercken*, which is as much as *Bleuſhirt*; and laſtly it was called *Witſercken*, or *Whiteſhirt*, queſtionleſs from the colour of the ice and ſnow, which covers a great part of it all the year round. *Erick*'s firſt landing place was in the iſle which he called *Erickſun*, where he paſs'd the firſt winter.

The next ſpring he paſſed over to the continent, where meeting with ſome graſs he gave it the name of *Greenland*; the place where he landed was called by him *Ericksforden*, near which he built a caſtle called *Oſterburg*. About the fall of the leaf he built another towards the weſt, unto which accordingly he gave the name of *Weſterburg*. The next winter he paſs'd over to *Erickſun*, and the next following ſummer again to the north of *Greenland*, where he met with vaſt rocks, which he called *Snowrocks*; and not far from thence with a very good harbour, which by reaſon of the number of ravens he ſaw thereabouts, he gave the name of *Ravensforden*. This harbour lies directly north from *Ericksforden*, which is to the ſouth, being ſeparated from one another by a branch of the ſea. *Erick* after he had continued three years in thoſe parts, took a reſolution to go over into *Iceland*, where he gave ſuch an advantageous account of the good paſturage, and plenty of cattle, fiſh and fowl of his new found country, that a great number of the inhabitants embarked themſelves to follow him into *Greenland*.

From whence its name.

Erick had a ſon whoſe name was *Leif*, he had followed his father formerly into *Greenland*,

Greenland, and whilſt he was in *Iceland* went over to *Norway* to give an account to *Olaus Trugger*, who (as the *Iceland* chronicle relates) then reign'd in *Norway*, of the condition of *Greenland:* This king, who had lately embraced the Chriſtian religion, took care to have *Leif* inſtructed in the Chriſtian doctrine; and after he was baptized, ſent him back the next following ſummer to his father in company of a prieſt, who was to propagate the Chriſtian faith in *Greenland*. *Leif* was joyfully received by the inhabitants there, being ſirnamed by them the *Fortunate*, becauſe he had happily eſcaped ſeveral dangers; but he met not with the ſame reception at his father's hands, becauſe he brought along with him ſeveral foreign ſeamen, whom he had ſaved from a ſhipwreck; his father not thinking it for his intereſt to have the condition of the country diſcovered to ſtrangers. But the matter was compoſed at laſt, and the father received baptiſm with all that were under his juriſdiction.

The Chriſtian religion received in Greenland.

Thus much is recorded concerning *Erick Red Hair*, and his ſon *Leif*, and the *Norwegians* who made the firſt diſcovery of *Greenland*. The *Iceland* chronicle mentions *Torwald* and his ſon *Erick* to have left the harbour of *Jedren* in *Norway* under the reigns of king *Hacon Jarls* ſirnam'd the *Rich*, and of king *Olaus Trugger*, which is computed to have been near the year of CHRIST 982. But the *Daniſh* chronicle, which goes back as far as to the year 779, ſeems to come nearer to the true computation of time; it being unqueſtionable that under the reign of the emperor *Lewis*, ſirnamed the *Pious*, (when the *Daniſh* kings firſt received the Chriſtian religion) *Greenland* was already become famous; for in the chronicle of *Bremen* there is extant a bull of pope *Gregory* the fourth, by which *Anſgarius* the then biſhop of *Bremen* was conſtituted archbiſhop of the north, but particularly of *Norway*, and the iſlands thereunto belonging, *viz.* of *Iceland* and *Greenland*, which bull was written after the year of CHRIST 800, to wit, in the year 835.

The *Daniſh* chronicle aſſures us that the poſterity of *Erick* and his followers did multiply conſiderably in *Greenland*; and that advancing deeper into the country they met with fertile ground, good paſtures, and ſprings of freſh water. They divided it into eaſtern and weſtern *Greenland*, according to the ſituation of the two beforementioned caſtles: In the *Eaſt Greenland* they built a city called *Garde*, whither the *Norwegians* uſed to come every year to traffick with the inhabitants. Afterwards they built alſo another city unto which they gave the name of *Alb*, and (being great zealots) laid the foundation of a monaſtry dedicated to St. *Thomas*, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea-ſhore. The city of *Garde* was the epiſcopal reſidence, where the cathedral was dedicated to St. *Nicholas* the patron of ſea-faring men.

The diviſion of Greenland.

MONCK

One *Arngrim Jonas* a native of *Iceland*, has written a treatiſe, which he intitles *Specimen Iſlandicum*, wherein he gives us a catalogue of the biſhops of *Greenland*, from their beginning till the year 1389. And *Pontanus* in his *Daniſh* hiſtory takes notice of a certain biſhop of *Garde* named *Henry*, who in the ſame year 1389. was preſent at the aſſembly of the ſtates of *Denmark* held in the city of *Niewburg* in the iſle of *Fichnen*. As *Greenland* had a dependency on *Norway* in temporal matters, ſo it acknowledged the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Druntheim* in *Norway* in ſpiritual affairs, ſo that their biſhops uſed ſometimes to come thither to confer with them concerning matters of moment. *Greenland* was governed according to the laws received in *Iceland*, under a governor ſent thither by the kings of *Norway*, whoſe names and chief actions are related by *Arngrim Jonas* in his before-mentioned treatiſe.

The biſhops of Greenland.

The *Daniſh* chronicle ſpeaks of a rebellion which happened in *Greenland* in the year 1256. they refuſing to pay the annual tribute to *Magnus* the then king of *Norway*. But *Erick* king of *Denmark* ſending a good fleet to the aſſiſtance of *Magnus* his brother-in-law, the *Greenlanders* were ſo terrified at the ſight of it, that they quickly ſued for peace, which was concluded in the year 1261. The ſame is made mention of by *Arngrim Jonas*, who inſerts the names of the three plenipotentiaries of *Greenland* ſent to conclude this peace, by virtue of which they ſubmitted to a perpetual annual tribute to be paid to the crown of *Norway*.

Greenland rebels.

The *Iceland* chronicle has a whole chapter intitled, a deſcription of *Greenland*, containing a ſummary account of what the *Norwegians* were poſſeſs'd of in that country, but without any order or chronological computation. It runs thus: The city which lies moſt eaſterly is call'd *Scagenfiord*, near an inacceſſible rock, the whole ſea-ſhore thereabouts being ſurrounded likewiſe with rocks, which make the harbour of difficult acceſs, unleſs with a very high tide; at which time alſo, eſpecially if it be ſtormy weather, whales and many other ſorts of fiſh are catched. A little beyond it to the eaſt is another ſmall harbour, called *Funchebudet*, from a certain gentleman belonging to *Olaus* then king of *Norway*, who ſuffered ſhipwreck near that place. At ſome ſmall diſtance from thence, oppoſite to the *Ice-rocks*, there is an iſle called

A confus'd deſcription of Greenland.

MONCK called *Roanſen*, full of all ſorts of wild beaſts, but eſpecially of white bears; beyond which there is nothing but ice to be ſeen.

On the weſt ſide is *Kindelfiord*, ſurrounded by a branch of the ſea; it has a church called *Kroſkirck*, the dioceſs of which extends to *Peterſwyek*; near which is *Wandelenburg*, and beyond this a monaſtry dedicated to St. *Olaus* and St. *Auſtin*, the juriſdiction of which extends as far as *Bolten*. Not far from *Kindelfiord* is *Rempeſingfiord*, where there is a nunnery, ſurrounded with many ſmall iſlands, in which you meet with many hot ſprings, which riſe to ſuch an exceſſive degree of heat in the winter, that they are quite uſeleſs, but are made uſe of with great ſucceſs in the ſummer ſeaſon. Near this is *Eynotsfiord*; and betwixt this and *Rempeſingfiord*, a royal palace called *Fos*, with a large church adjoining to it, dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. Near *Limesfiord* is a great promontory, near which jets out a neck of land into the ſea, called *Grantwig*, where there is a ſeat called *Daller*, belonging to the cathedral church of *Greenland*; as does likewiſe *Limesfiord*, and that large iſland which lies oppoſite to *Eynotsfiord*, unto which they have given the name of *Reyatſen*, from the rain-deer which are there in great numbers. The ſame iſle produces alſo a certain ſtone, called *Talckſtone*, which is proof againſt fire, and nevertheleſs ſo ſoft as to be frequently cut out into drinking kitchen-veſſels. Further to the weſt you ſee another iſland called *Langen*, which contains eight farms. Not far from *Eynotsfiord* is another royal palace, named *Helleſtatt*, and next to this *Eriksfiord*; and at the entrance of the bay of the iſle of *Herricoen*, one half of which belongs to the cathedral church of *Greenland*, the other half to the church call'd *Diurnes*, being the firſt you meet with in *Greenland* from *Ericksfiord* ſide; which extends its juriſdiction to *Midfiord*, a tract of ground running north weſt from *Eriksfiord*. To the north of it is *Bondefiord*, near which you may ſee many iſlands, and ſeveral good landing-places. The country betwixt *Eaſterburg* and *Weſterburg* is deſtitute of inhabitants, tho' there remains as yet a church call'd *Stroſnes*, which was formerly the cathedral of *Greenland*, where was alſo the epiſcopal reſidence. The *Skreglingers*, or *Scherlingers* are in poſſeſſion of the whole country of *Weſterburg*, tho' we meet with no people there, neither pagans nor Chriſtians, but with abundance of oxen, horſes and ſheep. This was the verbal account of one *Iver Boty*, who being a ſteward of the epiſcopal court of *Greenland*, was ſent by the governor to chaſe the *Scherlingers* out of the country, but met with nothing but cattle, of which they took ſo much as their ſhips were able to carry. Beyond *Weſterburg* they ſaw a large entire rock, call'd *Himmelradsfield*, beyond which no body dares to venture at ſea, by reaſon of the many whirlpools.

Thus far the *Iceland* chronicle. And becauſe we are deſtitute of maps, or any other hiſtory relating to this country, we are obliged to acquieſce in what this author has left us; tho' at the ſame time it is taken for granted by all, that the epiſcopal ſeat of *Greenland* was in the city of *Garde*, which this author attributes to the church of *Stroſnes* betwixt *Eaſterburg* and *Weſterburg:* for the *Daniſh* chronicle lamenting the loſs of this country, ſays expreſly, That if the city of *Garde* were yet in being, we ſhould queſtionleſs not be deſtitute of ſome ancient records, which might give us a ſufficient inſight into the hiſtory of *Greenland*. *Arngrim Jonas* ſpeaking of the epiſcopal reſidence, has theſe words, *Fundata in Bareum* (inſtead of *Gardum*) *epiſcopali reſidentia in ſinu Enotsfiord Greenlandiæ orientalis*. I am apt to believe the forementioned *Iver Boty* was no very nice hiſtorian, for he does not ſo much as tell us who were thoſe *Skreglingers*, againſt whom he was ſent; tho' it is very probable that they were the ancient inhabitants of the country, who liv'd beyond *Kindelfiord*. 'Tis true, our author affirms them to have been in poſſeſſion of the whole country of *Weſterburg*, which muſt be underſtood of ſome part only, the reſt being inhabited by the *Norwegians*, who perhaps having made an excurſion from *Kindelfiord*, were put to the rout by the ſavages; to revenge which the governor or judge (as they term him there) ſent ſome men and ſhips to chaſtiſe their inſolence. It is more than probable that theſe ſavages at the approach of the *Norwegians* left their habitations, and ſought for ſhelter among the rocks; which has queſtionleſs miſled our author, to affirm there were no men, but abundance of cattel to be found there. From whence it alſo appears, that *Greenland* was inhabited before the *Norwegians* got footing there, who defended their country againſt them. This is confirm'd by the *Iceland* chronicle, where it is ſaid, that all that part of *Greenland* which was poſſeſs'd by the *Norwegians*, was only accounted one third part of a biſhoprick, which are not very conſiderable in *Denmark*. The *Daniſh* chronicle is more poſitive upon this account, for it is expreſly ſaid there, that the *Norwegians* were not poſſeſs'd of above a hundredth part of *Greenland*, the reſt being inhabited by the natives, diſtinguſhed into ſeveral nations and principalities, whereof very few

No true hiſtory of Greenland.

few were known to the *Norwegians*.

The *Iceland* chronicle ſpeaks very differently concerning the fertility of the country. In ſome places it is ſaid, that the ſoil produces very good corn, and oak-trees bearing acorns as big as our apples; whereas in other places it is expreſſed that the ſoil of *Greenland* is barren by reaſon of the exceſſive cold, and that the inhabitants don't ſo much as know what bread is. The *Daniſh* hiſtory ſeems to agree with the laſt, when it relates of *Erick Red Hair*, that at his firſt landing he was forced to live upon fiſh, the ſoil not producing any thing for the ſuſtenance of human life; tho' at the ſame time it is to be obſerved, that the ſaid chronicle ſays in another place, that the poſterity of *Erick* being advanced deeper into the country, met with very fertile grounds, paſtures and freſh water-ſprings, which were not diſcovered in *Erick*'s time. What is alledged concerning the exceſſive cold is of no great moment, it being evident, that that part of *Greenland* inhabited by the *Norwegians* lies under the ſame elevation of the pole with *Upland* in *Swedeland*, where grows abundance of very good corn. And the ſame chronicle in a certain paſſage aſſures us, that it is not ſo cold in *Greenland* as in *Norway*, where alſo there grows corn; and not only that, but in ſome places they ſow and reap twice in a ſummer, which tho' it ſeems almoſt incredible, yet being confirm'd by perſons of unqueſtionable credit, can't be abſolutely rejected, eſpecially if we trace the true cauſe of it, which is, that theſe grounds being valleys encloſed within the rocks, the rays of the ſun reflecting from theſe mountains upon them during the three months of *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, have ſuch a powerful influence upon them, that in ſix weeks time they ſow and reap their corn; and theſe grounds being continually moiſtned by the melted ſnow, which is conveyed thither from the rocks, affords the countryman another harveſt at the end of the other ſix weeks.

Nature of the ſoil of the country.

Beaſts in Greenland.

It ſeems very probable that in *Greenland* as well as in other countries there are barren as well as fertile grounds; tho' at the ſame time it is unqueſtionable, that this country is full of rocks; and the *Iceland* chronicle ſays that it affords great ſtore of marble of all ſorts of colours: but this does not hinder but that the vallies afford good paſturage for horſes, deer, hares, and rain-deer, beſides wolves and bears. There are alſo martins to be found here, not inferior to ſome jabels, as alſo great ſtore of the beſt falcons, that were formerly in great eſteem among perſons of quality.

The ſea about *Greenland* affords ſome fiſh, ſuch as ſea-wolves, ſea-dogs, and ſea-calves; but eſpecially whales. I ſuppoſe the great white *Greenland* bears ought to be number'd among the amphibious creatures; for the black bears which are always aſhore never eat any fiſh, whereas the white ones are always to be ſeen upon the ice, and live upon fiſh; they exceed the black ones in bigneſs, and are more ſavage. The ſea-dogs and wolves are their beſt dainties, eſpecially the young ones, which the old ones caſt upon the ice, for fear of the whales; they being their enemies as well as they are to the bears, who for that reaſon are very cautious of venturing far to ſea, when the ice begins to melt; tho' it happens ſometimes that they are forced along with the great ice-ſhoals upon the coaſts of *Iceland* and *Norway*, when being enraged by hunger they tear in pieces all that they meet in their way; of which there are many inſtances in thoſe countries.

Monck *White bears, &c. in the* Greenland *ſea.*

Greenland likewiſe furniſhes us with thoſe horns which are called unicorns, of which there are ſeveral to be ſeen in *Denmark* entire, and many pieces, great and ſmall ones. Theſe do altogether reſemble thoſe horns which in other places are ſhewn for the true unicorn; and that which the king of *Denmark* keeps at *Frederiksburg*, exceeds that of St. *Denis* in *France* in bigneſs: they are accounted an excellent antidote, and are found on the head of a certain kind of whales: concerning which I think it not beyond our purpoſe, to inſert here a letter of a certain *Daniſh* gentleman, called Mr. *Wormen*, who had the reputation of a perſon of great learning.

Unicorns found in Greenland.

Being ſome years ago with my lord chancellor, I among other diſcourſes began to complain of the careleſneſs of *Daniſh* ſeamen and merchants, who all this while had not made the leaſt enquiry after the beaſt from which theſe horns were taken, and they have brought of late years into *Denmark*; and how unaccountable a thing it was, that they ſhould not bring ſome of their fleſh or ſkin, from whence judgment might be given of their nature and conſtitution. My lord chancellor reply'd, ſir, they are not ſo careleſs as you imagin, and thereupon ordered his ſervants to bring a large ſcull, on which was fix'd a piece of a horn of about four foot long. Being extremely glad to meet with ſuch a rarity, this made me deſire my lord to ſend it to my houſe, that I might make my ſpeculations upon it, at my own leiſure. The ſcull appear'd like that of a whale, with two holes or pipes, through which this creature evacuates the water which it has ſwallowed before; the horn (as it is call'd) being fix'd to the upper part of the left jaw-bone. I ſent for a painter, who in the

Account of them.

Monck the preſence of ſeveral of my friends, who were eye-witneſſes that it was drawn exactly after the original of it made a draught of it. I was at the ſame time credibly inform'd, that ſometime before, ſuch another fiſh had been brought into *Iceland*; which made me write to *Thorlac Scalonius*, the biſhop of that iſland, whom I had formerly known a ſtudent at *Copenhagen*, to ſend me an exact draught of it, which he did accordingly, and writ me word, that the ſaid fiſh was call'd by the *Icelanders*, *Narwall*, which implies as much as a *whale living upon dead carcaſes: Wall* ſignifying as much as a whale in their tongue, and *Nar* a dead carcaſe. Thus far Mr. *Wormen*.

Name of unicorn common to ſeveral creatures.

It is ſufficiently known that the name of unicorn is attributed to a beaſt call'd *Onik*, and likewiſe to the *Indian* aſs by *Ariſtotle*; and *Pliny* gives us a deſcription of a certain wild beaſt, whoſe head is like that of a deer, his body like that of a horſe, and his feet reſembling the elephant's feet, with a long horn in the forehead, very ſwift and ſtrong; which probably is the ſame creature, of which mention is made in the holy ſcripture in ſeveral places, but eſpecially by *Moſes*, who when he gives us an account of God's attributes, compares him to the unicorn, by reaſon of its vigour and cheerfulneſs: and it being evident out of ſeveral other paſſages of ſcripture, where this beaſt is deſcribed as a four-leg'd creature, that it ought to be number'd amongſt the terreſtrial creatures, we muſt conſequently ſuppoſe two kinds of unicorns, to wit, the land and the ſea unicorns; as there are ſea-wolves and ſea-calves. But it ſeems to be worth our enquiry, whether this horn of the whale may properly come under the denomination of a horn, it being evident from the preceding deſcription, that it reſembles rather a tooth, as being fix'd to the jaw-bone. *Arngrim Jonas* in his before-mentioned treatiſe, call'd *Specimen Iſlandicum*, ſpeaking of ſeveral things that were caſt aſhore, after a ſhip, in which was a *Greenland* biſhop, had been ſhipwreck'd upon the coaſt of *Norway* in the year 1126, ſays among other things, ſeveral whales teeth of great value were caſt aſhore, mark'd with *Daniſh* letters writ upon them with ſome glutinous matter, ſcarce to be effaced by the art of men. Theſe whales teeth are the ſame that are call'd unicorns; tho' in my opinion they ſhould rather be call'd teeth, they being fix'd to the jaw-bone, and not to the front of this creature, as has been mentioned in the preceding deſcription.

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They are however not inferior to thoſe horns, (both in reſpect of their ſhape and virtue) that are generally ſo much in requeſt among the phyſicians; and the *Danes* uſed in former ages to ſell them at a very high rate; and be always very cautious of diſcovering to the world, that theſe horns or teeth belonged to a ſea-fiſh, which is the reaſon they were taken for the true unicorn.

It is not many years ago that the *Greenland* company of *Copenhagen* ſent one of their factors into *Muſcovy* with a good cargo of theſe teeth; there being one among the reſt of a conſiderable bigneſs: it was offered to ſale to the great duke, who taking a fancy to it, offer'd a good ſum; but had the cunning to let it be firſt examined by his phyſicians, who all approv'd of it but one, who being more ſkilful than the others, aſſured the great duke that it was the tooth of a fiſh, and not the true unicorn. So that the factor miſſing his aim, was fain to return into *Denmark*, where the beſt excuſe he could make for himſelf was, to rail at the doctor who had ſpoil'd his market: But was anſwered by one of the company, that if he had not been a fool, he might have dazled the doctor's eyes by the means of two or three hundred ducats, ſo that he would not have been able to find out the difference. But it is time to return to *Greenland*.

Air of Greenland.

The *Iceland* chronicle ſays, that the air in *Greenland* is not altogether ſo ſharp as in *Norway*; that it ſnows leſs there, and the cold is not quite ſo violent; not but that it freezes there very hard, and is very tempeſtuous weather: but theſe happen not very frequently, and continue not long.

The *Daniſh* chronicle mentions a tempeſt as ſometimes extraordinary, which happened there in the year 1308, when a church in *Greenland*, call'd *Seal-holt*, was burnt down to the ground by the thunder and lightning, which was followed by ſuch a hurricane, as tore to pieces the points of ſeveral rocks, which threw out ſuch a vaſt quantity of aſhes, as covered all the circumjacent country, the inhabitants being in great fear of being buried under them.

The next following winter proved ſo exceſſive violent, that the ice did not melt all that year: which ſeems to intimate that there are ſulphureous burning mountains, as well in *Greenland* as in *Iceland*; of which the many hot ſprings in *Greenland*, which are intolerable hot in the winter, ſeem to be an evident proof.

Summer ſeaſon.

The ſummer air is very clear in *Greenland*, both day and night, tho' the laſt is no more than a *medium* between both, like our duſky part of the evening as long as the ſummer laſts; as in the winter the days are extremely ſhort, the reſt being night.

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The *Iceland* chronicle makes mention of a certain wonder of nature, which ought not to be paſt by in ſilence; This is a certain meteor of an oblong ſquare figure, which always appearing at the time of the new moon, gives a light no leſs than if it were full moon; and the darker the nights are, the more conſpicuous it is. It conſtantly keeps its courſe in the north, moves backward and forward, and leaves thick vapours behind it; neither does it ceaſe till the ſun riſes, its motion being ſo ſwift, as not to be imagin'd but by thoſe who have ſeen it: it is commonly call'd the *North Light*, and there are ſome who aſſure us, that in very clear weather it has been ſeen as far as in *Iceland*, nay in ſome parts of *Norway* itſelf. It is not improbable but that this meteor may be of the ſame nature with that which appear'd in the year 1621, on the 13th of *September* all over *France*; and was obſerv'd, among others, by that famous *French* philoſopher *Gaſſendus*, who ſtiles it *Auroram Borealem*, or the *northern morning-light*.

The *Daniſh* chronicle mentions, that in the year 1271, a prodigious quantity of ice, with white bears upon it, being forced upon the coaſt of *Iceland* by a ſtrong north-weſt wind, they began to be of opinion that *Greenland* extended much farther to the north than they had hitherto believed; which made the *Icelanders* ſend ſeveral ſhips that way, but met with nothing but ice. Since which time the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* have ſeveral times ſent their ſhips thither, but with no better ſucceſs.

Vain endeavours to diſcover the northern parts of Greenland.

The eagerneſs of diſcovering the north part of *Greenland*, was occaſioned by a certain opinion they had, that there was good ſtore of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones in thoſe parts; for the *Daniſh* chronicle ſays expreſly, that in former ages ſome ſhips brought great treaſures from thence; and that under the reign of *Olaus*, ſirnamed *The Holy*, king of *Norway*, ſome *Frieſlanders* attempting the diſcovery of the paſſage thither, were at laſt by tempeſt forced into a ſmall creek of the northern *Greenland*; where being gone aſhore, they ſaw not far from thence ſome miſerable huts, half under ground, and a great quantity of metallick ſtones, of which they took as many as they were able to carry. But whilſt they were making the beſt of their way to the ſea-ſide, they were ſet upon by the ſavages of the country, who ſallying out from their huts, armed with ſlings, bows and arrows, put them ſo hard to it, that they were glad to get aboard their ſhip again, with the loſs of one of their comerades, who having the misfortune of being taken by them, was torn in pieces in their ſight.

In the *Iceland* chronicle, there is among the reſt, a chapter under this following title, *The courſe taken by the ſhips from* Norway *into* Greenland. MONCK

What courſe the ſhips take from Norway *to* Greenland.

The true courſe to *Greenland* (as has been related by the *Greenlanders* themſelves, or elſe by ſuch as have often performed this voyage) is from *Northſtat* in *Sundmur* in *Norway* directly to the weſt towards *Horenſund*, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of *Iceland*. From *Schnekels Jokel*, a noted ſulphureous mountain in *Iceland*, to *Greenland*, is ſeven days voyage: the ſhorteſt courſe is the weſtern courſe; about half way you ſee *Gundeburn Skeer*. This was the true courſe taken by the antients, before the vaſt quantities of ice that were forced from the north, had render'd thoſe ſeas ſo dangerous, if not quite unpaſſable. Another paſſage in the ſame chronicle ſays thus: From *Langenes* in *Iceland*, which is the uttermoſt northern point of *Iceland*, to *Eaſterhorn*, are eighteen leagues; from thence to *Walſbrette*, is a voyage of twice four and twenty hours. It is certain that the voyages to *Greenland* have at all times been very dangerous, as is evident from the voyage of *Leif*, and of the biſhop *Arnold*, who ſuffer'd ſhipwrecks, and from the dangerous undertaking of the *Frieſlanders*. There is another chapter in the *Iceland* chronicle, under the following title; *An account of* Greenland, *taken out of an ancient treatiſe, called* Speculum regale.

Three monſters in the ſeas of Greenland.

Three very remarkable ſea-monſters (ſay they) were in former ages obſerved in the ſeas of *Greenland:* the firſt was called by the *Norwegians*, *Hafſtramb*, appearing in the ſhape of a man as far as the girdle, with the ſame eyes, noſe, and head; the laſt of which was ſomewhat ſharper on the top as the head of other men, with very broad ſhoulders, and two arms, but without hands. It never appear'd above water below the girdle; and being tranſparent like ice, it was always look'd upon as the forerunner of a violent tempeſt. The ſecond being called *Margugwer*, appear'd like a woman, with large breaſts, long hair, and fingers at the arms end, which were join'd together like geeſe-feet. This monſter has been ſeen to catch fiſh with its hands, and to devour them in an inſtant; this was likewiſe the forerunner of an imminent tempeſt: and if the monſter did turn its face towards the ſhip, they look'd upon it as a good omen, they ſhould eſcape the danger; but if it turn'd its back as it was going under water, they gave themſelves over for loſt. The third was, properly ſpeaking, nothing elſe but a whirlpool, occaſioned by the hurricanes and whirlwinds, which raiſing the waves to a moſt prodigious height, ſuch ſhips as

MONCK had the misfortune to fall in betwixt them, were commonly ſwallowed up in the bottomleſs abyſs of the ſea. The ſame treatiſe mentions that the ice-ſhoals ſometimes repreſent various figures of a dreadful aſpect, and adviſes thoſe who undertake the voyage to *Greenland*, to keep to the ſouthweſt, before they attempt to get aſhore; becauſe that oftentimes all the ſummer long there is a vaſt quantity of ice near the ſhore. It further gives this advice to thoſe who are got betwixt the ice, *viz.* to put all their proviſions in their chalops, which they may put upon the ice, and ſtay either till it melts; or, if they fail in that, they may draw them to the ſhore upon the ice.

Thus far reaches the hiſtory of the old *Greenland*, which is, in the *Daniſh* chronicle, ended with the year 1348, when an epidemical diſtemper ſwept moſt of the *Greenland* merchants and ſeamen away; ſince which time, the correſpondence with *Greenland* was firſt interrupted and quite ceaſed at laſt.

There is an antient manuſcript *Daniſh* chronicle, in which it is related, that about the year 1484, under the reign of king *John*, there were at *Bergen* in *Norway* about forty ſeamen left, who once a year ſail'd to *Greenland*, and brought ſeveral good commodities from thence; which they refuſing to ſell at a certain time to ſome *German* merchants, they were by them invited to ſupper, and all murder'd at once.

But this carries but little probability along with it, the *Greenland* voyages being too dangerous to be perform'd at ſo eaſy a rate, as is evident from what has been related before, and from what will be ſaid hereafter upon this head.

Revenue of Greenland. It is to be obſerved, that the revenue ariſing from *Greenland*, was allotted for the kings of *Norway*'s table; ſo that none were allow'd to ſail their without a paſs, under the forfeiture of there lives. It happen'd in the year 1389, when the ſtates of *Denmark* were aſſembled in *Finland*, under the reign of queen *Margaret* (who united the two kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway* under one head) where alſo a biſhop of *Greenland* was preſent; that ſeveral merchants and ſeamen were accuſed of having been in *Greenland* without licence; which being fully proved againſt them, they were in danger of having paid for it with their lives, if they had not unanimouſly declared that they were forced thither by a tempeſt; ſo that upon their oaths they were at laſt diſmiſſed, after they had ſuffered great hardſhip in priſon. But this ill treatment, which was followed by a ſevere proclamation, forbidding all her ſubjects to traffick in *Greenland* without ſpecial leave, had ſuch an influence upon the merchants and mariners, that they did ſeldom attempt it afterwards. Sometime after the queen equipped ſome ſhips at her own coſt and charge; which being ſent into *Greenland*, were never ſeen or heard of afterwards, being ſuppoſed to be loſt among the ice. This ſo terrified the reſt of the ſeamen who uſed to ſail thither, that they ſhewed but little inclination to venture on that voyage any more: and the queen being afterwards engaged in a war with *Sweden*, had more weighty affairs upon her hands, than to trouble her ſelf much about *Greenland*, which at laſt proved the occaſion of the total loſs of that country.

The ſame *Daniſh* chronicle further mentions, that in the year 1406, the then biſhop of *Druntheim* in *Norway*, called *Eſkild*, ſent one *Andrew* to *Greenland*, to ſucceed biſhop *Henry* in his function there, if he were dead; and if not, to bring him ſome tidings from thence; for ſince the ſaid biſhop had left the beforementioned aſſembly of the eſtates, they had not had the leaſt news from him. But queſtionleſs the ſame fate attended *Andrew* that had attended biſhop *Henry*, for neither of them was ever heard of afterwards, he being the laſt biſhop that was ſent from *Norway* into *Greenland*.

The *Daniſh* chronicle gives us a catalogue of all the kings who have reign'd ſince the death of queen *Margaret*, with an account of their endeavours for the recovery of *Greenland*; of which we will inſert the chief heads, foraſmuch as they will give us a true inſight into the reaſon of the loſs of *Greenland*, which was ſo much frequented in former ages.

Account of what endeavours have been us'd for the recovery of Greenland.

Erick duke of *Pomerania* ſucceeded queen *Margaret* in the throne; but being a foreigner, and conſequently not well verſed in the northern affairs, did not in the leaſt trouble himſelf about *Greenland*.

King *Chriſtopher* duke of *Bavaria* his ſucceſſor, bent all his thoughts againſt the *Hanſe Towns*, with whom he was engaged in war.

Among thoſe of the *Oldenburgh* line, which obtain'd the royal dignity in the year 1448, *Chriſtiern* I. ſpent his time in a pilgrimage to *Rome*, where he obtain'd from the emperor and the pope, the inveſtiture of the country of *Ditmarſen*, and a bull to erect an univerſity at *Copenhagen*.

Chriſtiern II. obliged himſelf by his coronation oath, to endeavour the recovery of *Greenland*; but inſtead of bringing new acquiſitions to the crown, he loſt both the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, being depoſed by his ſubjects; which is the reaſon he is always painted with a broken ſceptre.

Under his reign one *Erick Wackandor*, a brave *Daniſh* lord, was lord chancellor of *Denmark*;

Denmark; who being after his maſter's diſgrace conſtituted biſhop of *Druntheim* in *Norway*, bent all his thoughts on the recovery of *Greenland*. For which reaſon, he ſearch'd all the antient records, and adviſed with the oldeſt and ableſt mariners, who were ſuppoſed to have any knowledge of that country: but whilſt he was laying the foundation of this deſign, a quarrel aroſe betwixt him and another great lord in *Norway*, in the year 1524, who being too powerful for him, procured his baniſhment to *Rome*, where he died.

Frederick II. *Chriſtiern*'s uncle, being got into the poſſeſſion of the two kingdons of *Denmark* and *Norway*, was buſy in perſecuting thoſe whom he believ'd to have the leaſt kindneſs for *Chriſtiern*; which made him encourage the baniſhment of *Walckendor*, who was thereby diſabled from proſecuting his deſign of the recovery of *Greenland*.

Chriſtiern III. ſucceeded *Frederick* I. attempted the recovery of *Greenland*, but without ſucceſs, which made him recal the ſevere prohibition of going to *Greenland* without licence. But *Norway* being at that time reduced to great poverty, and not in a condition to undertake ſuch a deſign, this remedy proved likewiſe ineffectual.

King *Frederick* II. ſucceeded his father in the throne, and being willing to endeavour the recovery of *Greenland*, ſent one *Magnus Henningſon* to proſecute this deſign. If what is related in the chronicle may be taken for authentick, there muſt be ſome fatality which prevented the diſcovery of *Greenland* at that time: for this *Henningſon*, after he had been toſſed up and down at ſea by tempeſts for a long time, came at laſt in ſight of the ſhore; but, to his great amazement, found his ſhip to ſtop in the open ſea, where there was neither ice nor ſands: ſo that after he found all his endeavours of getting near the ſhore, to be in vain, he was forced to return to *Denmark*, where he gave an account to the king of what had befallen him, and laid the fault of his miſcarriage upon the magnet-ſtones, which he believed to be in prodigious quantities thereabouts, in the bottom of the ſea. If he had been acquainted with what is related concerning the fiſh *Remora*, he might perhaps have come off better. This happen'd in the year 1588.

Not many years before, *viz.* in the year 1577. *Martin Forbiſher* an *Engliſhman*, made the firſt diſcovery of that country, which is now called *New Greenland*; and becauſe his account contains many remarkable things concerning the inhabitants and their manners, we will give the reader ſome of the moſt material paſſages of it here.

MONCK

This *Martin Forbiſher* ſet ſail from *England* in the year 1577, to endeavour the diſcovery of *Greenland*, which he got ſight of at laſt; but by reaſon of the vaſt quantities of ice, and the approaching winter, not being able to reach the ſhore, was forced to return home, where he gave an account of his voyage to queen *Elizabeth*, who then ſway'd the ſceptre in *England*. *Forbiſher's voyage to Greenland.*

This great queen ſent him the next following ſpring, with three other ſhips, to purſue the former deſign, when he got ſafely to *Greenland*. But the inhabitants, at the approach of the *Engliſh*, leaving their huts, retir'd among the rocks, from whence ſeveral precipitated themſelves into the ſea. *Their habitations.*

The *Engliſh*, after they had in vain endeavoured to mollify theſe ſavages, went to their huts, which were tents made of the ſkins of ſea-calves and whales, fix'd to ſtrong poles, and ſew'd together with the ſinews of beaſts: they had an opening towards the ſouth and weſt, but were cloſely and very artificially join'd together to the eaſt and north, the better to defend themſelves againſt the coldneſs of thoſe winds. They met with no living creature there, except an old woman, with a child in her hand, which they took from her, and ſhe made a moſt miſerable outcry for the loſs of it.

From thence they ſail'd along the coaſt, where they ſaw a ſea-monſter's head above water, with a horn about three or four foot long. They landed again, and found the ſurface of the earth rocky, but very good grounds beneath it; they alſo met with great ſtore of gliſtering ſand like gold, of which they took three hundred tuns along with them.

They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to enter into diſcourſe with the ſavages, who ſeemingly ſhewed no great averſion to them, and gave them to underſtand, by certain ſigns, that if they would row up higher in the river, their expectation ſhould be anſwered: accordingly *Martin Forbiſher* got into a boat with ſome ſoldiers, and having ordered his ſhips to follow him, went up the river; and ſeeing a great number of the ſavages poſted among the rocks, he did not think fit to expoſe himſelf by approaching too near the banks. At laſt, three among them, who appear'd ſomewhat better than the reſt, having made a ſignal for him to land, he reſolved to do it, all the reſt being at a conſiderable diſtance; but his boat ſcarce touch'd the bank of the river, when the ſavages began to appear in great numbers, which made him ſoon chuſe the ſtream again. Nevertheleſs the ſavages endeavoured to perſuade them by ſigns to come aſhore, throwing to them ſome *Cunning of the ſavages.*

raw

Monck raw fleſh. But finding the *Engliſh* miſtruſtful, they reſolved to draw them thither by the following ſtratagem: they laid one of their men upon the bank, who pretending to be lame, they ſuppoſed the *Engliſh* would come to take him, whilſt they pretended to be retir'd at a further diſtance, being all out of ſight behind the adjacent rocks. But the *Engliſh* being aware of the ſnare, diſcharged a gun at him, which made him ſoon recover his legs; and the ſavages coming to his aid, pelted the *Engliſh* in the boat with ſtones and arrows, but were ſoon diſpers'd by their great guns.

Nature and conſtitution of the ſavages.

Theſe ſavages are very treacherous and barbarous, not to be mollified by fair words or preſents. They are ſtrong and well ſet, of an olive colour; their clothes being made of the ſkins of *ſea-calves*, ſew'd together with the ſinews of beaſts. The womens apparel is not different from that of the men, for they wear breeches, with many pockets in them, in which they carry their knives, needles, yarn and looking-glaſſes, which they either get from ſtrangers, or elſe are caſt aſhore by the ſea. Their faces are painted with blue, and ſome let their hair grow very long, hanging down over their ſhoulders untwiſted. Their ſhirts are made of fiſh-guts ſew'd together with ſinews, their garments looſe faſten'd about the middle with a girdle; they are naturally very naſty, and freely expoſe their privy members. All their riches conſiſt in their ſlings, bows, arrows, and boats. Their bows are very ſlender, and their arrows thin, tipp'd at the end with a pointed bow or horn; they manage them with great dexterity, and hit the fiſhes as they are ſwimming in the water.

Their apparel.

Their boats and ſhips.

Their boats are cover'd all over with the ſkins of ſea-calves, and fitted only for one ſingle perſon. Their larger veſſels are made of wood, and covered with the ſkins of whales, they are big enough to contain twenty men at a time: their ſails are made of the ſame materials with their ſhirts, and notwithſtanding there is not the leaſt iron-work about them, are ſo ſtrong, that the ſavages venture with them very deep at ſea.

No venomous creature here.

No venomous creature is to be found here unleſs they be ſpiders, and the nats are very buſy in the ſummer-time; they have no freſh ſprings, but this defect is ſupply'd by the melted ſnow. They have dogs of a prodigious bigneſs, which they uſe before their ſleds inſtead of horſes. But we muſt return to *Denmark*.

Among all the *Daniſh* kings, no body has been more zealous to promote the diſcovery of *Greenland* than king *Chriſtian* IV. for which purpoſe he ſent for an expert ſeaman out of *England*, who being acquainted with thoſe ſeas, he gave him three ſhips under the command of *Gotſke Lindenau*, a *Daniſh* gentleman. They ſet ſail from the *Sound* in the year 1605, in the ſummer, and continuing their courſe for ſome time together, the *Engliſhman* at laſt turn'd to the ſouth-weſt to avoid the ice, whilſt the admiral ſteer'd his courſe to the north-eaſt, and ſafely arriv'd in *Greenland*. He had no ſooner caſt anchor near the ſhoar, but the ſavages came with their boats all about his ſhip, and were welcom'd with ſome wine, which however they did not reliſh very well; but ſeeing ſome oil of whales, they begg'd ſome of it, which being given them, they drank it off very greedily. They had brought along with them good ſtore of ſkins of bears and ſea-calves, and ſeveral pieces of the unicorn, which they exchanged for needles, knives, looking-glaſſes, and ſuch other toys. They did not ſeem to put any value upon gold or ſilver, but were extremely fond of iron, for which they would exchange their bows, arrows, boats, oars, nay their ſhirts. The admiral *Gotſke Lindenau* tarried three days on this coaſt, but durſt not venture aſhoar. On the fourth day, being ready to ſet ſail again, he detain'd two of the ſavages who happen'd to be aboard of him, and were ſo outrageous that they were forc'd to bind them; the reſt ſeeing their companions in danger of being carried away, made a moſt horrible outcry, and ſhot at the *Danes* with their arrows, but were ſoon put to flight by the diſcharge of a cannon; after which the ſaid admiral return'd happily into *Denmark*.

King Chriſtian IV. endeavours the diſcovery of Greenland.

Seals.

The *Engliſhman* had in the mean while landed on the other ſide of *Greenland*, where he met with ſeveral good harbours and plenty of paſturage. The ſavages exchanged their commodities with him, as they had done with the admiral, but ſeem'd more miſtruſtful; for no ſooner had they got any thing from the *Danes*, but away they went in all haſte to their ſhips, as if they had ſtolen it. The *Danes* being deſirous to take a view of the country, went aſhoar well arm'd, and met with good grounds, but rocky like *Norway*. The ſmell of ſulphurous vapours, which was not a little offenſive to their noſtrils, ſeem'd to intimate that there were ſulphureous mountains not far from thence. They found alſo a certain ſilver oar, of which they carried a certain quantity into *Denmark*, a hundred weight of which yields about twenty ounces of ſilver. As they were returning to their ſhip, they took four ſavages, one of whom was ſo refractory, that they were forc'd to knock him down with the but-end of their muſquets, which frighted the others into a more pliable

able temper. But the ſavages having taken the alarm, purſued the *Danes* to relieve their companions, and had found means to cut off their paſſage to the ſhip; but by the help of their fire-arms, and the great canons from the ſhip, they ſoon cleared their way, and got ſafely aboard with the other three ſavages, whom after their return into *Denmark*, they preſented to the king; they were found better proportion'd, and more civiliz'd than thoſe that were brought over by *Lindenau*, from whom they likewiſe differ'd as well in their manners and languages, as in their apparel.

The king being very well ſatisfied with what progreſs they had made in this voyage, did order the before-mentioned *Lindenau* in the year 1506, to go with five ſhips a ſecond time to *Greenland*. They ſet ſail from *Denmark* on the 8th of *May*, taking along with them the ſame three ſavages that were brought from *Davis's Straits* by the before-named *Engliſhman*, they being to ſerve for interpreters; at which they ſeem'd exceedingly pleaſed, yet one of them died by the way. *Lindenau* taking the ſame courſe the *Engliſhman* had done, arriv'd on the third day of *Auguſt* with four ſhips in *Greenland*, the fifth being ſeparated from them by ſtorm. The ſavages appear'd in great numbers near the ſea-ſide, but were as miſtruſtful of the *Danes* as they were of them, which made them ſail in queſt of another harbour, which they reach'd ſoon after, but found the ſavages of the ſame temper with the others, appearing in a poſture to fight them if they ſhould attempt to land. The *Danes*, who by reaſon of the vaſt number of the ſavages, thought themſelves no equal match for them, ſail'd along the coaſt; and the ſavages would follow them at ſome little diſtance in their boats, of whom they took ſix, and then carried them together with their boats and oars aboard their ſhips.

Foolhardineſs of a Dane.

One day as they were riding at anchor in a certain ſmall bay, the admiral *Lindenau*'s gentleman being a reſolute fellow, very earneſtly deſir'd his maſter to give him leave to go aſhoar, to try whether he could treat with the ſavages; or, if that would not do, he did not queſtion to make his way back again: which being granted, at laſt he went aſhoar, but had ſcarce walk'd a few paces, when the ſavages falling upon him, cut him to pieces in an inſtant. Their knives and cutlaſſes are made of unicorn, ſo ſharp edg'd, by whetting them againſt ſtones, that they cut as well as if they were made of the beſt ſteel. *Lindenau* finding but little hopes of ſucceeding in his enterprize, returned to *Denmark*; and one of the ſavages, being not able to brook his captivity, drown'd himſelf. In his return he met with the ſame ſhip that was ſeparated from them before by ſtreſs of weather; but another ſtorm ariſing ſoon after, they were again diſperſed, and did not meet again till near a month after, when they purſued their voyage to *Denmark*, and arriv'd at *Copenhagen* on the fifth day of *October*, after a ſecond dangerous and troubleſome voyage. MONCK

The ſame king ſent a third time two ſtout ſhips to *Greenland*, under the command of *Carſten Richartſon*, a *Holſteiner*, who having aboard ſome of the moſt experienced mariners of *Norway* and *Iceland*, ſet ſail from the *Sound* on the 13th day of *May*, and got ſight of *Greenland* on the 8th of *June*, but could not approach the ſhoar by reaſon of the ice, which lay heap'd up like mountains, ſome leagues deep at ſea; for it is to be obſerved, that there are ſome years when the ice continues all the ſummer long without being melted: which obliged the *Holſteiner*, who had been ſeparated from the other ſhip, and was afraid of being intangled in the ice paſt retreating, to return to *Denmark*, where he, notwithſtanding his miſcarriage, was well received by the king.

The ſavages which were taken and brought into *Denmark* in the two firſt voyages, had liberty to walk about where they pleaſed, under the guard of ſome waiters. They liv'd upon milk, cheeſe, butter, raw fleſh and fiſh, according to their own cuſtom, being averſe to bread and boil'd meat, but much more to wine; the oil of whales being their beloved liquor. They would frequently turn their faces to the north, and fetch a heavy ſigh. One time their waiters being careleſs in obſerving them, ſome of theſe ſavages got to their little boats, and without more ado put to ſea, but by a ſtrong wind were forced twelve leagues beyond the *Sound*, aſhoar in *Schonen*, where being taken by the country people, they were ſent back to *Copenhagen*. This ſerv'd as a warning to their waiters to be better upon their guard for the future: but they pined themſelves at laſt to death one after another.

At a certain time, when a *Spaniſh* embaſſador was ſent into *Denmark*, there being five of thoſe ſavages as yet living, the king ordered that for the diverſion of the embaſſador they ſhould row upon the ſea in their little boats; theſe boats were ſhap'd not unlike a weaver's ſhuttle, being about ten or twelve foot long: they are made of whale-bones of an inch thick, join'd together by the help of the ſinews of beaſts, and cover'd all over with the ſkins of whales: there is in the middle a hole big enough for one man to put his body in. Thus they go to ſea putting their legs underneath;

MONCK derneath; and if any ſpace be left round their body, they ſtop it up with their jackets, which are made of the ſkin of *ſea-calves*, and that ſo tightly that no water can enter; which done, they are proof againſt all ſtorms and tempeſts beyond what may be expected from ſhips of a conſiderable bulk; for tho' they are oftentimes turn'd topſy-turvy, they always turn again upright. They make uſe only of one oar, which they manage with the ſame dexterity as the rope-dancers do their poles, to keep an even ballance; and with this they row ſo ſwiftly, that (as it was tried at the ſame time) they could keep pace with a boat with ſixteen oars.

Seals.

The ambaſſador extremely well ſatisfied with this ſpectacle, gave each of them a very good preſent, wherewith they bought themſelves clothes made after the *German* faſhion, and other accoutrements, ſuch as boots, ſpurs and feathers, and afterwards offer'd to ſerve the king on horſeback. But this gay humour was of no long continuance, for the deſire of returning to their native country being ſoon reviv'd, two of thoſe who had once before ventured to make their eſcape at ſea, and conſequently were not in the leaſt miſtruſted of attempting ſo dangerous an undertaking a ſecond time, did once more attempt to reach *Greenland* in their boats. They were purſued with all imaginable ſpeed, but one was only overtaken, the other being queſtionleſs ſwallowed up in the waves. It was obſervable in him who eſcaped, that whenever he ſaw a woman with a child in her arms he uſed to fetch a deep ſigh, which made the *Danes* believe that he had left a wife and children behind. The reſt were more narrowly watch'd, which ſerv'd only to increaſe their melancholy, of which they died one after another.

There remain'd however at laſt two alive, who lived near twelve years after all the reſt of their companions were dead: they were cheriſh'd with all the fair promiſes imaginable, which ſeem'd to be ſome comfort to them; but they could never be brought to the true underſtanding of the Chriſtian faith, being quite ignorant of the *Daniſh* tongue. They were ſometimes obſerv'd to lift up their eyes towards heaven, and to adore the riſing-ſun. One of them died whilſt he was employ'd in pearl-fiſhing at *Coldingen*. For it is to be obſerved that the muſcles thereabouts contain generally ſome pearl-duſt, and among them are ſometimes found pearls of a good bigneſs. This *Greenlander* having given them to underſtand one day, that he was very dexterous at fiſhing of pearls, the governor of *Coldingen* took him along with him to make uſe of him upon that account, which the ſavage perform'd with ſo much dexterity, that he ſeldom return'd without ſome good pearls. The governor, who was very avaricious, being over eager after ſuch a booty, would not ſtay till the next ſpring; but forcing the poor ſavage to dive in the midſt of winter under the ice, no otherwiſe than if he had been a ſpaniel dog, he fell ill and died. His comrade remaining now alone inconſolable for the death of his companion, found means the next ſpring to get to ſea in his little boat unperceiv'd by any body; he was however purſued with all ſpeed, but having the ſtart of them, was got thirty leagues out at ſea before he could be retaken. They gave him to underſtand by certain ſigns, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have reach'd *Greenland*, but that he muſt have periſh'd among the waves; at which he made certain ſigns to ſhew that he intended to have run along the coaſt of *Norway* to a certain height, from whence he would have croſs'd the ſeas, taking his directions by the ſtars. He was brought back to *Copenhagen*, where he died ſoon after with melancholy.

Stature of the Greenlanders.

This was the end of theſe unfortunate *Greenlanders*, who approach'd in ſtature to the *Laplanders*, being well ſet, but ſhort, of a ſwarthy colour, with flat noſes and thick lips. Their boats, apparel, and other implements are to be ſeen to this day at *Copenhagen*, as alſo a *Greenland* almanack, compoſed of twenty eight or thirty ſmall ſticks faſtened to a leather ſtring, by which they uſed to diſtinguiſh their time.

Since that time the king of *Denmark* did not think fit to ſend any more ſhips at his own charge to *Greenland:* But ſome merchants of *Copenhagen* being join'd in a company (in which ſeveral perſons of quality had likewiſe a ſhare) called the *Greenland Company*; they ſent in the year 1636, two ſhips to *Davis's Straits*, where they were no ſooner come to an anchor, but eight ſavages came in their little boats aboard of them. Whilſt they were buſy in laying out their *ſea-calves* and fur-ſkins, and ſeveral pieces of unicorn, in order to exchange them with the *Danes* for needles, knives and looking-glaſſes, it happen'd accidentally that a gun was diſcharged aboard the ſhip, which put the ſavages into ſuch a fear, that they all leapt over-board under water, and did not ſo much as put out their heads again till they were at leaſt two hundred paces diſtant from the ſhip; but being given to underſtand by certain ſigns that they intended them no harm, they returned, and continued to traffick as before.

Seals.

Their

How they traffick. Their manner of dealing is thus: they chooſe among the *European* commodities what they like beſt, which being laid on one ſide, they lay down as much of theirs as they think fit to give in exchange, and this is continued thus till both parties are agreed. They ſaw at the ſame time a dead fiſh upon the ſhoar, with a horn or rather tooth on one ſide of his head, which the ſavages had broken in pieces, and ſold to the *Danes*. This fiſh is of a prodigious ſtrength, and a declared enemy of the whales, juſt as the *Rhinoceros* is to the *Elephant* among the terreſtrial creatures; for if he meets the whale, he ſtrikes his horn into his ſides as deep as it will reach. Some aſſure us, that it ſometimes runs with ſuch a force againſt the ſhips, that thereby they become leeky.

How the Danes *were deceived in their expectation.* But the intention of the *Danes* was not ſo much to exchange there commodities with them, as to take a full view of the country; and the mate of one of the ſhips having taken notice near a certain river where he landed, that the ſand reſembled both in weight and colour true gold ſand, loaded his whole ſhip with it, and with great joy return'd ſtraitways to *Denmark*, telling his ſhip's crew as they were under ſail, that now they were all rich enough. The lord high ſteward of *Denmark*, who had a conſiderable ſhare in the ſhip, being ſurprized at the ſudden return of this ſhip, the mate told him how he was freighted with gold, which made the lord high ſteward ſend ſome quantity of it to the goldſmiths of *Copenhagen*, to try whether they could bring any quantity out of it; but theſe being not able to produce one grain from this ſand, he was ſo much exaſperated at this diſappointment, that he immediately commanded the mate to go out to ſea, and to throw his pretended goldſand into the bottom of it, without ſpeaking one word more of it to any body. The poor mate was forced to obey, but with ſo much reluctancy, that finding himſelf diſappointed in the hopes of his ſuppoſed treaſure, he died ſoon after for grief. Neither was it long before the lord high ſteward repented himſelf for his raſhneſs; for ſome ſand altogether reſembling this was found in the mines of *Norway*, from whence ſeveral perſons who were well verſed in the ſeparation of metallick bodies, drew a pretty quantity of very good gold, which the unexperienced goldſmiths of *Copenhagen* would not have done in this any more than in the before-mentioned ſand.

A piece of unicorn valued at 6000 *crowns.* In this voyage it was they brought that before-mentioned piece of the unicorn from *Greenland*, which was to have been ſold to the great duke of *Muſcovy*; it is ſtill to be ſeen at *Copenhagen*, and valued at ſix thouſand crowns. The *Danes* had likewiſe taken two ſavages, whom they tied to the maſts till they were a great way at ſea, when they were untied again; but they no ſooner found themſelves at liberty, but leap'd into the ſea, in hopes, as may be ſuppoſed, to reach the ſhore by ſwimming, which was impoſſible for them to do by reaſon of the great diſtance from thence.

This is all I have been able to meet with concerning the *old* and *new Greenland*; of the *old Greenland* formerly inhabited by the *Norwegians*; of the *new Greenland*, diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, as they went in ſearch after the *old Greenland*. It is moſt probable that the ice from the north-weſt has quite ſtopt up that paſſage betwixt *Iceland* and *Greenland*, and that whilſt the mariners were endeavouring to make their way through this paſſage, they were drove upon the *Cape Farewel* and *Davis's Straits*, or rather *Gulph*, and ſo diſcovered that part of the country which now is ſtiled *new Greenland*.

It is evident out of the *Iceland* chronicle, that betwixt *Iceland* and the *old Greenland* there were ſeveral iſlands and rocks; as for inſtance, that which they call'd *Gundebior Scheer*, which ſtrengthens our opinion; it being eaſy to imagine that the ice might with leſs difficulty be heap'd betwixt thoſe iſlands; which being of ſuch a thickneſs as not to be melted by the beams of the ſun, has render'd the ſea betwixt *Iceland* and *Greenland* quite impaſſible, ſo that 'tis impoſſible to give an account of the poſterity of the ancient *Norwegians* who ſettled there; perhaps they bore their ſhare in the plague which raged ſo furiouſly in *Norway* in the year 1348. and almoſt depopulated that kingdom. It is not altogether improbable but that *Gotske Lindenau*, who in his firſt voyage ſteer'd his courſe to the north-eaſt, may have caſt anchor near *Old Greenland*, and that perhaps theſe two ſavages were deſcended from the ancient *Norwegians*; but tho' they differ'd from the other ſavages that were brought over from *Davis's Straits* both in manners and language, yet had theirs not the leaſt affinity with the *Daniſh* or *Norway* tongues: The *Daniſh* chronicle tells us, that the three ſavages brought over by the *Engliſhman* did talk ſo ſwiftly, that it was impoſſible for any body to diſtinguiſh one word from another, unleſs it were the two words *Oka indecha*, the meaning of which no body underſtood. Thus much is unqueſtionable, that what was call'd *Old Greenland*, was no more than a ſmall point of the northern part of *Greenland*, *viz.* where it lay neareſt to *Iceland*, and that the antient *Norwegians* durſt not venture very far

Monck far into the country, no more than thoſe who have ſince diſcover'd the *New Greenland*. The *Danes* in their before-mention'd voyage to *Greenland*, in the year 1636. did by certain ſigns enquire of the ſavages, whether there were any conſiderable number of inhabitants in the inland countries there; upon which the ſavages gave them to underſtand by ſigns, that their were as many people there as they had hairs upon their heads, that they were very tall, arm'd with large bows and arrows, wherewith they kill'd every thing they met in their way. From whence we may draw this concluſion, that neither theſe people nor their country, no more than the *Old Greenland*, are in the leaſt known to us at this time.

A particular Account of the Voyage performed by Capt. Monck.

Chriſtiern IV. king of *Denmark* being deſirous to find out a paſſage betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, to facilitate the voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, did order one capt. *Monck*, a perſon of great bravery, to ſail with two ſtout ſhips to the *Straits*, which were not many years before diſcover'd by one Mr. *Hudſon* an *Engliſhman*.

This Mr. *Hudſon* having been ſeveral times before on the northern coaſts, was at laſt prevail'd upon by ſome *Engliſh* merchants to try his fortune, whether he could find out a paſſage betwixt *Greenland* and *America* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; accordingly he ſet ſail from *England* with one ſhip only in the year 1610. and paſſing along the coaſt of *Greenland* was, what with the fogs and what with ſtorms, forc'd into a ſtrait paſſage, which at laſt brought him into an open ſea; which made him begin to conceive certain hopes that he had been ſo fortunate as to be the diſcoverer of the ſaid paſſage. But after he had for a conſiderable time cruiſed up and down this ſea, without being able to diſcover the deſired paſſage, he reſolv'd (contrary to the opinion of the reſt) to paſs the winter thereabouts, tho' he was not ſufficiently ſtor'd with proviſions for ſo long a time: and they muſt infallibly have periſhed for want of food, if they had not met with ſeveral ſorts of birds, and among the reſt with white partridges, of whom they catch'd above a hundred dozen; and theſe leaving that part of the country towards the ſpring, they were in their ſtead ſupplied with ſwans, ducks, geeſe, and other ſuch like water-fowl, which were eaſily catch'd. Beſides they met with a certain tree there of a moſt miraculous nature, its leaves being green inclining to yellow, had a ſtrong taſte of ſpice, and being boil'd afforded a balſamick oil; the decoction itſelf being a preſent remedy againſt the ſcurvy, the ſciatica, and other diſtempers occaſioned by cold and viſcous humours. The approaching ſpring furniſh'd them with ſuch ſtore of fiſh, as would be ſufficient to freight their whole ſhip, if Mr. *Hudſon* had not been more intent upon his intended diſcovery than any thing elſe, which however being not able to effect, he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of bending his courſe back to *England*. In the mean while there happen'd a mutiny againſt the captain, carried on by one *Green* his clerk, who being educated by him, but by reaſon of his miſbehaviour threatned as well as ſome others of the ſhip's crew who had been wanting in their duty, and dreaded the puniſhment, did force his cabin, from whence they took him and his ſon, and putting them with ſeven more in a chalop, committed them to the mercy of the ſea. In this place I cannot paſs by in ſilence the generoſity of one *Philip Staf*, who being a carpenter and a good ſeaman, would not ſtay behind with thoſe villains, tho' they preſs'd him earneſtly to it, but rather choſe to go along with his captain in the chalop than to tarry among thoſe perfidious wretches. What is become of them is unknown, tho' it be probable that they either periſhed for want of food, or elſe were murdered by the ſavages. The ſame fate attended the ring-leaders of this mutiny, who were ſlain by the ſavages; the reſt arrived not till the following year 1611, on the 6th day of *September* in *England*, after they are ſuffered to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, being forced to live upon graſs, and the ſkins of birds, the fleſh whereof they had eaten long before.

But we muſt return to capt. *Monck*, who ſet ſail from the *Sound* with two ſhips, one man'd with forty eight men, the other with ſixteen, on the 16th day of *May* in the year 1619: He arrived on the 20th of *June* near *Cape Farewell*, being very rocky, cover'd with ice and ſnow, and ſituate under 62½ degree. From thence ſteering his courſe to the north-weſt towards *Hudſon's Straits*, he was much incommoded by the ice, which however did him no conſiderable damage, he having ſea-room enough. Among other accidents that befel him, it froze ſo violently on the 18th of *June* at night, and the winds blew ſo hard and cold, that his ſails were render'd uſeleſs by reaſon of the ice that adhered to them; yet the next following day proved ſo exceſſive

ceſſive hot in the afternoon, that they were forced to lay by their clothes, and to go in their ſhirts only.

Chriſtiern's *ſtraits.*

He did not arrive at *Hudſon*'s *Straits* till the 17th of *July*, which he call'd after the king of *Denmark*, *Chriſtiern*'s *Straits*. His firſt landing was in an iſland, directly oppoſite to *Greenland*; and having ſent ſome of his people to take a view of the country, they found no men, but by their footſteps were convinced there were ſome in this iſland. The next following day they ſaw ſome of the ſavages, who ſeeming to be ſurprized at the ſight of the *Danes*, hid their arms behind a great ſtone-heap, and then advanced toward them in a friendly poſture, but kept continually a watchful eye upon their arms, for fear the *Danes* ſhould come too near them. Notwithſtanding which they found means to get betwixt them and their arms, which they ſeized. The ſavages ſeem'd to be exceedingly troubled at this loſs, and in an humble poſture begg'd the *Danes* to have them reſtored, without which they were not able to ſubſiſt, hunting being their only livelihood. They offered to exchange their clothes for them, which moved the *Danes* at laſt to compaſſion; ſo that they not only gave them back their arms, but alſo preſented them with ſeveral toys, which they received very thankfully, and in lieu of them brought the *Danes* ſeveral ſorts of fowl and fiſh. One among them having got a ſmall looking-glaſs, and ſeeing himſelf in it, was ſo overjoyed, that he put it into his boſom, and did run away as faſt as his legs could carry him. The *Danes* laugh'd heartily at his ſimplicity; but what diverted them more than all the reſt was, that they perceived ſome of theſe ſavages to make their courtſhip, after their way, to one of their ſhip's crew, who having long black hair, and being of a ſwarthy complexion, with a flattiſh noſe, they took him for one of their countrymen, who perhaps had been carried away from *Greenland* ſome time before; which often furniſhed them afterwards with matter of laughter, ſo that the poor fellow was always jeer'd as long as the voyage laſted.

On the 19th of the ſame month capt. *Monck* ordered the ſails to be hoiſted up in order to leave this iſland, but was forced to return into the ſame harbour by reaſon of the ice, which obſtructed his paſſage. In the mean while they left no ſtone unturned to find out ſome of the inhabitants, but in vain; they found ſome nets ſpread near the ſea-ſhore, on which they hung knives, looking glaſſes, and other ſuch like toys, in hopes to allure them to the ſea-ſide; but no body appear'd, whether out of fear of the *Danes*, or becauſe they were commanded to the contrary by their ſuperiors, is uncertain. Capt. *Monck* being diſappointed in his hopes of meeting with the inhabitants, ordered a wild rain-deer to be ſhot, of which there were great numbers there; wherefore he gave the name of *Reenſund* to the iſland, and to the harbour that of the *Monckepes* being ſituated under the 64 degr. and 20 min. and after he had planted the *Daniſh* arms there, he once more left the ſaid iſland on the 22d of *July*, but met with ſuch bad weather, and ſo many vaſt ice-ſhoals at ſea, that on the 28th of the ſame month he was forced to ſeek for ſhelter betwixt two iſlands, near one of which he came to an anchor: but finding it unſafe to continue thus, he brought his ſhips as near the ſhore as poſſible he could, ſo that at low water they lay upon the ſand; and the high tide carried ſuch a prodigious quantity of ice to the ſhore, that they were in no ſmall danger, if by their induſtry they had not prevented it. There was a great ice-ſhoal, near fifty foot thick, which being looſened by the violence of the ſea, carried all before it, and among the reſt their chalops which narrowly eſcaped ſinking.

Monck

Reenſund, *from whence ſo named.*

Aſhore they ſaw ſeveral footſteps of men, a ſign that the place was not deſtitute of inhabitants; but whatever care they took, they could not get ſight of any. They alſo found there ſome mineral ſtones, and very good talck, of which they carried off ſeveral tun-weight. There were ſeveral other ſmall iſlands thereabouts, but the ſea did run ſo high near the ſhore, that the *Danes* durſt not venture to land. Theſe iſlands are ſituate under 62 degrees, 20 min. about fifty leagues within *Hudſon*'s, or as *Monck* calls it, *Chriſtian*'s *Straits*. The bay where he came to an anchor, he called *Hareford*, from the great number of hares they meet with there. He again ſet up the arms of *Denmark*, and the initial letter of his royal maſter, *viz.* C. IV ſignifying *Chriſtian* IV.

On the 9th of *Auguſt* he ſet ſail again from this place with a north-weſt wind, ſteering his courſe weſt ſouth-weſt, and on the 10th came to the ſouth of the ſtraits of *America*, and caſt his anchor near a large iſland, unto which he gave the name of *Snow-Iſland*, becauſe it was all covered with ſnow.

On the 20th of *Auguſt* he directed his courſe to the north-weſt, being then (as his own diary teſtifies) exactly under the elevation of 62 degr. 20 min. but there fell ſo much ſnow, and the wind did blow ſo violently that they could ſee no land, tho' the ſtraits were not above ſixteen leagues over thereabouts, which ſhews, that they

Monck are broader in ſome other places. After having paſt theſe ſtraits, he got into *Hudſon*'s ſea, which he furniſhed with another name, or rather gave it two names inſtead of one. For that part of it which waſhes the *American* ſhore he called *Mare novum*, or the *New Sea*. To the other part which extends to *Greenland* (if it be really *Greenland*) he gave the name of *Mare Chriſtianum*, or *Chriſtian*'s *Sea:* He continued his courſe weſt north-weſt till he came to 63 degrees, 20 min. when finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the ice, he reſolved to paſs the winter there; the harbour he called *Monck*'s *Winter Harbour*, and the country *New Denmark*. In his relation he makes only mention of two iſlands in the *Chriſtian Sea*, which he ſtiles the two ſiſters; and in the *New Sea*, but one called *Dichles Oeland*. He adviſes thoſe who undertake the voyage through theſe ſtraits, to keep as much as poſſibly they can in the middle, to avoid being carried away by the ſtormy tides, and the great ice-ſhoals which are of ſuch a thickneſs there, that if a ſhip happen to get betwixt them, it ſeldom eſcapes. He ſays that it flows exactly five hours in the *Chriſtian Sea*, the tide being regulated by the moon.

On the 7th of *September* capt. *Monck* caſt anchor there, and after his people had refreſhed themſelves for ſome days, he ordered them to bring the ſhips into a little creek, where they were ſheltered againſt the violence of the winds and ice. The next thing they had to do was to provide themſelves good huts againſt the approaching winter-ſeaſon. This harbour lay near the entrance of a river, which was not frozen up in *October*, tho' the ſea was full of ice all round about.

On the 7th day of the ſame month, capt. *Monck* had a mind to go up the river in a boat, but could not go further than about a league and a half, by reaſon of the cataracts, or rocky water-falls that oppoſed his paſſage. He then marched with ſome of his men about four leagues deep into the country, to ſee whether he could meet with any of the inhabitants; but no body appearing, he reſolved to return another way. Here he met with a certain ſtone raiſed above the ground, upon which was painted an image reſembling the devil, with claws and horns; near this ſtone was a place of about eight foot ſquare, encloſed with leſſer ſtones. On one ſide of this encloſure there lay a heap of ſmall flat ſtones, intermixt with moſs of trees; on the oppoſite ſide was a large flat ſtone laid upon two others in the ſhape of an altar, upon which they found three coals laid acroſs. They ſaw ſeveral more of thoſe altars, as they were walking about, and ſome footſteps of men near each of them; tho' they did not come in ſight at that time. It is very likely that the inhabitants uſed to ſacrifice upon thoſe altars, either with fire, or perhaps offer their ſacrifices to the fire it ſelf; for round about them they ſaw abundance of bones, which probably were the bones of the ſacrificed beaſts, whoſe fleſh the ſavages had devoured raw, according to their cuſtom. They met alſo with many trees, cut down to the roots with iron inſtruments; and with dogs that were muzled. But what moſt confirmed them in their opinion, that this iſle was not deſtitute of inhabitants, was, that in many places they could diſcover the holes where they had fixed the poles belonging to their tents, and found many pieces of ſkins of bears, wolves, dogs and ſea-calves, wherewith they uſed to cover them; which ſeemed to intimate, that the inhabitants here did lead a vagabond life like the *Tartars* and *Lapponians*.

The Danes provide againſt the winter.

After the *Danes* had planted their huts, they cut good ſtore of wood to be laid up for the winter, and killed abundance of wild fowl. Captain *Monck* kill'd a white bear with his own hands, which they eat; and he ſays expreſly, that it agreed very well with them. They catched abundance of hares, partridges, and other fowl, beſides four black foxes, and ſome ſables.

On the 27th of *November* there appeared three ſuns to them, and on the next following 24th of *January* two. On the 10th of *December* old ſtile, there happened an eclipſe of the moon, which they ſaw about eight a clock at night; after which they ſaw the ſame night the moon ſurrounded with a very bright circle, through the middle of which was a croſs, which divided the moon in two. This ſeemed to be the forerunner of thoſe evils which theſe poor wretches were to ſuffer hereafter, as will appear out of the following account.

The cold began to encreaſe with the winter-ſeaſon, to ſuch a degree, that they ſaw ice of three hundred, nay three hundred and ſixty foot thick: no beer, no wine, or brandy was ſtrong enough to be proof againſt it, but froze to the bottom, and the veſſels ſplit in pieces; ſo that they cut the frozen liquor with hatchets, and melted it before the fire, before they could drink it. If they happened to leave any quantity of water in their copper or tin veſſels, they found them all in pieces the next morning: Neither were the poor *Danes* able to reſiſt ſo exceſſive a froſt, which maſtered the metals, for they all fell ſick, and their ſickneſſes encreaſed with the cold; they were generally ſeized with a griping looſeneſs, which did not leave them

them till it put an end to their days. Thus they dropt away one after another, ſo that about the beginning of *March* the captain was fain to do duty as a centry, for want of others. The worſt was, that the ſpring did augment their diſtemper, for their teeth were ready to fall out, and their gums ſwelled to that degree, that they could not take any other nouriſhment but bread ſoaked in water. The poor remnants of theſe unfortunate wretches were in the next following *May* ſeized with another looſeneſs, with ſuch violent pricking pains in their limbs, as made them look like meer ſhadows; their arms and legs being quite lame, and full of blew ſpots, as if they had been beaten; being a diſtemper not unknown to ſeamen, by whom it is commonly called the ſcurvey. So many of them died, that there were not enough left to bury them, the reſt being likewiſe ſick and very weak: and to compleat their miſery they began to want bread, inſtead of which they made uſe of raſberrys which they diged out from under the ſnow, which ſupplied the defect of bread; but they were fain to eat them as ſoon as they were taken from under the ſnow, where they kept freſh, but ſoon grew uſeleſs afterwards.

On the 12th day of *April* it rained the firſt time after ſeven months; and towards the end of *May* there appeared again all ſorts of fowl, ſuch as wild geeſe and ducks, ſwans, ſwallows, partridges, ravens, ſnipes, faulcons, and eagles, but they were too weak to catch them.

On the 4th of *June* captain *Monck* himſelf fell down ſo dangerouſly ill, that he did take no food for four days together; and expecting nothing elſe but preſent death, he made his laſt will, in which he deſired thoſe that might by chance come to this place to bury his corps, and to ſend the diary of his voyage to the king of *Denmark*. After four days were paſt he began however to recover a little, and with much ado got out of his hut, to ſee whether there were any of his ſhip's crew left alive, of whom he found no more than two of ſixty four perſons he brought along with him. Theſe two being overjoyed to ſee their captain in a condition to ſtir abroad, took him in their arms, and carried him to a fire, to refreſh his ſpirits. They now began to encourage one another, promiſing to ſtand by one another to the laſt gaſp. They digg'd every where among the ſnow, till at laſt they met with a certain root, which being both reſtorative and food to them, they were reſtored in few days. The ice began now to melt apace, ſo that on the 18th of *June* they catch'd ſome ſalmon, and othe fiſh, which with what exerciſe they uſed in hunting, ſo ſtrengthned them in a little time, that they reſolved to return to *Denmark*. MONCK

The ſummer ſeaſon approaching, they were extremely peſter'd with gnats, which made them haſten their departure; ſo that on the 16th of *July* they went aboard their leſſer ſhip (leaving the biggeſt behind) and ſteer'd their courſe towards *Monck*'s harbour; they were much incommoded by the ice, and loſt their boat and rudder. Whilſt they were buſy in making a new one, they faſtened their ſhip to an ice-rock; which being looſened by the tide, their ſhip was carried away with it; but the ice being melted ſoon after, they got clear again, and met with their boat which they had loſt ten days before. It was not long before they got faſt within the ice once more; but the weather changing almoſt every day, they were ſoon releaſed again. Having at laſt repaſs'd the *Straits*, they ſail'd by Cape *Farewel* into the ocean; but were on the 8th of *September* overtaken by a moſt terrible tempeſt, which threatned no leſs than their total deſtruction, they being quite tired out, and not able to manage the ſhip: ſo that leaving themſelves to the mercy of the winds, they loſt their maſt, and the ſails blew overboard, which however they made ſhift to ſave.

In this condition they were forced upon the coaſt of *Norway*, where they caſt a piece of an anchor (the only one they had left) in a ſmall creek, where they hoped to ſhelter themſelves againſt the ſtorm; but found themſelves deceived in their hopes, for they were in moſt imminent danger of being daſh'd to pieces againſt the rocks, if by good fortune they had not got betwixt them and the ſhore; where after they had refreſh'd themſelves for ſome days, they purſued their voyage, and arrived at laſt in *Denmark*.

Capt. *Monck* had no ſooner ſet foot aſhore, but he went to *Copenhagen* to give the king an account of his unfortunate voyage; who not imagining him to be ſtill among the living, received him with all imaginable marks of his favour. Thus we have ſeen the brave capt. *Monck* return to the *Daniſh* ſhore, which, as might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, would put an end to all his ſufferings; but it ſeems his ill deſtiny had preſerved him for more, which was to put an unhappy period to the life of this brave man.

For whilſt he was in *Denmark*, he uſed often to ruminate upon his paſt adventures; and being by degrees convinced of what had been the chief cauſe of his miſcarriage in his voyage through the *Straits*, he took a reſolution to try his fortune once more,

in

Monck in which he hoped to ſupply the defects of the former, ariſing from the want of knowledge of thoſe ſeas, and ſome other circumſtances. Accordingly he propoſed his deſign to ſome perſons of quality; who approving of it, equip'd two ſhips, which he was to command in chief.

Having provided himſelf with all neceſſaries for ſuch a voyage, he was ready to ſet ſail, when (as his ill fortune would have it) the king ſent for him, and happening, among other things to ſpeak of his former unfortunate voyage, told him, that he had loſt two ſhips by his want of conduct. Which the captain anſwering ſomewhat briſkly, the king took his cane and puſh'd it in anger againſt his breaſt. The captain took this affront ſo heinouſly, that he immediately went home to bed, and would not be perſuaded to take the leaſt nouriſhment; ſo that in ten days after he died for melancholy and want of food.

The preceding account ſeems to intimate, that there is a paſſage of a conſiderable length and breadth betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, and beyond that a large ſea, the extent of which is not known hitherto, nor whether it be an open or only an incloſed ſea; tho' it ſeems capt. *Monck* was of opinion that *Greenland* was ſeparated from *America* by this ſea, which was queſtionleſs the reaſon which induced him to try his fortune a ſecond time; in which, as we told you before, he met with ſuch encouragement from ſeveral perſons of note in *Denmark*, that in all likelihood he would have ventured his utmoſt for the diſcovery of the truth, if he had not been prevented by this ſiniſter accident.

An Account of that Country commonly call'd Spitsbergen, *being reckon'd a Part of* Greenland.

With the Manner of its firſt Diſcovery, and what Method is uſed in catching the Whales on that Coaſt.

AFTER the *Portugueſe* had found out the way to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence to *China* and *Japan*, ſeveral other nations being invited by the treaſures of thoſe countries, did endeavour to diſcover a ſhorter paſſage thither by the north, of which we have ſeveral accounts abroad, ſome having attempted to find out the ſaid paſſage on the north-weſt ſide of *America:* which courſe was taken by the *Engliſh*, viz. by *Forbiſher*, *Davis* and *Hudſon*, and likewiſe by capt. *Monck*, whoſe unfortunate voyage we have ſpoken of in the preceding treatiſe.

Others have attempted to paſs to the north-eaſt by *Nova-Zembla* (as the *Ruſſians* call it) and the *Great Tartary*; of which number are the *Hollanders*, who in 1594, and the following years, have (tho' with ill ſucceſs) endeavoured to open their way on that ſide to *China*.

The Engliſh *firſt attempted the north-eaſt paſſage.*

The *Engliſh* were however the firſt who attempted to find out this paſſage: for in the year 1553, under the reign of king *Edward* VI. ſeveral perſons of note entered into a ſociety, which they call'd, *The company for the diſcovery of unknown countries.* The chief director of this company was the famous *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who under the reign of king *Henry* VII. firſt diſcovered the northern part of *America*; from whence in ſome ancient maps that part is called *Sebaſtian Cabot's country*.

This company equip'd three ſhips, under the command of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* an *Engliſh* knight, and *Richard Chancellour* vice-commodore, with orders to endeavour to find out a paſſage to the north-eaſt through the *Tartarean-ſea* to *China*.

Thoſe three ſhips purſued their voyage together, without any ſiniſter accident, till they came to the height of *Wardhuis* and *Lapland*, where *Richard Chancellour* being ſeparated from the reſt by foggy and ſtormy weather, he cruiſed up and down on thoſe ſeas, in hopes to meet with them again; till at laſt he arrived accidentally in the bay of St. *Nicholas*, under the *Muſcovite* juriſdiction, but unfrequented by any *Europeans* before. Being got into the acquaintance of ſome *Muſcovites*, he reſolved to wait in perſon on the then great duke *John Baſilovitz*; who being then engaged in the *Livonian* war, which had much interrupted the *Eaſtland* trade, was very willing to encourage the *Engliſh*, by granting them conſiderable privileges for the promoting of trade; which has been ſince carried on by the *Engliſh* to their no ſmall advantage. MONCK

Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, after he had been toſs'd up and down for a long time, did at laſt (according to the diary writ by his own hand) *viz.* on the 14th of *Auguſt*, come to an anchor near a country ſituate under the 72d degree; which country ſince has been ſtiled in many maps, Sir *Hugh Willoughby's country*. From thence he purſued his voyage along thoſe coaſts, till the ſudden approaching winter obliged him to enter a certain harbour, where to paſs the winter. He ſent abroad three of his men to the ſouth-weſt to view the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome of the inhabitants: but theſe returning without ſucceſs, within three days after he ordered three others to the weſt ſide; but theſe alſo failing in their hopes, three more were diſpatch'd towards the ſouth-eaſt, who likewiſe returned without having been able to find out any inhabitants. Thus far Sir *Hugh Willoughby*'s diary. He himſelf was found frozen to death, with the crew of his two ſhips, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, in an obſcure harbour of *Lapland*, call'd *Areina Kecea*, being diſcovered by ſome *Ruſſian* fiſhermen who accidentally came that way; for it is the cuſtom of the *Laplanders* to dwell all the ſummer ſeaſon near the ſea-ſide, for the conveniency of fiſhing; but with the approaching winter they retire to the inland parts of the country, which makes the coaſt to be quite deſolate as long as the froſt laſts. The ſaid Sir *Hugh Willoughby*'s corps was afterwards, by ſome *Engliſh* ſhips trading to *Muſcovy*, carried

Monck carried to *England*, where he, with ſome of his company, was honourably interred at *London*.

The *Engliſh* ſhips trading to *Muſcovy*, becoming thereby acquainted with thoſe northern coaſts, had obſerved a great number of ſea-horſes in thoſe ſeas; ſo that ſeveral ſhips were ſent out from *England* to catch them, chiefly for their teeth-ſake, which were ſold at a very dear rate in *Muſcovy*.

Deſcription of ſea-horſes.

The ſea-horſes are very ſtrong creatures, approaching to the bigneſs of a moderate ox, having four legs (the two hindermoſt being very unſhapable) and a very thick hide; there have been ſome ſeen at *Amſterdam* that weighed above four hundred weight. Their heads are vaſtly large, having two teeth each of above a foot long, as white as the beſt ivory, which is what they are purſued for with ſo much eagerneſs. They bring forth ſometimes one, ſometimes two young ones at a time, of whom they are very fond. They live both in the ſea, and upon ice; they are not eaſy to come at whilſt they keep in the ſea, by reaſon of their prodigious ſtrength; but when they are catch'd upon the ice, they are not able to make any conſiderable reſiſtance, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of their legs and unweildineſs; but they muſt be hit in the head, their ſkin being impenetrable. If they happen to ſee one of their own kind dead upon the ice, as many of them lay themſelves upon it, till it is covered all over and corrupted. The *Engliſh* call them *ſea-horſes*; the *Dutch*, *wallniſſets*; and the *Muſcovites*, *morſes*.

It was in the year 1593, that the *Engliſh* ſent the firſt time their ſhips to catch thoſe ſea-horſes. They landed in an iſland, called by the *Hollanders* the *Iſland of Bears*; by the *Engliſh*, *Cherry-Iſle*, from one of the chief directors of their company. The ſea-horſes are in great numbers thereabouts, of which they kill'd a great many, kept their teeth, and made oil out of their fleſh. Which trade they continued with great advantage for ſeveral years after.

But in proceſs of time the ſea-horſes began to be ſo ſhy, that as ſoon as they perceived any men they got into the ſea; which rendring the catching of thoſe beaſts the more difficult, and ſubject to great danger, the whales began to be purſued by the induſtrious mariners.

In the year 1610, the beforementioned *Engliſh* company ſent one *John Pool* into the frozen ſea, who diſcovered that country, which indeed was found out by the *Hollanders* before, in their third voyage to *Nova-Zembla*, made in the year 1596; and being by them taken for a part of *Greenland*, was, by reaſon of the highland piqued mountains which are ſeen a good way off at ſea, called *Spitsbergen*.

Mr. *Pool* having made his particular obſervations upon the great number of whales found thereabouts, gave an account of it after his return to the company, who the next following year ſent him thither with two ſhips; and they had the good fortune to catch good ſtore both of whales and ſea-horſes; but by an unfortunate miſhap loſt both their ſhips, the ſhips crew being carried back to *England* by another *Engliſh* ſhip which came that way accidentally: theſe were the firſt ſhips that came on that coaſt on the account of catching of whales.

Firſt catching of whales.

In the year 1612, the *Engliſh* ſent two ſhips more thither, who meeting with a *Dutch* veſſel which was ſent thither upon the ſame errand, they obliged them to return home without any booty.

Difference between the Engliſh and Dutch about Spitsbergen.

The next following year 1613, they purſued the ſame deſign with more vigour than before: for having obtained a patent from king *James*, forbidding all others, as well foreigners as natives (except the *Muſcovia* companies) to ſail to *Spitſbergen*; they equipp'd ſeven men of war, wherewith they chaſed the *Dutch*, *French*, thoſe of *Biſcay*, nay the *Engliſh* themſelves that were interlopers, from thence.

In the year 1614, the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* appeared near *Spitſbergen* with eighteen ſtout veſſels, under convoy of four frigats of thirty guns each; ſo that the *Engliſh* who were but fifteen ſtrong, durſt not enter into a diſpute with them at that time. The ſame happened in the next following year, 1615.

In the next following two years the *Engliſh* had the better of the *Dutch*; but in the year 1618, the *Zelanders* came with a ſtrong ſquadron, and diſputing the preference with the *Engliſh*, plundered their ſhips, and forced them to retreat.

This conteſt betwixt theſe two nations continued for ſome years after, till both ſides being weary of it, the paſſage thither was left free and open to all nations.

The *Engliſh* alledged in their behalf, that they having been the firſt diſcoverers of that country, it was but reaſon they ſhould reap the benefit of what expences they had been at. But the *Dutch* pleading a precedency, as having been there in 1596, the *Engliſh* anſwered, That the country found out by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, could be no other but *Spitſbergen*, there being no other country ſituate under thoſe degrees; and that perhaps he had miſtaken the numbers, in putting 72 for 77. But theſe diſputes are of little weight where the ſword decides the quarrel.

The king of *Denmark* did likewiſe lay a claim to *Spitſbergen*, founded upon this ſuppoſition, that it was a part of the *Old Green-*

land,

land, which depended on the crown of *Norway*, and conſequently on him. This claim was back'd by ſome men of war, but they were not ſtrong enough to oblige the other nations (as their intention was) to pay them a certain cuſtom.

Situation of Spitſbergen, *and its name.*

This part of *Greenland*, or *Spitſbergen*, is the moſt northern part of the world, which hitherto is come to our knowledge, being ſituated betwixt *Nova-Zembla* and *Greenland*, and extends from the 76 to the 80 degree. It is call'd *Spitſbergen* from its high and piqued mountains which are ſeen at ſea. Theſe mountains are of a coarſe ſand, intermixed with ſmall flat ſtones like our ſlates, and conſequently have no firm bottom.

Three ſorts of four-leg'd beaſts here.

The country itſelf is uninhabited, but affords three ſeveral kinds of four-leg'd beaſts, *viz.* white bears, not inferior in bulk and ſtrength to our oxen, they live for the moſt part upon the ice. Beſides theſe, there are likewiſe foxes here, grey, white, and black; and *rain-deer*, ſomewhat ſmaller than a ſtag, but very like them in ſhape, and every thing elſe, only their horns are not ſo ſmooth. Their food is a certain green moſs, inclining to a yellowiſh colour, which ſprouts out among the ſand and ſtones, being for the reſt not unlike that which grows upon trees. Some are of opinion that deeper in the country there grows ſome graſs; and probably there may be ſome hot ſprings there, as has been obſerved before in *Greenland*, and perhaps alſo ſome grounds not ſo much expoſed to the ſnow, which afford ſome ſuſtenance in winter to thoſe beaſts.

In the beginning of *June*, when the foreign ſhips commonly firſt appear on theſe coaſts, the country is all over (as far as you can ſee) covered with ſnow; and the *rain-deer* are ſo lean, that they can ſcarce hang together: But in ſix weeks after, when the ſnow is melted away, they thrive to that degree, that they have two inches of fat on their ribs. They don't fly from men, but rather meet them, and that ſo near, that ſometimes you may lay hold of them, or at leaſt can't fail to hit them with a gun; at the noiſe of which the reſt diſperſe, but return ſoon after to the ſame place.

Exceſſive cold at Spitsbergen.

The country is exceeding cold; and tho' the whole ſummer is but one continued day, the ſun not going below the horizon for ſix weeks together, yet is this but a ſlender allay to the cold, which is there the more fierce, the more clear the ſky appears, as may be likewiſe obſerved with us in winter-time; the mountains eſpecially ſend forth ſuch cold damps as are intolerable. The air is frequently foggy here, to ſuch a degree, that you cannot ſee the length of a ſhip from you; ſo that nothing but a thirſt after lucre could induce mankind to expoſe themſelves to ſo many inconveniences. MONCK

Plenty of fuel here.

It is farther to be obſerved, that though this country affords neither trees nor ſhrubs, yet thoſe who are imployed in boiling the oil aſhore, are never in want of fuel; this defect being ſupplied by a great quantity of trees, with their roots and branches, which are caſt aſhore there by the ſea: and not only here, but likewiſe in all the other Northern countries, *viz.* in *Nova-Zembla*, *Greenland*, and the *Iſle of Bears*. From whence thoſe trees come is variouſly conjectured, ſome will have them come from the *Tartarian* rivers, which exonerating themſelves into thoſe ſeas, are frozen up in the winter; and in the ſpring a ſudden thaw enſuing, the thick ice-ſholes, forced along by the ſwiftneſs of the current, tear up many trees, nay ſometimes whole foreſts by the roots; which being carried into the ſea, are caſt on thoſe northern ſhores. But to this it is objected, that ſince it is evident that the winter-ſeaſon has been the ſame many years ago in thoſe parts, it muſt neceſſarily follow that the ice would have forced away all the trees at any reaſonable diſtance from thoſe rivers long before this time; and that conſequently thoſe rivers could not furniſh ſo vaſt a quantity every year, it being impoſſible theſe trees ſhould grow ſo faſt, being eſpecially kept back by the continual overflowings of thoſe rivers. Thus much however is certain, that the two great rivers *Oby* and *Petzora*, carry a conſiderable number of trees every year into the ſea; but thoſe cannot come in any compariſon with that prodigious quantity which is caſt on the northern ſhores.

Wild-fowl here.

Spitſbergen has ſome water-fowl, ſuch as wild ducks of two ſeveral kinds. The northern parrots reſemble the other parrots both in their bills, and colour of their feathers, but their feet reſemble the ducks feet and wild geeſe. The ſea is alſo barren of fiſh, ſuch as are fit for nouriſhment, unleſs it be now and then a haddock.

The many ſhips which are every year ſent thither from *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the *Netherlands*, come only on the account of the whales, from whence they draw an oil by boiling; each nation having its own ſtation, bay or harbour for that purpoſe.

Different kinds of whales.

It is farther to be obſerved, that there are ſeveral different kinds of whales in the frozen ſea, not to ſpeak here of ſome ſea-monſters, which are mentioned by ſome upon the very credit of the mariners who pretend to have ſeen them. The whales may conveniently be divided into white and black ones. The black are again of two different

Monck different kinds, for ſome have only one hole or pipe, and thoſe are all of one ſort; out of the head of thoſe is taken that matter which is call'd by the apothecaries *ſperma ceti:* others have two, and theſe are again diſtinguiſhed by their different degrees of bigneſs. The biggeſt kind is called *Grand-bay*, the reſt are ſubdivided into five ſeveral ſorts; all which agree in this, that they have no fins on their backs. There is one kind which is never found without them, and for that reaſon has got the name of *fin-fiſh*; but being a fierce beaſt, and commonly very lean, is not much ſought for. The white whales are ſo call'd, becauſe their backs are covered with many white cockle-ſhells.

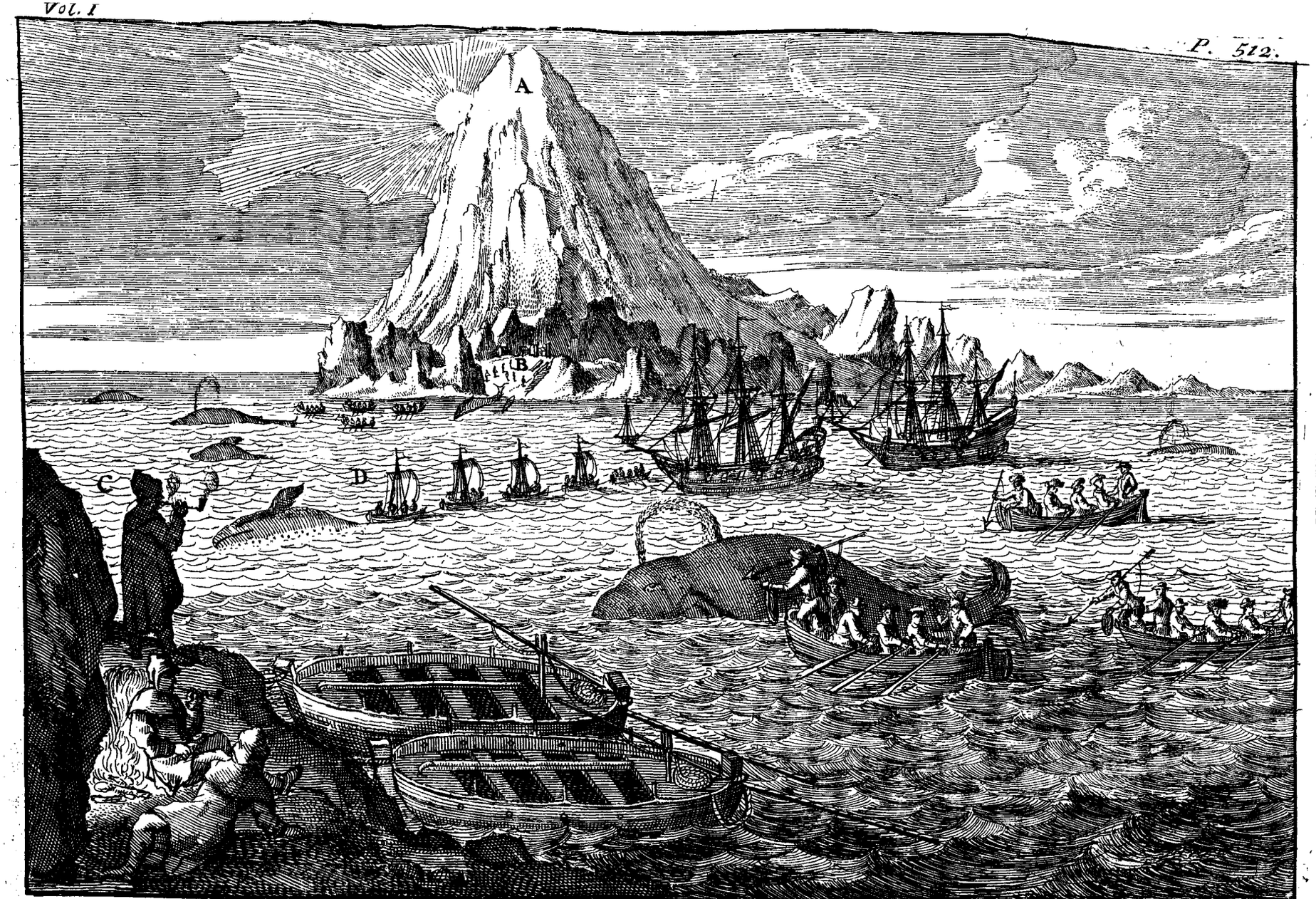
Every nation, as I told you before, has its own ſtation or harbour, where they have fix'd their coppers, huts, and other inſtruments fitted for the boiling of the whale oil, which are always left behind.

The ſtates general of *Holland* have granted a patent to a certain company to catch whales at *Spitſburgen*, with excluſion to all others of their ſubjects: but ſuch as did not belong to the ſaid company, and yet were willing to carry on a trade with whale-oil, being inform'd that not only near *Greenland*, but alſo in many other parts of thoſe ſeas, there were a great many whales; have ſince ſent abroad their veſſels, which never came aſhore, but purſue them in the open ſea till they catch them; when they cut them into ſmall pieces, and putting them up in barrels, carry them thus into *Holland*, where they boil the oil in the ſame manner as they do in *Spitſbergen*. But it is to be obſerved, that this oil has a certain rankneſs and ill ſmell contracted by the keeping of the fleſh ſo long in the Barrels. We will now come to a concluſion, after we have given you a ſhort account of the manner of catching the whales.

An Account of the Manner of the catching of the Whales.

Grand-bay *the beſt of the whales.*

Among the beforementioned ſeveral ſorts of whales, that kind which is called *Grand-bay*, is commonly eſteemed the beſt, by reaſon of his bigneſs, and the great quantity of fat which affords the moſt oil; as alſo becauſe he is the moſt unweildy, and the eaſieſt to be catch'd; this beaſt being as lumpiſh as it is bulky: the head makes up one third part of the whole body, with very ſmall eyes in the midſt of it, no bigger than oxens eyes; the eye-balls being no bigger than a good pea. Inſtead of the ears, appear on the out-ſide only two holes, ſo ſmall, that they are ſcarce to be found out, and will ſcarce admit of a ſingle ſtraw; but within the head they have a larger orifice, and are formed like ears, which afford them a ſharp hearing. On the top of the head he has two pipes, for the drawing in and out of the air, and the diſcharging the water which he ſwallows in his mouth, which is forced out through theſe holes in a vaſt quantity, and to a great height. His tongue is about eighteen foot long, and ten broad, weighing commonly near ſix hundred weight; of ſuch a bulk, that when it lies upon the ground, the talleſt man cannot look over it. This tongue is incloſed within a good quantity of hair, not unlike to horſe-hair, which are faſtned to and cover that we commonly call *whale-bone*; of thoſe there are about eight hundred within the compaſs of the mouth great and ſmall; the broad ends are join'd together on both ſides of the palate, as the leſſer are below: thoſe would queſtionleſs wound the tongue by their ſharp edges if they were not covered with hair, which are like a bed for the whales tongue to reſt in. He is deſtitute of teeth, and after he is opened you ſcarce find any thing within but a few ſea-ſpiders, and ſome ſea-moſs which is caſt up from the bottom of the ſea; from whence it ſeems probable that neither of thoſe are the ordinary food of this monſtrous creature, but the ſea-water, which conveys thoſe ſpiders and moſs into his belly; tho' at the ſame time the mariners look upon it as an infallible ſign that whales are near at hand when they meet with many of thoſe ſpiders, which ſometimes cover the ſurface of the ſea. His mouth is about four or five fathom wide, with thick and broad lips weighing ſometimes ſix thouſand weight. He is very thick from the head to the middle, but thinner and ſharper towards the tail; the fins of which don't ſtand upright in ſwimming like other fiſh, but are on both ſides like our crawfiſh; thoſe he makes uſe of in ſwimming with incredible ſwiftneſs. The tail itſelf is about twenty ſeven foot long, and at the end one and a half or two foot thick; the fins are very ſtrong, wherewith he performs miracles, his whole ſtrength conſiſting in them. The privy members of the whale are on the outſide like the four-leg'd creatures, the yard being about fourteen foot long, and in the thickeſt part about a foot in circumference. The female commonly exceeds the others in bigneſs, its privy members are within the body, not unlike thoſe of women, and open and ſhut as occaſion requires. They are to be ſeen next by their breaſts, (where you alſo find thoſe of the males) as you may ſee in the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cut; ſhe never brings forth more than one young one, which follows the old one every where, and ſucks her two breaſts.

The whole length of a whale. The whole length of a whale is about ſeventy or eighty foot, having on each ſide a fin of a fathom in length, and half a one broad. There is a certain fiſh in thoſe ſeas call'd the *ſwordfiſh*, or *finfiſh*, who is the declared enemy of the whale; it is not above ſeven or eight foot long, but not eaſily to be catch'd by reaſon of its ſtrength and vigour; there being inſtances, that ſuch a fiſh after it has been wounded by the harpun, has ſwam ſo long and with ſuch ſwiftneſs afterwards, that the chalops being tired in the purſuit, have been glad to cut the line. Theſe fiſh, as we ſaid before, are dangerous enemies to the whale, who flies before them with all his might; but they ſurround him in vaſt numbers, pinch and pull out his fins by degrees, whilſt he makes the beſt of his way from them, and endeavours to keep them off with his tail. But after they have bereaved him of his chiefeſt ſtrength, *I* mean his fins, they get into his mouth, where they devour his tongue, nothing being more common than to find dead whales floating upon the water without tongues.

The ſword fiſh his enemy.

How the whales are catch'd. The manner of catching and killing of the whale is performed thus: as ſoon as they eſpy a whale either from the ſhore or ſhip, they put out three chalops, man'd with ſix men each, among whom is one who being call'd the *harpuneer*, is the perſon who is firſt to wound the whale with his *harpun*. Thoſe three chalops row as faſt as poſſibly they can after the whale, but muſt be very cautious they don't come too near his tail; when they come pretty near him, they are as ſilent and make as little noiſe with their oars as poſſibly they can, for fear the whale ſhould take to the bottom of the ſea. When they are near enough, the *harpuneer* of one of theſe chalops, who believes himſelf to be within reach, throws his *harpun* at him with all his force; this *harpun* is about three foot long, having on both ſides hooks or notches to prevent its being torn out again, after it once is fixed in the body of the whale: it has a wooden handle, the better to ballance it for the conveniency of throwing, and a line faſtned at the end, which being about two hundred fathom long, is laid in a veſſel in the chalop; for no ſooner finds the whale himſelf to be wounded, but with incredible ſwiftneſs he goes towards the bottom of the ſea; ſo that the line ſmoaks, being rub'd againſt the ſides of the chalop, and would certainly take fire if the men did not continually pour water upon it. There is alſo one whoſe buſineſs it is to take care that the line be not entangled; for if that ſhould happen, they have nothing to do but to cut the line, for elſe it would overſet the chalop. If they find one of the lines fall ſhort, thoſe of the next chalop furniſh them with theirs, which they faſten to it: But all this would ſtand them in little ſtead, if the nature of this fiſh were ſuch as to be able to abide long under water; whereas after he has run ſome hundred fathoms deep, he is forced to come up again to take breath, at what time he ſends forth ſuch a terrible ſound through his pipes, that it may be heard at half a league diſtance, tho' ſome make a much greater noiſe than others. As ſoon as the fiſh appears upon the ſurface of the water, the chalops purſue him, being directed by the line which ſhews them the way. The *harpuneer* who comes firſt neareſt to him, throws another *harpun* into his body, which makes him once more take towards the bottom; but after he comes up again the ſecond time, they don't make any further uſe of the *harpuns*, but of certain ſmall pikes, not unlike a lance, of which there are two ſorts, throwing-lances and puſhing-lances. The throwing-lances reſemble an arrow, and are uſed much in the ſame manner, but have no hooks at the end; for they are thrown into the body of the whale, and drawn out again, the intention of which is to tire the fiſh by ſo many wounds till they dare venture at him with the puſhing-lances; for whilſt he is in his full ſtrength no-body dares to come near him, for whatever he hits with his tail and fins he batters in pieces, as has been ſeen ſometimes in ſome chalops, which have been torn in flitters, and the men thrown up to a great height into the air. When they find him almoſt tired, and his ſtrength conſiderably abated, they draw nearer to him, and make uſe of other lances, which reſemble our pikes; with thoſe they wound him, but eſpecially near the fins, where this creature is moſt ſenſible; and this they hold ſo long till they have hit his lungs or liver, at which time the fiſh ſpouts out a vaſt quantity of blood through the pipes, which riſes into the air as high as the maſt: then they deſiſt, and the fiſh finding himſelf wounded in ſo ſenſible a part, begins to rage moſt furiouſly, battering the ſea and his body with his fins and tail, till the ſea is all in a foam; and when he ſtrikes the fins againſt his body, and his tail at the waves, you may hear itſelf a league diſtance, the ſound being no leſs than if a great cannon was diſcharged. This ſtruggling affords ſo agreeable a ſpectacle to the beholders, that thoſe who have ſeen it aſſure us, that they could never be tired with the ſight of it. Whilſt the whale is making his laſt efforts, the chalops are obliged to follow him ſometimes for two leagues together,

MONCK

Monck till having loſt all his ſtrength he turns upon one ſide, and as ſoon as he is dead upon his back: then they draw him with ropes either aſhore (if it be near *Spitſbergen*) or elſe to the ſhip, where he is kept ſo long till he riſes above the water; for the firſt day he lies almoſt even with the ſurface of the water, the ſecond he riſes about ſix or ſeven foot above it, and the third ſometimes as high as the ſides of the ſhip. On board each ſhip there is one whoſe buſineſs it is to open the fiſh, who after he has put on his garment fitted for that purpoſe, cuts open his belly with a very large knife, which is not done without a roaring noiſe, and an intolerable ſmell ſent forth from the entrails of this beaſt: but notwithſtanding the man proceeds in his buſineſs, ſeparating the fleſh from the bones by pieces of two or three hundred weight, which are convey'd thus either aſhore or on board the veſſel, where they are cut again in ſmaller pieces. The tail of this creature ſerves for a hacking block, being ſo very nervous and ſtrong, that it exceeds any wood whatſoever for this uſe. Being thus cut into ſmall pieces, thoſe who have their ſettlements at *Spitſbergen* extract the oil immediately by boiling it aſhore, which being put into barrels, is thus tranſported to the reſpective places to which the ſhips belong. But thoſe who want this conveniency, and go only abroad to catch the whales in the open ſea, are fain to put up thoſe pieces in barrels, which they carry home, and boil them after the ſame manner as they do at *Spitſbergen*; but this is of leſs value than the other, as having a very diſagreeable ſcent. Each fiſh is computed to afford from ſixty to one hundred barrels of oil, at three or four pounds *ſterling* the barrel, according as the market goes. There are three *harpuneers* to each ſhip, every one of whom has ten pounds for every whale that is kill'd; and ſometimes one ſhip catches ten whales in a voyage.

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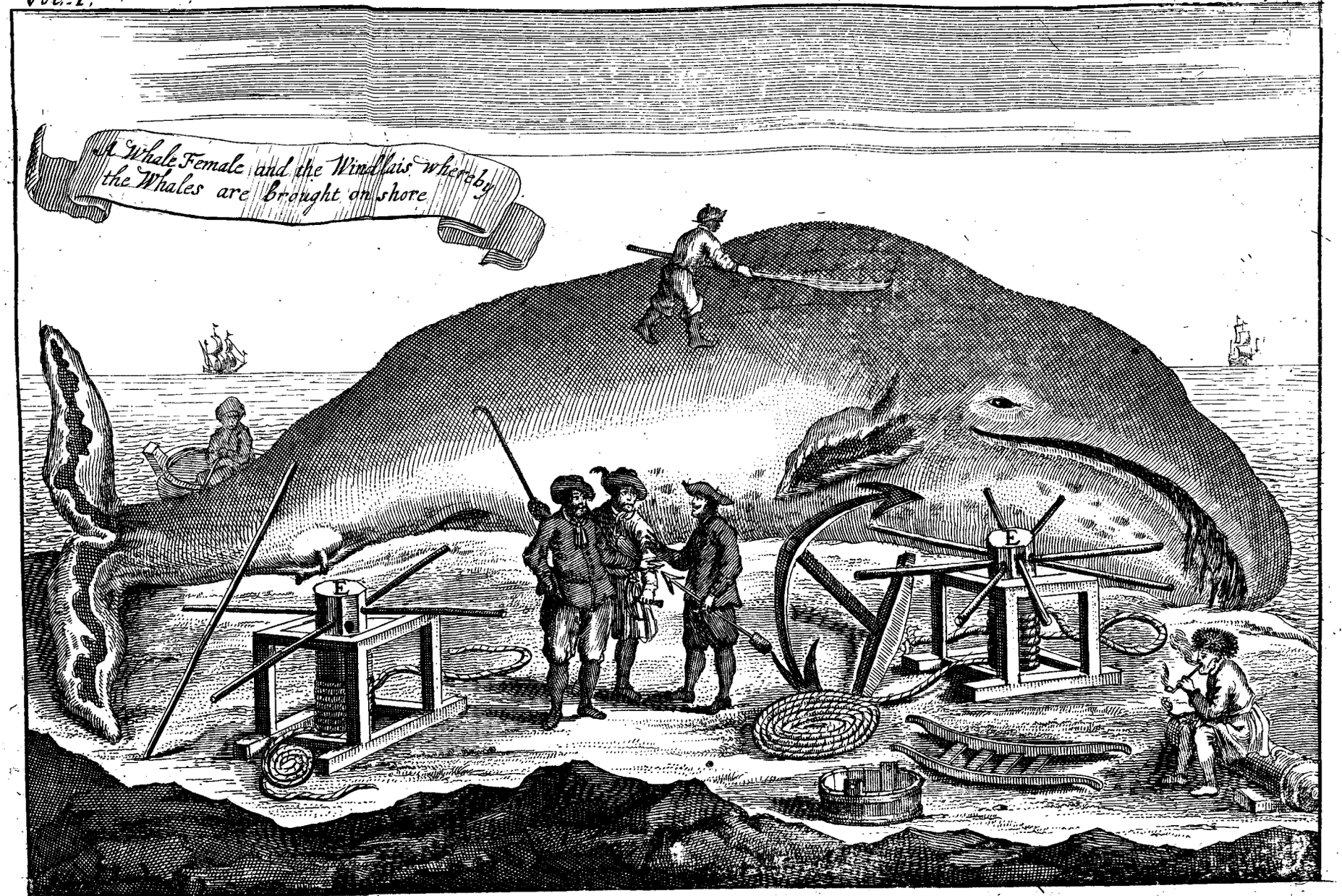
A Whale Female and the Windlais whereby the Whales are brought on shore
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A

DESCRIPTION

OF

UKRAINE,

Containing Several

PROVINCES

OF THE

Kingdom of *Poland*,

Lying between the Confines of *Muſcovy*, and the Borders of *Tranſylvania*.

Together with their Cuſtoms, Manner of Life, and how they manage their Wars.

Written in French *by the* Sieur de BEAUPLAN.

The

THE Sieur de Bauplan, *author of this ſmall account, had a long time to make himſelf perfect in it, having ſerv'd as he tells us, ſeventeen years in the* Ukraine, *as ingineer to the king of* Poland. *He gives a particular account of the manners of the* Poles *and* Coſſacks, *with whom in ſo many years he could not but be extraordinary well acquainted: he deſcribes their perſons, particulariſes much upon their manner of making war, which was his profeſſion, ſets down to a tittle the manner of the* Coſſacks *making their irruptions into* Turkey *and* Tartary *by way of the Black Sea, deſcribes the country, and particularly the river* Boriſthenes, *with that exactneſs, as may be expected from a mathematician who had view'd all thoſe parts, and made ſpecial obſervations, not only for his own curioſity, but to fulfil the duty of his employment, which was to erect forts, and even build towns in convenient places. Tho' he calls this only a deſcription of* Ukraine, *yet he ſtops not there, but ſets down the manner of electing the kings of* Poland, *the greatneſs of their nobility, and way of treating in ſolemn feaſts. Nor is this all, but he runs into* Tartary, *and beſides deſcribing the country of* Crim *and* Budziak, *takes his courſe quite round the Black Sea, obſerving all places of note upon it, and not only acquaints us with the manners and cuſtoms of both thoſe people, but very particularly informs us, how they make their irruptions into* Poland *and the* Ukraine, *both in ſummer and winter, and how they do to avoid coming to battel when purſued. Nothing is wanting, but the map which in ſome places he refers to; but in a ſhort advertiſement he informs the reader, that all his papers and draughts, which it ſeems he had left to be engraved in* Poland, *had been there ſeized by the king, which has deprived us of the ſatisfaction of ſo exact a map as we might reaſonably expect from him.*

A Deſcription of Ukraine, *and the River* Boriſthenes, *commonly call'd the* Nieper, *or* Dnieper, *from* Kiow *down to the Sea into which it falls.*

The city Kiovia.

KIOW, otherwiſe called *Kiovia*, was one of the antienteſt cities in *Europe*, as may be ſeen ſtill by the remains there of antiquity: as for inſtance, the height and breadth of its ramparts, the depth of its ditches, the ruins of churches, the old tombs of ſeveral kings found within them. Of the churches, only two remain as a memorial, which are thoſe of S. *Sophia* and S. *Michael*; for of all the reſt there is nothing left but ruins, as of that of S. *Baſil*, whoſe walls are yet ſtanding five or ſix foot high, with *Greek* inſcriptions on them of above fourteen hundred years ſtanding upon alabaſter ſtones, but now almoſt worn out with age. Among the ruins of thoſe churches are to be ſeen the tombs of ſeveral princes of *Ruſſia*.

The churches of S. *Sophia* and S. *Michael* have been rebuilt after the antient manner. That of S. *Sophia* makes a fine front, and looks graceful on every ſide, for the walls are adorn'd with ſeveral hiſtories and *Moſaick* figures: which work is made of very ſmall bits of ſeveral colours, ſhining like glaſs; and ſo well put together, that it is hard to diſcern whether it is painting or tapeſtry: the arch is made only with earthen pots fill'd and plaiſter'd all about. In this church are the tombs of ſeveral kings; and the *Archimandrita* or chief of all the monks reſide there. S. *Michael*'s church is called the *Golden Roof*, becauſe it is cover'd with gilt plates. The body of S. *Barbara* is ſhewn there, ſaid to be brought thither during the wars of *Nicomedia*.

This antient city is ſeated on a plain that is at the top of a hill, which commands all the country on the one ſide, and the *Boriſthenes* on the other, that river running along the foot of the hill; between which and the water ſtands *New Kiow*, a town at preſent but little inhabited, there being not above five or ſix thouſand people in it. It is about four miles in length along the *Boriſthenes*, and three miles in breadth from the *Boriſthenes* to the hill, being encloſed with a ſcurvy ditch, twenty five foot wide. Its ſhape is triangular, encompaſſed with a wooden wall, and towers of the ſame materials. The caſtle ſtands on the ridge of a hill commanding the lower town, but commanded by *Old Kiow*.

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The *Roman* catholicks have four churches in this town, which are, the cathedral, that of the *Dominicans* in the market-place, the *Bernardines* under the hill, and of late years the *Jeſuits*, who have taken up their quarters between the *Bernardines* and the river. The *Greek Ruſſians* may have about ten churches, which they call *Cerkuils*; one of which is near the town-hall, where is an univerſity or academy, call'd by them *Bracha Cerkuils*, and another at the foot of the caſtle, called S. *Nicoly*; if I miſtake not, the reſt are in ſeveral parts of the town, which I don't particularly remember.

This town has but three good ſtreets, all the others being neither ſtrait nor regularly bending, but running in and out like a labyrinth. It is look'd upon as divided into two towns, one of which is called the *Biſhop's Town*, where the cathedral is; the other the *Common* or *Publick*, in which the other three catholick and *Greek* churches are. There is a good trade, conſidering the country: the principal commodities are corn, furs, wax, honey, tallow, ſalt, fiſh, *&c.* There belong to it, a *biſhop*, a *palatin*, a *caſtellane*, a *taroſta*, and a *grod*. And there are four ſeveral juriſdictions, or courts; that of the biſhop, that of the palatin or *taroſta*, which is the ſame; the third of the *wouyt*, and the laſt of the conſuls or ſheriffs.

The houſes are built after the manner of *Muſcovy*, all upon a floor, low enough, and ſeldom above one ſtory high. They uſe candles made of ſticks of wood, ſo cheap, that for a double, which is leſs than a farthing, there are more of them than will ſerve the longeſt winter night. The chimneys are ſold in the market, which is very comical, as is their manner of dreſſing meat. Their weddings, and other ceremonies, we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. And yet from hence came that brave people, known at preſent by the name of

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Zaporouſky Coſſacks.

Zaporouſky Coſſacks, ſpread of late years into ſo many places along the *Boriſthenes*, and the neighbouring parts, whoſe number at preſent amounts to 120000 diſciplin'd men, and ready in leſs than eight days upon the leaſt command they receive from the king. Theſe are the people, who very often, and almoſt every year, make excurſions upon the *Euxine* Sea, to the great detriment of the *Turks*. They have ſeveral times plunder'd the *Crim Tartary*, ravag'd *Anatolia*, ſack'd *Trebiſond*, and run to the mouth of the *Black Sea*, within three leagues of *Conſtantinople*, where they have put all to fire and ſword, and then returned home with a rich booty, and ſome ſlaves, which are generally young children, whom they breed up to ſerve them, or preſent them to ſome lord of their country; for they keep none that are grown up, unleſs they think them rich enough to pay a good ranſom. They are never more than between ſix and ten thouſand men when they make their ravages, and croſs the ſea miraculouſly in pitiful boats they make themſelves, and of whoſe ſhape and ſtructure I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Having mention'd the bravery of the *Coſſacks*, it will not be amiſs to give an account of their manners and employment. It is therefore to be underſtood, that among thoſe people in general there are men expert in all ſorts of trades neceſſary for human life, as houſe and ſhip-carpenters, cartwrights, ſmiths, armourers, tanners, curriers, ſhoemakers, coopers, tailors, *&c.* They are very expert at preparing of ſalt-peter, whereof there is great plenty in thoſe parts, and make excellent cannon-powder. The women ſpin flax and wool, whereof they make cloth and ſtuffs for their own uſe. They all underſtand tilling, ſowing, reaping, making of bread, dreſſing of meal, brewing of beer, making of *hydromel*, *breha*, *aqua vitæ*, &c. There is no body among them, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoever, that does not ſtrive to outdo another in drinking, and carouſing effectually; and no Chriſtians trouble themſelves leſs for t'morrow than they do.

There is no doubt but all of them in general are capable of all arts; yet ſome are more expert than others in certain profeſſions, and others there are more univerſally knowing than the common ſort. In ſhort, they are all ingenious enough, but they go no further than what is neceſſary and profitable, particularly in country affairs.

The land is ſo fruitful, it often produces ſuch plenty of corn, they know not what to do with it, becauſe they have no navigable rivers that fall into the ſea, except the *Boriſthenes*, which is not navigable fifty leagues below *Kiow*, or *Kiovia*, by reaſon of thirteen falls on it, the laſt of which is ſeven leagues diſtant from the firſt, which makes a good day's journey, as may be ſeen in the map. This it is that hinders them carrying their corn to *Conſtantinople*; and is the cauſe of their ſloth, and that they will not work but juſt when neceſſity obliges them, and that they have not wherewithal to buy what they ſtand in need of, chuſing rather to borrow of the *Turks*, their good neighbours, than to take pains to earn it. So they have meat and drink, they are ſatisfied.

Their religion.

They are of the *Greek* church, which in their language they call *Rus*; have a great veneration for feſtivals, and faſting-days, which take up eight or nine months of the year, and conſiſt in abſtaining from fleſh. They are ſo poſitive in this formality, that they believe their ſalvation depends on this diſtinction of meats: and I believe there is no nation in the world like this for liberty in drinking; for no ſooner is one drunken fit off, but they take a hair of the ſame dog. But this is to be underſtood when they are at leiſure; for whilſt they are in war, or projecting ſome enterprize, they are extraordinary ſober. Nothing belonging to them is ſo coarſe as their habit, for they are ſubtle and crafty, ingenious and free-hearted, without any deſign or thought of growing rich; but are great lovers of their liberty, without which they do not deſire to live: and for this reaſon it is, they are ſo ſubject to revolt, and rebel againſt the lords of the country, when they ſee themſelves cruſh'd, ſo that they are ſcarce ſeven or eight years without mutinying againſt them. In other reſpects they are a faithleſs people, treacherous, perfidious, and not to be truſted but upon good ſecurity.

They are of a ſtrong conſtitution, able to endure heat and cold, hunger and thirſt; indefatigable in war, bold, reſolute, or rather raſh, not valuing their lives.

They ſhew moſt valour and conduct when they fight in their * *tabords*, and cover'd with their carts (for they are very expert at their fire-arms, their uſual weapons) and in defending ſtrong places. At ſea they are not bad, nor very good a horſeback. I remember I have ſeen two hundred *Poliſh* horſe, rout two thouſand of their beſt men: true it is, a hundred of theſe *Coſſacks*, under the ſhelter of their *tabords*, do not fear a thouſand *Polanders*, nor as many *Tartars*; and were they as brave a horſeback as they are afoot, I ſhould think them invincible. They are well made, ſtrong and ſinewy; love to be well clad, and make it appear when they have been plundering

* *A ſort of carts with which the Coſſacks hem themſelves in when they march upon plain ground.*

plundering among their neighbours, for otherwiſe their garments are indifferent enough. Naturally they are very healthy, and free enough even from that diſtemper peculiar to *Poland*, which the phyſicians call *blica*; becauſe all the hair of the head is ſenſible of it, tangles and clots together in a moſt unaccountable manner; the people of the country call it *coſches*. Few there die of ſickneſs, unleſs they be of a very great age, moſt of them dying in the bed of honour, being kill'd in war.

Ruſſian *nobility.* The nobility among them, whereof there is but a very ſmall number, hold of that of *Poland*, and ſeems to be aſham'd to be of any other religion but the catholick, to which they daily go over; tho' all the great men, and thoſe that are called princes, are come out of the *Greek* church.

Peaſants, their duty to their lords. The peaſants there are very miſerable, being obliged to work three days a week, themſelves and their horſes, for their lord; and to pay, proportionably to the land they hold, ſuch a quantity of wheat, abundance of capons, pullets, hens, and goſlins; that is, at *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and *Chriſtmas:* Beſides all this, to carry wood for the ſaid lord, and a thouſand other jobs they ought not to do; beſides the ready money they exact from them, as alſo the tithe of their ſheep, ſwine, honey, and all ſorts of fruit, and every third year the third beef. In ſhort, they are obliged to give their maſters what they pleaſe to demand; ſo that it is no wonder thoſe wretches never lay up any thing, being under ſuch hard circumſtances. Yet this is not all, for their lords have an abſolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; ſo great is the prerogative of the *Poliſh* nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peaſants in purgatory) ſo that if it happens that thoſe wretched peaſants fall under the ſervitude of bad lords, they are in a worſe condition than galley-ſlaves. This ſlavery makes many of them run away, and the boldeſt of them fly to the *Zaporouys*, which is the *Coſſacks* place of retreat in the *Boriſthenes*; and after having paſs'd ſome time there, and been once at ſea, they are reputed *Zaporouſky Coſſacks*; and this ſort of diſſertion much increaſes the number of their troops. This the preſent revolt ſufficiently teſtifies; theſe *Coſſacks* after the defeat of the *Polanders*, riſing in rebellion to the number of 200000; who being maſters of the field, have poſſeſſed themſelves of a country above a hundred and twenty leagues in length, and ſixty in breadth. I had forgot to obſerve, that in time of peace, hunting and fiſhing are the uſual employments of the *Coſſacks*; and this is what I had to ſay in general of the manners and cuſtoms of theſe people.

Now to return to the matter in hand: It is believ'd that at the time when the antient *Kiow*, or *Kiovia*, was in its ſplendor, the channel in the ſea which runs to *Conſtantinople* was not open; and there are grounds to conjecture, or rather certain proofs, that the plains on the other ſide the *Boriſthenes*, which ſtretch out as far as *Muſcovy*, were once all under water, as appears by the anchors and other tokens found of late years about *Loffitza*, upon the river *Sula*. Moreover all the towns built on thoſe plains, ſeem to be new ſtructures erected within ſome few centuries. I had the curioſity to enquire into the hiſtories of the *Ruſſians*, thinking to learn ſomething concerning the antiquity of thoſe parts, but without ſucceſs; for having aſked ſome of the moſt knowing among them, I could only be inform'd that the great and bloody wars which have always haraſſed their country from end to end, had not ſpar'd their libraries, which even from the beginning had been burnt; but that they remember'd it was delivered to them by ancient tradition, that formerly the ſea covered all thoſe plains, as has been ſaid, which was about two thouſand years ſince; and that it was about nine hundred years ſince *Old Kiow* had been totally ruined, excepting thoſe two churches before mentioned. Another powerful reaſon is alledged to prove that the ſea extended as far as *Muſcovy*, which is, that all the ruins of old caſtles and antient towns in thoſe parts are upon high places, and mountains, and not ſo much as one on the plain, which gives cauſe to believe it was under water. Beſides all this, in ſome of thoſe ruins there have been found cellars full of a ſort of copper coin with this impreſſion.

BEAUPLAN. *The country along the river Boriſthenes.*

However it was, I ſhall only add, that all the plain reaching from the *Boriſthenes* to *Muſcovy*, and further, is very low and ſandy, except only the northern bank of *Suly*, and thoſe of *Worſko* and *Pſczol*, as may be ſeen much better in the map. It is farther to be obſerved, that the motion of theſe rivers is almoſt undiſcernible, and much like a ſtanding water: and if you add all theſe reaſons to the violent and rapid motion of the channel in the *Black-Sea*, which running before *Conſtantinople*,

BEAU-PLAN. *nople*, falls into the *White-Sea*, you will find it no difficult matter to grant that theſe places have been formerly under water.

Let us go on with the deſcription of our *Boriſthenes*. A league above *Kiow*, and on the other ſide of it, the river *Deſna* falls into the *Boriſthenes*, which comes from near the city *Moſcko*, and is above a hundred leagues in length.

Half a league below *Kiow* is a burrough, and in it a great monaſtry, the uſual reſidence of the metropolitan, or patriarch. Under the mountain, that is, near the monaſtry, there are abundance of caves in the nature of mines, full of great number of bodies, preſerved there theſe fifteen hundred years, in the nature of the *Egyptian* mummies. It is believed the primitive Chriſtian hermits digged thoſe ſubterraneous places to ſerve GOD there in private, and lived peaceably in thoſe caverns during the heathen perſecutions. There they ſhew a certain S. *John*, who is entire down to the waſte, being ſo far buried in the ground. The religious men of that place told me, that the ſaid S. *John* finding the hour of his death draw near, digged his own grave, not at length after the uſual manner, but in depth. His time being come, for which he had long before prepared, and having taken leave of his brethren, he put himſelf into the earth; but Divine providence ſo ordained it, that he could go but half way in, though the hole was deep enough. There is alſo to be ſeen one *Helen*, whom they hold in great veneration, and an iron chain, wherewith they ſay the devil beat S. *Antony*; and that it has the vertue of expelling thoſe wicked ſpirits out of ſuch bodies as are bound with it. There are alſo three mens heads on diſhes, from which there daily diſtils an oil of ſovereign uſe for curing of certain diſtempers. In thoſe places are kept alſo the bodies of ſeveral perſons of note, and among the reſt thoſe of twelve maſons, who built the church; and theſe are preſerved like ſo many precious relicks to be ſhewn to curious perſons, as they did to me ſeveral times; I having once my winter quarters at *Kiow*, where I had leiſure to learn all theſe particulars. For my part, as I ſaid before, I find no great difference between theſe bodies and the *Egyptian* mummies, but that their fleſh is neither ſo black, nor ſo hard; and I believe it is the nature of thoſe caves or mines that preſerves them from corruption, they being of a ſort of petrified ſand, hot and dry in winter, and cold and dry in ſummer, without any dampneſs. There are abundance of monks in that monaſtry, where, as has been ſaid, the patriarch of all *Ruſſia* reſides, and owns no ſuperior but him of *Conſtantinople*. Before this monaſtry there is another where a great many nuns live, to the number of a hundred, who work at their needle, and make abundance of fine works on curious handkerchiefs, to ſell to thoſe that come to viſit them. They have the liberty to go abroad when they will, and their uſual walk is to *Kiow*, about half a league diſtant from their monaſtry. Their habit is all black, and they go two and two together, as moſt catholick religious men do. I remember I have ſeen as fine faces among thoſe nuns as any in all *Poland*.

On the mountain that looks towards the river between *Kiow* and *Piecharre*, there is a monaſtry of *Ruſſian* monks, which has a very fine proſpect, and is called S. *Nicoly*. Thoſe monks eat nothing but fiſh, but they have the liberty to go abroad when they pleaſe, to divert themſelves, and make viſits.

In a bottom under *Piecharre*, is a burrough, which they call *Tripoly*.

Below that is *Stayky*, on the top of a mountain; the town is antient, and there is a ferry-boat to paſs over the river. Then follows *Richow* ſeated in the ſame manner on a mountain. This is a place of conſequence, and deſerves to be fortified, becauſe the river there is eaſy to paſs.

Lower yet is *Tretemirof* a monaſtry of *Ruſſians*, ſeated amidſt precipices, encompaſſed with inacceſſible rocks. Thither it is the *Coſſacks* convey their beſt goods; there is another ferry over the river.

A league from thence, on the other ſide, you come to *Pereaſlaw*, a town that ſeems not to be very antient, becauſe ſtanding low, yet very conſiderable for its ſituation, naturally ſtrong, and there might eaſily be built a conſiderable citadel, to ſerve as a place of arms againſt the *Muſcovites* and *Coſſacks*. The place has about ſix thouſand houſes, and the *Coſſacks* keep a regiment there.

Lower towards *Ruſſia* is *Kaniow*, a very antient town and caſtle, in which a regiment of *Coſſacks* always keep gariſon, and there is a ferry.

Below ſtill on the other ſide are *Bobunſka* and *Domonton*, places of ſmall note.

Lower yet, and ſtill on the ſide of *Ruſſia*, ſtands *Cirkacre* a very ancient city, well ſeated, and eaſy to be fortified. I have ſeen it in its ſplendor, when it was in a manner the center of the *Coſſacks* places of refuge, the general reſiding there; but we burnt it in the year 1637, on the 18th of *December*, two days after we had gain'd a victory over the ſaid *Coſſacks*. During that war they kept a regiment of theirs in this place, and there is a ferry upon the river.

Further yet are *Borowiche*, *Bougia*, *Woronowka*; and on the other ſide *Czerehen*, about a quarter of a league from *Ambrowa*; as alſo *Krilow*, on the *Ruſſian* ſide upon the river *Ytazemien*, a league from the *Boriſthenes*.

Lower ſtill on the ſide of *Muſcovy* is *Kremierkzow*; there are ſome ancient ruins, on which I deſigned a caſtle in the year 1635. This place is very pleaſant and convenient to live in, and is the laſt town, for beyond it is all a deſert country.

River Pfeczol. A league below it is the mouth of *Pfeczol*, a river abounding in fiſh; and beyond it on the ſide of *Ruſſia* is a little river they call *Omelnick*, which falls into the *Boriſthenes*, and is very full of crayfiſh. Lower on the ſame ſide is another little river, called *Drug Omielnik*, like the other very full of crayfiſh. Oppoſite to it is *Worſko*, a good large river, abounding in fiſh, and runs into the *Nieper*; and on the ſame ſide is *Orel*, ſtill richer in fiſh than the others. At the mouth of this river it was I ſaw above two thouſand fiſhes taken at one draught of a net, the leaſt of which was a foot long.

Lakes. On the other, which is next *Ruſſia*, there are ſeveral lakes, ſo very full of fiſh, that the great quantity which dies for want of room in that ſtanding water, cauſes an extraordinary corruption, which infects the very water. They call thoſe places *Zamokam*, about which I have ſeen dwarf cherry-trees two foot and a half high, or thereabout, which bear very ſweet cherries, as big as plums, but are not ripe till the beginning of *Auguſt*. There are whole thickets of theſe little cherry-trees, very thick, and ſometimes half a league in length, but not above two or three hundred paces over. It is pleaſant at that time of the year to ſee thoſe little groves of cherry-trees, whereof there are many in the plains, and for the moſt part in the bottom of valleys. There are alſo abundance of dwarf almond-trees, but wild, and the fruit very bitter; nor are there ſuch numbers as to make one of thoſe little woods, as there is of the cherries, which are as good as if they were cultivated. I muſt confeſs that my curioſity prevailing with me to tranſplant ſome of thoſe cherry and almond-trees to *Bar*, my uſual place of reſidence, the fruit grew bigger and better reliſh'd, and the tree outgrew its natural ſmallneſs. Above thoſe places is a ſmall river, called *Demokant*, full of crayfiſh, above nine inches long. There they gather water-nuts, which are like water-colthrops, very good to eat boil'd.

Lower ſtill is *Romanow*; which is a ſort of a mount where the *Coſſacks* ſometimes meet to conſult together, and bring their troops into a body. It would be a convenient and pleaſant place to build a town. BEAUPLAN.

Iſlands on the Boriſthenes. Below this is an iſland half a league long, and one hundred and fifty paces over, which in ſpring is overflowed, they call it *Romanow*; ſeveral fiſhermen from *Kiow* and other places put in there. At the end of this iſland, the river has its full breadth, without being any more divided or ſtopped by iſlands. For which reaſon the *Tartars* are not afraid to paſs over there, being in no danger of ambuſhes, eſpecially above the iſland.

Lower ſtill on the *Ruſſian* ſide, is a place called *Tarenſki Rog*, one of the pleaſanteſt I ever ſaw to live in, and of great conſequence to build a fort, which would command the river; for there it has its full breadth, and is not above two hundred paces over, and I remember I ſhot a carabine which carried from one bank to the other. The farther bank is ſomewhat higher, and is called *Socogura*; to add to the conveniency of the place, it is all encompaſs'd with channels abounding in fiſh, which run among the iſlands.

Below is the iſland of the monaſtry all hemmed in with rocks and very high, with precipices all round twenty five or thirty foot high, ſave only toward the upper end, where it is lower, and for that reaſon it is never overflowed. There was formerly a monaſtry in it, whence the name was given it. Were not this iſland commanded from the ſhore, it would be good living there; the length of it is about one thouſand paces, the breadth eighty or a hundred: In it there are abundance of ſnakes and other ſerpents.

Next is *Koneſky Oſtro*, near three quarters of a league long, and a quarter over at the upper end, full of woods and bogs, and flooded in ſpring. In this iſland there are abundance of fiſhermen, who for want of ſalt preſerve their fiſh with aſhes, and dry a great deal. They fiſh in the river *Samar*, which on the other ſide falls into the *Nieper*, upon the right of the upper end of *Koneſky Oſtro*. This river of *Samar* and its territory is very conſiderable, not only for its plenty of fiſh, but for the honey, wax, deer, and wood for building, whereof it has greater ſtore than any other. Thence was brought all the wood uſed to build *Kudac*, of which place we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. This river runs very ſlow becauſe of its windings; the *Coſſacks* call it the holy river, perhaps on account of its fruitfulneſs. I have ſeen herrings and ſturgeon caught there in the ſpring, for there are none at any other time.

Below the end of *Koneſky Oſtro*, is *Kniarow Oſtro*, a little iſland all of ſolid rock

BEAUPLAN. about five or ſix hundred paces long, and one hundred broad, free from being flooded, as is *Koracky*. *Oſtro* ſtill lower, all rock too, without wood, but full of ſnakes.

Within cannon-ſhot lower is *Kudac*, which is the firſt *porouy*, that is, a ridge of rocks running quite croſs the river, and hindering navagation. There is a fort which I cauſed to be erected in *July* 1635. but in *Auguſt* following, after I was gone, one *Solyman* general of certain rebellious *Coſſacks*, in his return from the ſea, perceiving that caſtle obſtructed his return into the country, ſurprized it, and cut the gariſon in pieces, which then conſiſted of about two hundred men under the command of col. *Marcon:* and *Solyman*, after taking and plundering the fort, returned with the *Coſſacks* to *Zaporouy*; yet they continued not long maſters of it, being beſieg'd and taken by the other loyal *Coſſacks*, under the command of the great *Koniekſpolſky* caſtelan of *Cracoſky*; and laſtly, that general of the rebels was taken with all his followers, and carried to *Warſaw*, where he was quartered. The *Polanders* afterwards neglected that fort, which made the *Coſſacks* inſolent, and gave them the means to revolt in the year 1637. when we met them, being eighteen thouſand ſtrong, in their *tabort* at *Komaiky*, on the 16th of *December* the ſame year, about noon; and though our army conſiſted but of four thouſand fighting men, we fell on and routed them. The fight laſted till midnight, of them about ſix thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and five pieces of cannon taken; the reſt eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of the night then very dark, leaving us maſters of the field. We loſt about a hundred men, and had a thouſand wounded, and among them ſeveral commanders. *Monſieur de Morueil* a *French* gentleman, who was a lieutenant colonel, loſt his life, together with his enſign. Captain *Juſkeſby* was killed, and the lieutenant to *Monſieur de Croſade*, beſides ſeveral other ſtrangers. After this defeat the war with the *Coſſacks* laſted till *October* following, and then peace was concluded. That great and noble *Konieſpolſky* went in perſon to *Kudak* with four thouſand men, and continued there till the fort was made tenable, which was done in a month, or thereabouts: Then the general went away carrying along with him two thouſand men, and commanded me with ſome forces and pieces of cannon to take a view of the country as far as the laſt *Porouys*; and at my return ordered me to come up the river in their boats with my lord *Oſtrorok* great chamberlain, which gave me the opportunity of ſeeing thirteen falls of the water, and of making the map as you ſee it. In thoſe parts one hundred men nor a thouſand can travel in ſafety; nor ought armies to march but in good order, for thoſe plains are the uſual abode of the *Tartars*, who having no ſettled place to be in, are continually ranging up and down thoſe vaſt plains, and never go fewer than five or ſix thouſand, and ſometimes ten thouſand in a body. We leave it to another place to give an account of their manners, and way of making war. In this place I will only ſay, that I have ſeen and obſerved all the thirteen falls, and paſſed over them all in one ſingle boat, going up the river, which at firſt ſight ſeems impoſſible; ſome of thoſe falls we have made way thro', being ſeven or eight foot high; judge whether thoſe were not places to ply the oars. Among them none can be admitted as a *Coſſack*, that has not gone up all the *Porouys*; ſo that by their rule I may be a *Coſſack*, and that is the honour I acquired by that voyage.

This col. Marcon *was a* Frenchman.

To give you the true definition of the word *Porouy*, I muſt inform you that it is a *Ruſſian* word ſignifying a ſtone or rock; and this *Porouy* is a ridge of ſuch ſtones reaching quite croſs the river, whereof ſome are under water, others level with the ſurface, and others eight or ten foot above it. They are as big as a houſe, and very cloſe to one another, ſo that it reſembles a dam or bank to ſtop the courſe of the river, which then falls down five or ſix foot in ſome places, and ſix or ſeven in others, according as the *Boriſthenes* is ſwoln. For in ſpring when the ſnow melts, all the *Porouys* are cover'd with water, except the ſeventh, call'd *Nienaſtites*, which alone obſtructs navigation at that time of the year. In ſummer and autumn when the waters are very low, the falls are ſometimes ten or fifteen foot; and between theſe thirteen falls there is but one place, which is betwixt *Budilou* the tenth and *Tawolzane* the eleventh, where the *Tartars* can ſwim over, the banks there being very eaſy to get up. In all the diſtance from the firſt to the laſt *Porouy*, I obſerv'd but two iſlands that are not flooded: The firſt is athwart the fourth fall call'd *Strelczi*, which is all rock thirty foot high, all precipices quite round: It is about five hundred and eighty paces long, and ſeventy or eighty over: I know not whether there is any water in it, for no creature goes into it but the birds, yet all about it is cover'd with wild vines. The ſecond is much bigger, all rock too, but not ſo full of precipices as the other. The place is naturally ſtrong and pleaſant to dwell in. In this iſland there grows abundance of *Tavala*, which is a red wood as hard as box, whoſe quality is to make horſes ſtale.

Porouys, *falls on the* Boriſthenes.

The iſland is call'd *Tawolzany*, the name of the eleventh fall, as has been ſaid before. The thirteenth *Porouy* is call'd *Wolny*, and is a very convenient place to build either a town or fort.

A cannon-ſhot above it is a little rocky iſland call'd by the *Coſſacks Kaczawanicze*, which ſignifies boiling of millet, to expreſs their ſatisfaction for being come down all the falls in ſafety; therefore they feaſt in this little iſland, and it is with millet that they treat themſelves on their voyages.

Below *Kaczawanicze*, and as far as *Kuokoſow*, there are pleaſant places to inhabit. *Kuokoſow* is a little river which falls into the *Nieper* or *Boriſthenes* on the ſide of *Tartary*, and which gives name to a neck of land encloſed by the ſaid *Boriſthenes*, and hemm'd in by two inacceſſible precipices, as appears in the map, ſo that there is no coming at it but on the land-ſide through a place about two thouſand paces in breadth and low enough. It were need only to cloſe up this place to make a fine ſtrong town. It is true that the ground not being plain, it makes a ſort of hollow, ſo that the *Tartar* banks command theſe places, and they again command the *Tartar* banks. Theſe places are very high, the river is there free and undivided, and very narrow, eſpecially towards the ſouth, which you will find mark'd down in the map by pricks. Thoſe are the narroweſt parts I have ſo marked, and I have ſeen *Polanders* with a bow ſhoot acroſs the river, and the arrow has fallen above a hundred paces beyond the bank. There is the beſt and ſafeſt ford the *Tartars* have, for there the channel cannot be above a hundred and fifty paces over; the banks are eaſy, and the country open, ſo that they have no ambuſhes to fear: This paſs is alſo call'd *Kuiskoſow*. Half a league lower is the head of *Chortizza*, but I having gone no further on that ſide, ſhall only tell you what I learn'd by information from others, and therefore I do not deliver it as undeniable. They ſay that iſland is conſiderable becauſe of its great height, and being almoſt hemm'd in with precipices, therefore not very acceſſible. It is two leagues in length, and half a league in breadth, eſpecially towards the upper end, for it grows narrower and lower towards the weſt: it is not ſubject to floods, has abundance of oaks, and would be a very good place to build a town, which would be as it were a watch-tower over the *Tartars*. Below this iſland the river grows very wide.

Below it is *Wielsky Oſtro*, an iſland two leagues long, and all plain; it is of no great conſequence, becauſe in ſpring it is flooded, only about the middle, where there remains a place dry of about one thouſand and five hundred or two thouſand paces diameter. Oppoſite to this iſland on the *Tartar* ſide there riſes a river which falls into the *Nieper*, and is call'd *Konſekawoda*, very rapid, makes a channel apart, and holds its own till two leagues below the iſland of *Tawan*, along the *Tartar* banks; ſometimes it breaks out of the river, then returns to it again, leaving great banks of ſand between its courſe and the *Nieper*. BEAUPLAN.

Tomahowka is an iſland about the third part of a league diameter, or thereabouts, almoſt round, very high and lofty, like a half globe, all cover'd with wood: From the top of it may be ſeen all the *Nieper* from *Chortika* to *Tawan*. This iſland is very pleaſant, I could not learn after what manner the banks of it are, but that it is nearer *Ruſſia* than *Tartary*. *Ckemiſlky* had made choice of this place for his retreat when he was threatned with a ſiege, and it was there they began to rendezvous when they rebell'd and took the field in *May* 1648. and won the battle on the 26th of *May* near *Korſum*.

A little below the river of *Czertomelik* about the middle of the *Nieper* is a pretty big iſland, with ſome ruins. It is encompaſs'd by above ten thouſand other iſlands, lying every way in a very confuſed and irregular manner, ſome of them dry, others fenny; beſides they are all covered with great reeds like pikes, which obſtruct ſeeing the channels that part them: and into thoſe confuſe places the *Coſſacks* make their retreat, which they call *Scharbniza Woyskowa*, that is, the treaſure of the army. All theſe iſlands are drowned in ſpring, and only the place on which the ruins are remains dry. The river is full a league between the two banks. In theſe places it is that all the power of the *Turks* can do no good; many *Turkiſh* gallies have been loſt there as they purſu'd the *Coſſacks* returning from the Black Sea: for being got into this labyrinth, they could not find their way back, and the *Coſſacks* with their boats play'd upon them, drawing them in athwart the reeds. Ever ſince then the gallies do not go up the river above four or five leagues. It is believ'd that there are many pieces of cannon in *Scobnicza Woyskowa*, hid there by the *Coſſacks* in the channels, and none of the *Polanders* could find them out: for beſides that they do not go into thoſe parts, the *Coſſacks* who are very cloſe will not reveal the ſecret to them, and there are but few *Coſſacks* that know it. All the cannon they take from the *Turks* they ſink; nay their money is hid there too, and they only take it out as they have occaſion, every *Coſſack* having his particular hiding-place. For after pillaging among the *Turks* they divide the ſpoil,

BEAUPLAN. ſpoil, when they return to theſe parts; then every one hides his little concern, as has been ſaid, that is, ſuch things as will not decay under water.

Cholna is a boat in which they go to ſea. In theſe places they make their *Cholna*, that is, boats to croſs the ſea, which are about ſixty foot long, ten or twelve in breadth, and eight in depth, with two rudders as we ſhall ſhew in their draught.

Kair is an iſland five or ſix leagues long, all plain, and cover'd partly with reeds, and partly with willows: when the channel runs on the *Ruſſian* ſide, the iſland is larger towards *Tartary*. The weſt ſide is never drowned.

Wielesky Woda, that is, the great water oppoſite to *Skoruke*, where there are but few iſlands, and in the midſt of the river an empty ſpace without any.

Noſokouka is an iſland about two leagues long, without any wood, and drowned in ſpring. The *Tartars* paſs over acroſs this iſland, as they do acroſs *Kair Koſmaka*, which is but half a league. Betwixt this iſland and *Ruſſia* is a channel call'd *Koſmaka*, down which the *Coſſacks* ſlip when they go to ſea, for fear of being diſcover'd by the guard kept at the antient ruins of the caſtle *Aſlan Korodicke* upon the ſtrait of *Tawan*, for there the *Turks* always kept guard.

Tawan is a ſtreight and great paſſage of the *Tartars*, becauſe there the river runs all clear without interruption, and is not above five hundred paces over. The *Ruſſian* ſide is very high and ſteep, but the other bank is low, which is the iſland of *Tawan*, yet not ſubject to be drowned, and is a proper place to erect a fort, to curb the *Coſſacks* and prevent their going to ſea. The river runs all together, that is, it makes but one channel till two leagues below, where it begins to ſpread and make iſlands and channels again.

The iſland of *Tawan* is about two leagues and a half long, and a third part of a league over. The channel between the ſaid iſland and *Tartary* is *Konskowoda*, whereof we have ſpoken. When the river is ſwollen, it is fordable; about half the iſland floods on the weſt-ſide.

The iſland *Koſaky* is about half a league long, but drowned.

The iſland *Burhanka* about the ſame length, and flooded, but is a place where the *Tartars* paſs over, tho' there are three channels there, *viz.* the *Konskawoda*, and the *Dnieper* twice, and none of theſe channels are fordable.

Fords the Tartars paſs over. Between *Kuockaſow* and *Oraakow* there are five places where the *Tartars* may paſs over.

The firſt is *Kuczkaſow.*

The ſecond *Noſowka:* This paſs is very troubleſome, being at leaſt three quarters of a league over; being full of iſlands and reeds troubleſome to paſs, and ſeveral channels: Beſides, the *Tartars* are afraid of the *Coſſacks*, who are not generally far from thoſe parts, and lay ambuſhes for them.

The third and beſt is *Tawan*, being the moſt convenient, as well in regard it is but a few days journey from *Crim Tartary*, as becauſe the paſſage is eaſier, there being but two channels; the firſt *Konſkawoda*, commonly fordable in that place; then the *Dnieper*, that muſt be ſwam, but it is not very wide, yet may be about five or ſix hundred paces.

The fourth is *Burhanka*, not ſo good as the laſt; there are three very large channels to croſs, *viz.* *Konſkawodo* and the *Dnieper* twice, all three not fordable.

The fifth and laſt is *Oczakow*, which is the mouth of the *Dnieper*, a large *French* league over. The *Tartars* paſs it thus, they have flat boats, acroſs which they lay poles, to which they tie their horſes one before another, and as many on the one ſide as on the other to balance equally; they put their baggage into the boats, make the beaſts ſwim: the horſes ſo ty'd, follow, and eaſily croſs the mouth of the river; it puts them out of breath, but being tied ſhort to the pole which bears them up, and the boats going gently along, they get over with eaſe; this is to be underſtood in fair calm weather. In my time the *Turks* paſs'd all their cavalry over in this manner, and it conſiſted of forty thouſand horſe, when the grand ſeignior ſent to beſiege *Ozow*, or *Azak*, a town upon the *Don*, which the *Muſcovite Coſſacks* had taken the year before, which was 1642, from the *Turks*, and he carried it.

Three leagues above *Douczakow* is the mouth of *Bog*, where there is a triangular iſland half a league long oppoſite to *Semenwiruk*. *River Bog.*

Above *Semenwiruk* on the *Bog*, is *Winaradnakricza*, which is a fountain of water on a precipice; a pleaſant place, and fit be inhabited, as well for the conveniency of wood, as for the mills that might be made there. *Andre Oſtro* is an iſland about a league long, and a quarter over, full of wood. *Piczane Brod* is very fordable, the river does not carry there above three foot of water; is narrow, and the banks of an eaſy aſcent, ſo that heavy cannon might paſs over there. Below that place the river is navigable, and above fordable in many places, as may be obſerv'd in the map.

Krzeminczow is an iſland about one thouſand and five hundred or two thouſand paces in length, a thouſand in breadth, and between twenty and twenty five foot high;

high; upright on the north ſide, and low on the ſouth. Wood for building is but half a league off towards *Oczakow*. North of the ſaid iſland on the ſhore, there is a convenient place enough to erect a caſtle or fort, encompaſs'd with deep valleys like precipices. *Oucze Sauram*, or *Koneſpol Nowe*, is the dwelling-place the *Polanders* have towards *Oczakow*, which I founded in the year 1634; and in 1635 I caus'd a fort royal to be built there; a good place of arms might be there made againſt the *Turk*.

Oczakow a Turkiſh gariſon.

Let us return to *Oczakow*, to inform the reader, that it is a town belonging to the *Turk* upon the mouth of the *Dnieper*, call'd in the *Turkiſh* language *Dziancrimenda*. This town ſecures the galleys that guard the mouth of the *Boriſthenes*, to hinder the *Coſſacks* from running down into the *Black Sea*. There is no harbour, but only good anchoring. Under the caſtle there are two towns ſeated on a hill inclining on one ſide, and an abſolute precipice on the other, well ſecured from the ſouth-weſt to the north-weſt. The walls of the caſtle are about twenty five foot high, but thoſe about the town are much lower. In the town there are about two thouſand inhabitants. South of thoſe towns there is another little caſtle in the nature of a platform, on which ſome pieces of cannon are planted to ſhoot croſs the river to the other ſide of the *Boriſthenes* (which is at leaſt a league wide of the mouth) where there is a tower in which the *Turks* keep guard to diſcover the *Coſſacks* at a diſtance on the ſea, and give the ſignal to the galleys. But the *Coſſacks* laugh at that, for they can paſs and repaſs, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

About a league from *Oczakow* towards the ſouth-weſt there is a good harbour, call'd *Berezan*, the mouth of it is at leaſt two thouſand paces over; there is no paſſing it without a boat; it is deep enough for galleys, which can run two leagues up the river that makes the harbour, its name is *Anczakrick*.

Jezero, that is, lake *Teligol*, is eight leagues long, and between the 7th and 8th part of a league over; there is a natural dike or bank along the ſea-ſhore to hinder the lake and ſea from mixing. It breeds ſuch abundance of fiſh, that the water ſtinks for want of an outlet.

Jezero Kuialik is two thouſand paces from the ſea, and is as full of fiſh as the other. There go caravans to theſe two lakes from above fifty leagues off for fiſh. There are carps and pikes of a wonderful bigneſs.

Bielegrod is ſeated a league from the ſea upon the river *Nieſter*, which the *Turks* call *Kierman*. This town is alſo ſubject to the *Turk*.

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Kilia is another *Turkiſh* town, wall'd round, and with a counterſcarp. The caſtle is ſeated above the town upon the river *Danube*, a league from its mouth. On the other bank oppoſite to it is old *Kilia*, of which ſome ruins are ſtill to be ſeen.

Kilia another gariſon.

Budziak is between *Bielegrod* and *Kilia*, where is a plain about twelve leagues in length, and five or ſix in breadth, whither the mutinous *Tartars*, who own neither the *Cham* nor *Turk*, retire. There are about eighty or ninety villages of thoſe libertine *Tartars*, who daily run into the deſert plains to ſteal Chriſtians and ſell them to the galleys, for they live upon rapine like birds of prey. They ſometimes break into the *Ukraine* and *Podolia*, but make no long ſtay there, and are forc'd to retire haſtily, becauſe they are not above four or five thouſand *Tartars*; but they are continually upon the borders, and in the deſert places. Their villages are moveable, and their houſes built upon two wheels, like the ſhepherds huts in *France*; for when they have eaten up the graſs in one valley, they raiſe the camp and remove, as I ſhall at laſt relate.

Budziak.

Tendra is an iſland three or four leagues from the mouth of the *Dnieper*, but plain, with ſome buſhes: In it there is very good freſh water, and all about it good anchoring.

Two leagues from the mouth of the *Danube* is a low iſland about two leagues in compaſs, in which there is alſo freſh water; the *Turks* call it *Illanada*, that is, iſland of ſerpents.

Smil is a *Turkiſh* town, not wall'd: A league above *Smil* is the place where *Oſman* the great *Turk* laid a bridge over, in 1620, when he came into *Podolia* with ſix hundred thouſand fighting men; it is a cannon-ſhot below *Oblizicza*, and yet he did nothing but take a poor caſtle call'd *Koſin*, which is upon the river *Nieſter* in *Walachia*; and the *Polanders* deliver'd it up on condition the *Turk* ſhould return to *Conſtantinople*; which he did, after loſing above eighty thouſand men, either by the ſword or diſtempers that rag'd in his army. The river in that place is very narrow, not above five or ſix hundred paces over, for the *Turks* with their bows ſhoot over it. Below that bridge the *Danube* divides into ſeveral branches, and the chief channel runs down to *Kilia*.

Smil on the Danube.

Between *Rene* and *Oblizicca* are two iſlands, as may be ſeen; *Palleco* is a ſmall iſland between the *Danube* and the ſea, about two thouſand paces in circumference, being round and encompaſs'd with precipices, and all wooded; but every year the

BEAUPLAN. *Danube* carries away ſome port, its current being very rapid, and the iſland of a ſandy ſoil.

Galas is in Walachia, the inhabitants *Greek* Chriſtians; it is ſeated on the *Danube* betwixt the mouths of the rivers *Sereth* and *Prut*.

South of it is *Warna*, a port on the *Black Sea* in *Bulgaria*: There is no other place in the *Black Sea* till you come to *Conſtantinople*, but only the towers of the *Black Sea*, which are upon the mouth of the *Strait* three leagues from *Conſtantinople*.

Of the Crim Tartary.

Tartars. CRIM is a great peninſula in the *Black Sea*, ſouth of *Muſcovy*: It is full of *Tartars* come out of the great *Tartary*, who have a king whom they call *cham*, who holds of the great *Turk*; and theſe are the *Tartars* who ſo often make inroads into *Poland* and *Muſcovy*, to the number of eighty thouſand, who burn and ravage all they find in their way; and then return home with fifty or ſixty thouſand *Ruſſian* ſlaves, and ſell them to ſerve aboard the galleys, for theſe people live only upon rapine.

Deſcription of Crim Tartary. This peninſula's iſthmus is not above half a league over, which if cut it would be an iſland: Upon it there is a pitiful town without any wall, with only a ditch about it, twenty foot wide, and ſix or ſeven foot deep, half fill'd up, encompaſs'd with a poor rampart ſix or ſeven foot high, and about fifteen foot thick. This town is ſeated about three hundred paces from the eaſtern ſhore; has a ſtone caſtle, enclos'd within another caſtle, which encompaſſes it round. And from this town to the weſtern ſhore there is about half a league, and a ditch that reaches to the ſea. In the town there are not above four hundred inhabitants: The *Tartars* call it *Or*, and the *Polanders*, *Perecop*, that is in *Engliſh*, a land trench'd about; for which reaſon geographers call that part of *Tartary*, *Tartaria Precopenſis*.

Koſeſow is an ancient town eaſtward, belonging to the *cham*; it may contain about two thouſand inhabitants, and has a harbour.

Gopetorkan, or *Cherſonne*, is an ancient ruin'd place.

Bacieſary is the *cham* of *Tartary*'s place of abode, and has about two thouſand inhabitants.

Alma, or *Foczola*, is a village where there is a catholick church dedicated to St. *John*, it contains about fifty houſes.

Baluclawa, a port and town, where they build the grand ſeignior's ſhips, galleys, and galleons. The mouth of the harbour is about forty paces over, the port it ſelf about eight hundred paces in length and four and fifty in breadth: What water it has I could not learn; or what bottom, whether ſand, owze, or rock; but it is likely to be above fifteen foot, ſince veſſels above five hundred tun go in loaded. This borough has not above one hundred and twenty houſes. It is one of the pleaſanteſt places, and beſt harbours in the world, for a ſhip is always afloat in it; and whatever ſtorm blows, it is not toſs'd, for it is ſheltered from all winds by high mountains that encloſe the harbour.

Mancupo is a pitiful caſtle, upon a mountain called *Baba*: All the inhabitants are *Jews*, and there cannot be above ſixty houſes.

Caffa *is the capital of* Tartary *Caffa* is the capital city of *Crim Tartary*, where there is a *Turkiſh* governor for the grand ſeignior. The *Tartars* do not much live in this city; but moſt of the inhabitants are Chriſtians, ſerved by ſlaves they buy of the *Tartars*, who take them in *Poland* and *Muſcovy*. In this town there are twelve *Greek* churches, two and thirty of *Armenians*, and one of *Catholicks*, call'd *S. Peter*: It may contain five or ſix thouſand houſes, but there are in it thirty thouſand ſlaves, for in that country they make uſe of no other ſervants. This is a city of great trade, and deals to *Conſtantinople*, *Trebiſond*, *Sinope*, and other places; and in ſhort to all parts, as well in the *Black Sea*, as throughout all the *Archipelago* and *Mediterranean*.

Other towns. *Crimenda* is very ancient, belongs to the *cham*, and has about an hundred houſes.

Karaſu alſo belongs to the *cham*, and has about two thouſand houſes.

Tuſla, where the ſalt-pits are, has about eighty houſes.

Combas about two thouſand houſes.

Kercy about one hundred houſes.

Ackmecery about a hundred and fifty houſes.

Arabat, or *Orboſec*, is a ſtone caſtle which has a tower ſeated on the neck of a peninſula, encloſed by the ſea of *Limen* and *Tineka Woda*; and this neck is not above half a quarter of a league over, and is paliſado'd from ſea to ſea. The peninſula is called by our *Coſſacks*, *Coſa*, becauſe it is ſhaped like a ſythe; there it is the *cham* keeps his breed, which is accounted to amount to above ſeventy thouſand horſes.

Tinkawoda is a ſtrait between the continent and *Coſa*, is but two hundred paces over, and fordable in calm weather. The *Coſſacks* paſs over in the *tabort*, when they go to ſteal the *cham*'s horſes, as we ſhall mention hereafter.

From *Baluclawa* to *Caſſa*, the ſea-coaſt is very high, and perpendicular, all the reſt of the peninſula is low and plain. On the ſouth ſide towards *Or* there are abundance of moving villages of *Tartars*, living upon carts with two wheels like thoſe of *Budziak*.

The mountains of *Baluclawa* and *Caroſu*, are called mountains of *Baba*, whence ſpring ſeven rivers that water all the peninſula, and are all ſhaded with trees.

The river *Kabats* produces vines. BEAU-

On the river *Sagre* are abundance of PLAN. gardens, and much fruit.

The ſtrait between *Kercy* and *Taman* is not above three or four *French* leagues over.

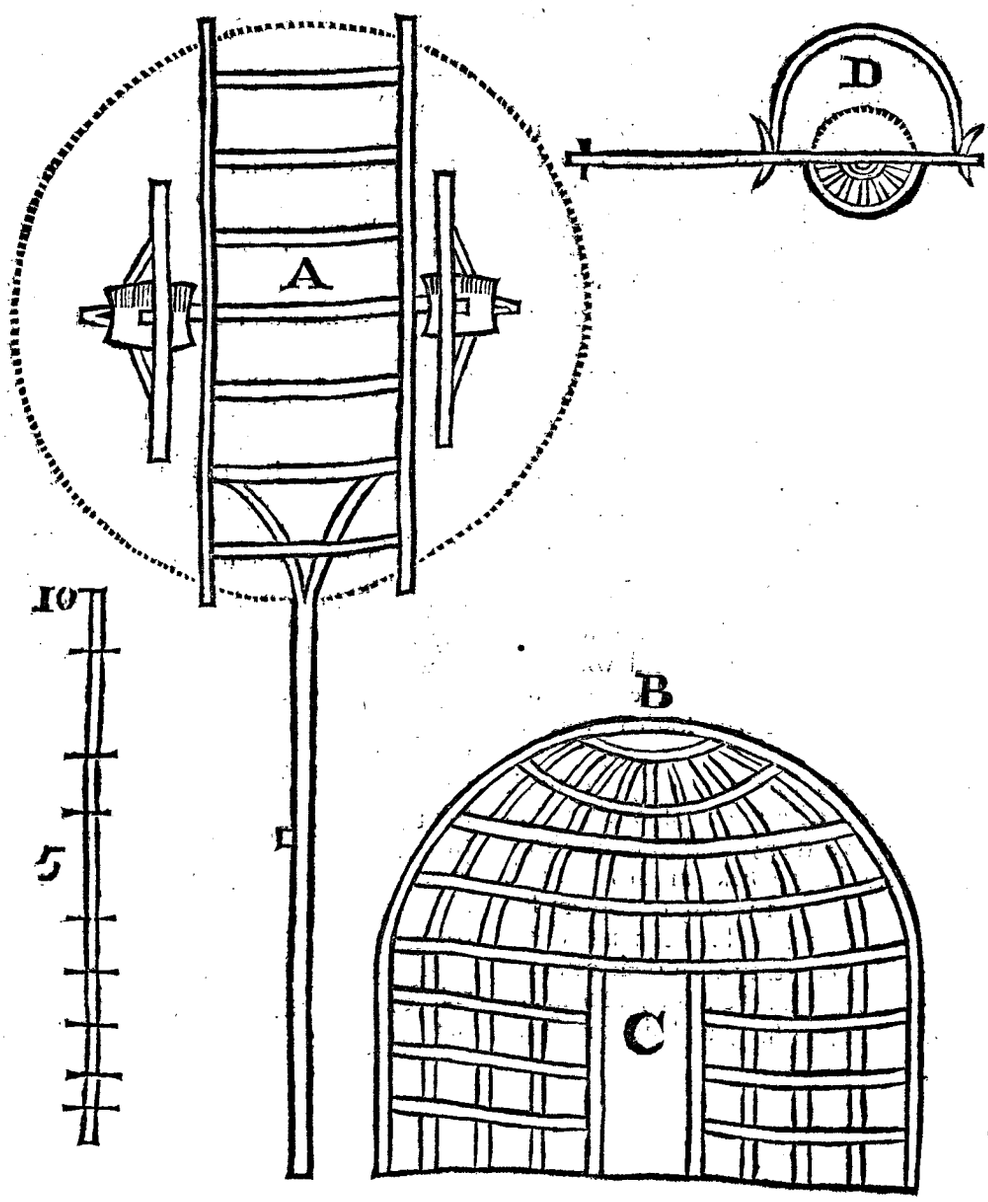
Taman is a town belonging to the *Turk*, in the country of *Circaſſia*. This borough has a poor caſtle, where about thirty *Hanichares* keep guard; as is the like at *Temruk*, that ſecures the paſs at *Azak*, or at *Zouf*, which is a town of note. At the mouth of the river *Donais*, eaſt of *Taman*, is the country of the *Circaſſians*, who are Chriſtian *Tartars*, and look'd upon as the faithfulleſt.

Of the Crim Tartars.

Nature and qualities of the Tartars.

SINCE we are upon the *Tartar* country, I think it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat of their manners, way of living, how they make war in the field, what order they obſerve in marching through an enemy's country, and how they make their retreats into the deſert plains.

The *Tartars* for ſeveral days after they are born, do not open their eyes, like the dogs and other creatures; their ſtature is low, for the talleſt of them are ſcarce above our midling men; they are rather ſlender than groſs, but luſty and bony, their ſtomach high and large, their ſhoulders thick,



BEAUPLAN. their neck ſhort, their head big, their face almoſt round, their forehead high, their eyes narrow, black and long, their noſe ſhort, their teeth as white as ivory, their complexion ſallow, their hair black and harſh, like a horſe's mane. In ſhort, they have quite another phyſiognomy than Chriſtians, and a man may know them at firſt ſight. Their ſhape and countenance is ſomewhat like that of the *American Indians* about *Maragnon*, and of thoſe they call *Caraibes*. They are all of them luſty and bold ſoldiers, hardy to endure fatigue, and all the ſorts of weather. For from ſeven years of age when they come out of their *cantares*, that is, their houſes or huts upon two wheels, they never lie under any other roof but the canopy of heaven, and after that age they never give them any thing to eat but what they fetch down with their arrows. Thus they teach their children to hit a mark, and when they come to twelve years of age they ſend them to the wars. It is their mothers care when their children are very young, to bathe them every day in water that has ſalt diſſolved in it, to harden their ſkin, and make them leſs ſenſible of the cold, when they are forced to ſwim rivers in winter.

Crim Tartars. We ſhall take notice of two ſorts of *Tartars*, the one called *Hayſky*, and the other *Crimſky*; theſe laſt are of that peninſula we have mentioned, in the *Black Sea*, commonly called *Scythia Taurica*. But thoſe of *Nahayſky* are divided into two ſorts, that is the great *Nahayſky*, and the little *Nahayſky*, both of them inhabiting between the river *Don*, and that of *Kuban*, but moving, and as it were ſavage; part of them are ſubject to the *cham*, or king of *Crim Tartary*, and others to the *Muſcovites*. There are ſome of them ſubject to no body. Theſe *Tartars* are not of ſo generous a temper as thoſe of *Crim Tartary*, nor theſe ſo brave as thoſe of *Budziak*. They are clothed after this manner, they wear a ſhort ſhirt of cotton, which reaches but half a foot below their waſte, drawers and cloſe cloth breeches, and the common ſort of cloth pinked; the fineſt among them have a *caffetan* of pink'd cotton cloth, and over it a cloth gown, lined with fox-ſkins, or ſables, their cap of the ſame, and their boots of red *Turky* leather without ſpurs.

Their habit. The common ſort wear only a caſſock of ſheep-ſkins, with the wool outwards in hot or rainy weather; and to meet them unexpectedly in the field in this garb is frightful, for a man would take them for white bears a horſeback. But in winter and cold weather, they turn their caſſock, wearing the wool on the inſide, and make a cap of the ſame ſkin, and in the ſame manner.

Their weapons are a ſcymitar, a bow and a quiver, with eighteen or twenty arrows, a knife ſtuck in at their girdle, a flint to ſtrike fire, an awl, with five or ſix fathom of ſmall leather-thongs, to bind the priſoners they catch. Every one of them carries a ſun-dial in his pocket. Only the richeſt wear coats of mail, the others for want of better proviſion go to the war without any armour. They are all good horſemen, and reſolute, but ſet ill, their legs being bent, becauſe they ride ſhort, and ſo they ſet a horſeback as a monkey would upon a hare; yet for all that they are very active a horſeback, and ſo expert, that as they ride a large trot, they will leap off one horſe when he is tired upon another they lead, that they may fly the better when purſued, and the horſe as ſoon as eas'd of his maſter's weight comes about to his right hand, and keeps along even with him, to be ready to receive him again when he has occaſion to mount him, according to their uſual manner of activity. Thus are the horſes taught to attend their maſters. In other regards the horſes are ugly and ill ſhaped, but good to endure fatigue; for thoſe *Baquemates* (ſo they call that ſort of horſes) that have a very thick main, and hanging down to the ground, and their tail in the ſame manner, are the only beaſts for running twenty or thirty leagues without drawing bit.

Their diet. Moſt of the common ſort of thoſe that remove from place to place do not eat bread, unleſs they be among us. They had rather eat horſe-fleſh than beef, yew-mutton, or goats, for they know nothing of weather-mutton; and they kill no horſe till he is very ſick, and no hopes left of his being ever ſerviceable; and though the horſe ſhould die naturally of any diſtemper whatſoever, they will not forbear eating him, for it is to be conceived that they are not at all dainty. They that go to war live after the ſame manner, and join ten in a meſs; and when any horſe among them is not able to travel, they cut his throat; and if they can get any meal they mix it with the blood, as if it where hogs-blood to make puddings; then they boil it in a pot, and eat that as a curious diſh. The fleſh they dreſs thus, they quarter the horſe, and lend their comrades that want three quarters, keeping for themſelves only a hind-quarter, which they cut out in as large ſlices as they can in the fleſhieſt part, and only an inch or two thick; this they lay upon their horſe's back, and the ſaddle over it, girding him as tight as they can: then they mount, ride three or four hours a gallop, for all the army goes the ſame pace. Then they alight,

alight, unſaddle, turn their ſlice of meat, and ſtroking up the horſes ſweat with their hand, baſte the fleſh with it, that it may not grow dry; then they ſaddle again, and girt hard as before, riding on three or four hours longer, and by that time the fleſh is dreſt to their mind, as if it were ſtewed, and this is their dainty cookery. As for the reſt which cannot be cut into ſlices, they boil it with a little ſalt, but never ſkim it, for they are of opinion that in ſkimming the pot they throw away all the juice and reliſh of the meat. Thus that miſerable people lives, drinking fair water when they can meet with it, which is but very ſeldom, for all the winter they drink nothing but melted ſnow. Such as are able, as for inſtance the *morzas*, that is gentlemen, and others who have mares, or ſheaſſes, drink their milk, which ſerves them inſtead of wine and brandy. The horſe's fat they mix with millet or barley, or buck-wheat meal, for they loſe nothing; and of the hide they make thongs, bridles, ſaddles, whips (being ſkilful at all theſe trades) to put on their horſes, for they wear no ſpurs. Thoſe that do not go to war, eat as it happens, or according to the ſeaſon, ewe, ram, kid, hens, and other fowl, (as for ſwines-fleſh, they eat none of it no more than the *Jews*) if they can get meal, they bake cakes in the embers; and their moſt common food is millet, barley, and buck-wheat meal. Theſe ſorts of grain are ſowed among them, and they eat rice brought from abroad. As for fruit they have very little, but honey is common among them, and they are great lovers of it, and make a ſort of drink, but not boiled, ſo that it cauſes terrible gripes. Thoſe that dwell in towns are more civilized, and make bread ſomewhat like ours; their common drink is *breha*, made of boiled millet. This liquor is as thick as milk, and will make a man drunk. They alſo drink brandy brought them from *Conſtantinople*. There is another ſort of liquor which the poor who cannot buy *breha*, make thus: They put cow's, ſheep's, and goat's milk into a churn, and churn it very well, make a little butter, and keep the butter-milk to drink; but this ſoon growing ſour, they make freſh every day. They are a ſober people, eat little ſalt with their meat, but a great deal of ſpice, and among the reſt *Guinea* pepper. They make another ſort of liquor, like that us'd by the people of *Madagaſcar*, which is when they boil their meat with a little ſalt without ſkimming, as has been ſaid, they keep the broth, and call it *chourbe*, warming it when they drink. When they roaſt, they ſpit a whole ewe or ram; when roaſted, they cut it into pieces a foot long, and four inches broad. Thus thoſe people feed.

Since we have ſaid how they live in the field, we will now give an account how they enter an enemy's country to pillage, and burn and carry away ſlaves. BEAUPLAN.

Manner of making war.

When the *cham*, their lord, receives orders from the grand ſeignior to break into *Poland*, he with all expedition gathers his troops, that is, eighty thouſand men, when he goes in perſon; for at other times their armies conſiſt but of forty or fifty thouſand men, when a *morza* commands them. Their irruptions are generally about the beginning of *January*, but always in winter, that they may meet with no obſtacles in their way, and that the rivers and marſhes may not hinder them from ranging whereſoever they are directed. Being aſſembled and muſtered, they advance; but the reader muſt obſerve, that the *Crim Tartary* lies between 46 and 47 degrees of north latitude, yet the deſart plains that lie north of them, are covered all the winter with ſnow till *March*, and this encourages them to undertake ſuch a long courſe, becauſe their horſes are not ſhod, and the ſnow ſaves their feet, which could not be were the ground bare, for the hardneſs of the froſt would batter their hoofs. The greateſt and richeſt men among them ſhoe their horſes with horn, and faſten it to the hoof with leather, but that is not laſting; for which reaſon they dread a winter when the ſnow does not lie, and the froſt, where their horſes that are beſt ſhod will ſlip. Their marches are but ſhort, generally about ſix *French* leagues, and ſo move on day after day, laying their buſineſs ſo that that they may be back before the froſt breaks, and make their retreat in ſafety. Thus they come to the frontiers of *Poland*, ſtill travelling along the valleys they are acquainted with, and which ſeem to ſucceed one another: and this they do to ſecure themſelves in the open country, and prevent being repulſed by the *Coſſacks* who lie in wait in ſeveral places to diſcover when they come, and what way they take, to alarm the country. But the *Tartars* are ſo cunning, as I obſerved, that they travel through the deep valleys only, and at night when they encamp, they make no fire; for the ſame reaſon they ſend out parties to diſcover, and endeavour to take ſome *Coſſacks* that may give them intelligence of their enemies: ſo the watchfulleſt and cunningeſt ſurprizes his enemy. Thus the *Tartars* march one hundred in front, that is three hundred horſes, for every one of them leads two, which ſerve for relays, as has been ſaid before: their front may extend eight hundred or a thouſand paces, and they are eight hundred or a thouſand in file, which reaches three long leagues, or four when they keep cloſe, for at other times they extend above ten

BEAUPLAN. leagues. This is wonderful to thoſe that have not ſeen it, for eighty thouſand *Tartars* make up above two hundred thouſand horſes: Trees are not thicker in the woods than horſes are at that time in the field; and to ſee them at a diſtance, they look like a cloud riſing in the horizon, which increaſes as it riſes, and ſtrikes a terror into the boldeſt, I mean thoſe who are not us'd to ſee ſuch multitudes together. Thus theſe mighty armies march, halting every hour, about half a quarter of an hour, to give their horſes time to ſtall; and they are ſo well manag'd, that they do it as ſoon as they ſtop; then the *Tartars* alight and piſs too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the ſignal of a whiſtle; and when they are come within three or four leagues of the borders, they lie ſtill two or three days in ſome place choſen on purpoſe, where they think they are conceal'd; there they give out orders, and refreſh their army, which they diſpoſe in this manner. They divide it into three parts, two thirds are to compoſe one body, the other third is ſubdivided into two parts, each of theſe two making a wing, one on the right, the other on the left. In this order they enter the country. The main body moves ſlowly (which in their language they call *Choche*) with the wings, but continually without halting day or night, allowing but an hour to refreſh, till they are got ſixty or eighty leagues into the country without doing any harm. But as ſoon as they begin to march back, the body holds the ſame pace: then the general diſmiſſes the two wings, which have liberty each on its own ſide to ſtray ten or twelve leagues from the main body, but that is to be underſtood half of the way forward, and the other half ſideways. I had almoſt forgot to ſay, that each wing, which may conſiſt of eight or ten thouſand men, is again ſubdivided into ten or twelve ſquadrons, of five or ſix hundred men each, who run up and down to the villages, encompaſs them, making four *corps de garde* about each village, and great fires all the night, for fear any peaſant ſhould eſcape them: then they fall to pillaging and burning, kill all that make any reſiſtance, and take and carry away all that ſubmit, not only men, women, and ſucking babes, but the cattel, horſes, cows, oxen, ſheep, goats, *&c.* As for the ſwine, they drive and ſhut them up in a barn or ſuch like place, and fire the four corners, ſo great is the loathing they have for thoſe creatures. The wings being allow'd to ſtray but ten or twelve leagues (as has been ſaid) return with their booty to the main body, which is eaſily done; for they leave a great track, marching above fifty in front, ſo that they have nothing to do but to follow; and in four or five hours they join their body again, where as ſoon as they are come, two other wings conſiſting of the like number as the former, go out on the right and left to make much the ſame havock: then they come in, and two others go out, and ſo continue their excurſions without ever diminiſhing their body, which, as has been mention'd, makes two thirds of the army, and move gently, to be always in breath, and ready to fight the *Poliſh* army, if they ſhould meet it; tho' their deſign is not to meet but avoid it, as near as poſſible. They never return the ſame way they broke in, but take a compaſs the better to eſcape the *Poliſh* army: for they always fight in their own defence, nay and they muſt be forced to it, without they knew themſelves to be ten to one; and yet would they conſider of it before they fell on, for theſe robbers (ſo we may call the *Tartars*) do not enter *Poland* to fight, but to pillage and rob by way of ſurprize. When the *Polanders* meet them, they make work, forcing them to get home faſter than their uſual pace. At other times after they have ſufficiently ſtray'd, plunder'd and robb'd, they enter upon the deſart plains of the frontiers, thirty or forty leagues in length; and being in that place of ſafety make a great halt, recovering breath, and putting themſelves into order, if they were in any confuſion on account of meeting the *Polanders*.

That day ſev'night they bring together all their booty, which conſiſts in ſlaves and cattel, and divide it among themſelves. It is a ſight would grieve the moſt ſtony heart to ſee a huſband parted from his wife, and the mother from her daughter, without hopes of ever ſeeing one another, being fallen into miſerable ſlavery under *Mahometan* infidels, who uſe them inhumanly. Their brutiſh nature cauſing them to commit a thouſand enormities, as raviſhing of maids, forcing of women in the ſight of their parents and huſbands, and circumciſing their children in their preſence to devote them to *Mahomet*. In ſhort, it would move the moſt inſenſible to compaſſion to hear the cries and lamentations of thoſe wretched *Ruſſians*; for thoſe people ſing and roar when they cry. Theſe poor creatures are diſpers'd ſeveral ways, ſome for *Conſtantinople*, ſome for *Crim Tartary*, and ſome for *Anatolia*, &c.

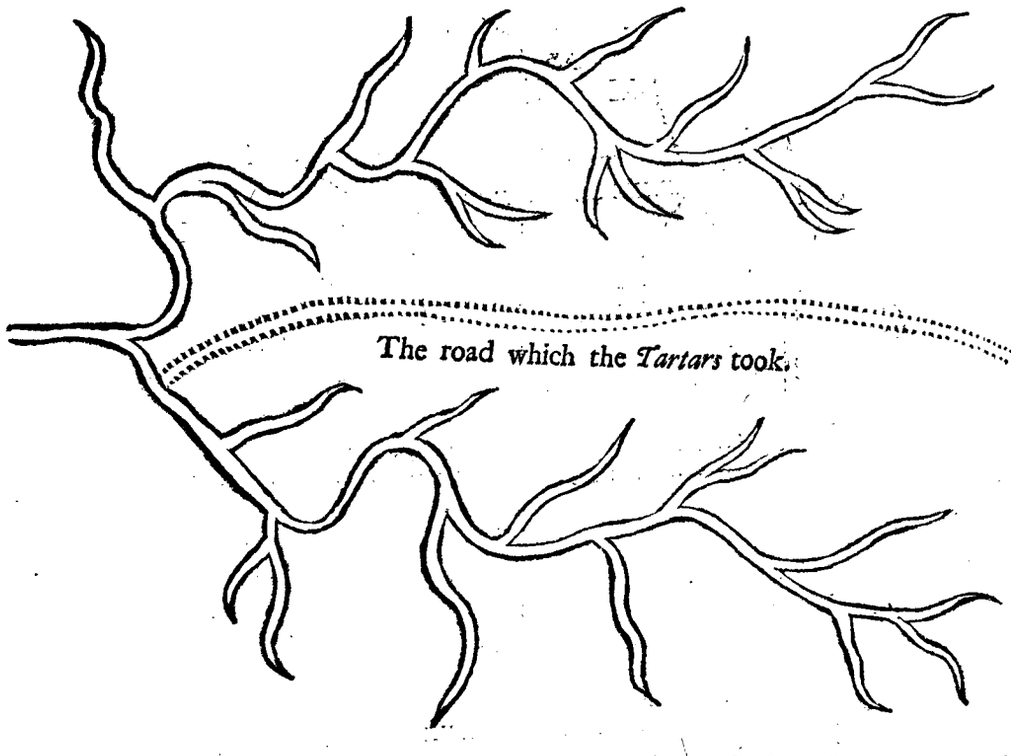
Thus the *Tartars* gather and carry away above five hundred thouſand ſouls in leſs than a fortnight: thus they uſe their ſlaves when they have ſhar'd them, and then ſell them if they think fit, when they return into their country.

Now let us relate how the *Tartars* enter *Poland* in ſummer, being generally but ten

or

or twelve thouſand ſtrong, becauſe if they came in a greater number, they would be too ſoon diſcover'd. Thus it is.

When they are within twenty or thirty leagues of the frontiers, they divide their army into ten or twelve ſquadrons, each of them containing about a thouſand horſe: five or ſix of theſe troops they ſend to the right, about a league or a league and a half diſtant from one another; the other five or ſix ſquadrons doing the ſame on the left, that their front may extend ten or twelve leagues, ſending out careful ſcouts above a league before them to get intelligence, that they may know how to proceed. In this manner they travel athwart, keeping cloſe together, appointing to meet again upon a day prefix'd at a certain place of rendezvous, two or three leagues from the frontiers, like ſeveral beams joining in one common center. The reaſon why they march in ſeveral diſtinct bodies, is, that if the *Coſſacks*, who lie two or three leagues out in the plains as centinels to obſerve their motions, ſhould ſpy them, they may not judge them to be ſo great a number, being able to give an account but of the ſquadron they ſee. For theſe *Coſſacks* having diſcover'd the *Tartars* at a diſtance, immediately retire to alarm the country, and ſeeing but a thouſand or thereabouts, are not much frighted at that number, but are ſurpriz'd ſome days after they have received the news. The *Tartars* enter upon the frontier after this manner, they run along between two great rivers, and always keep the upper country, ſeeking the heads of little rivers that fall into the great ones, ſome into one and ſome into another: by this means they meet with no obſtruction in their inroads, plunder and ravage as the others do in winter, but never go above ten or twelve leagues up the country, and immediately return. At moſt they ſtay but two days in the country, and then retire as we ſaid before, divide the ſpoil, and every one returns home.



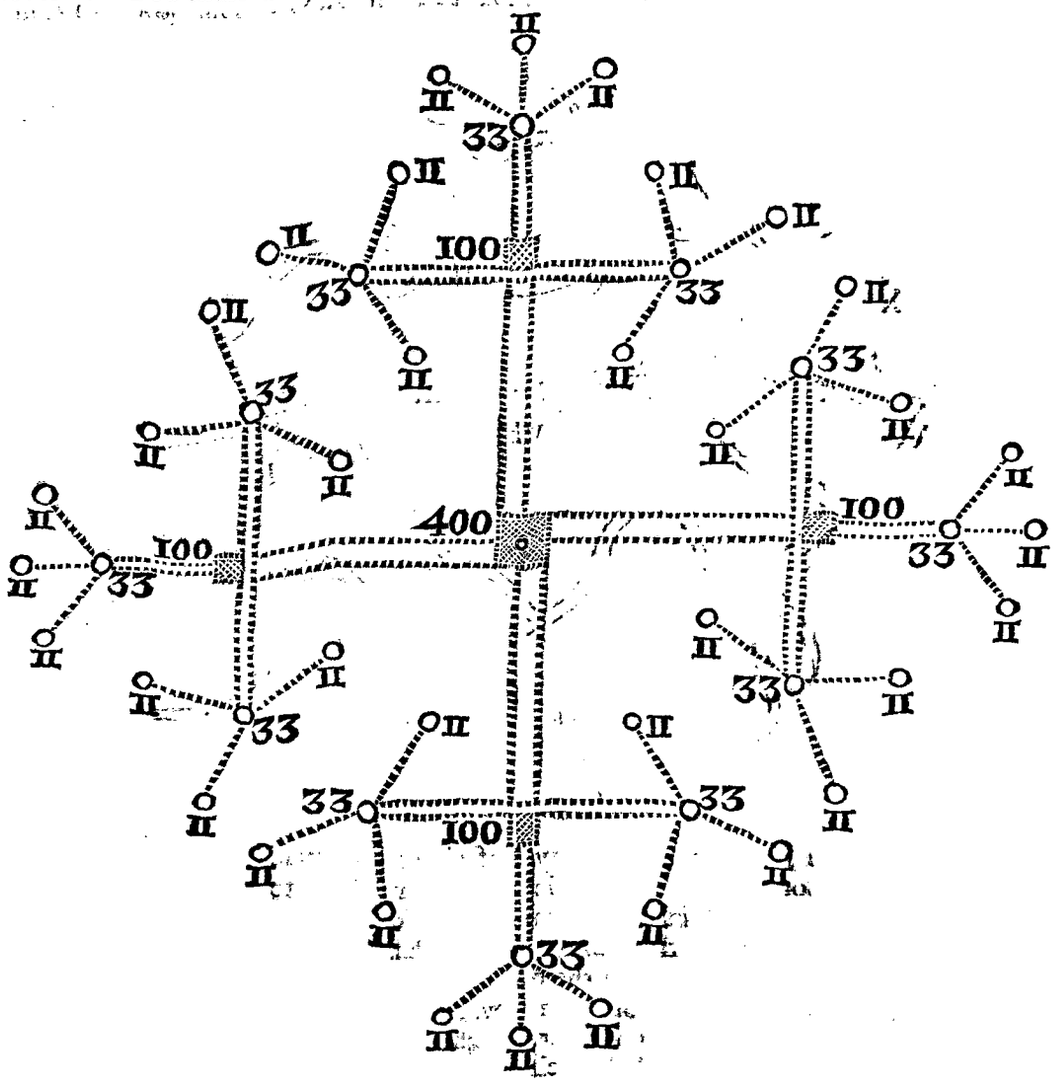
Theſe *Tartars* are libertines, who obey neither the *Cham* nor *Turk*, and live in *Budziak*, which is a plain lying between the mouths of the *Nieſter* and the *Danube*, as we ſaid before, where in my time there were at leaſt twenty thouſand of them that had fled, or were baniſh'd thither. They are braver than the *Tartars* that dwell in *Crim-Tartary*, being better exercis'd, and daily upon action: They are alſo better mounted than the others. The plains lying between *Budziak* and the *Ukraine* are generally ſtor'd with eight or ten thouſand *Tartars*, who live divided in troops of about a thouſand each, ten or twelve leagues aſunder, to ſeek their fortune: and becauſe of the danger there is in croſſing thoſe plains, the *Coſſacks* go in *taborts*, that is, they travel in the middle of their carts, which march in two files on their flanks, eight or ten of them in the front, and as many in the rear: they themſelves are in the middle with firelocks, and half-pikes and ſcythes upon long poles; the beſt mounted among them about their *taborts*, with a centinel a quarter of a league before them, another at the ſame diſtance behind, and one upon each flank. If theſe diſcover

Tabort *is the ſame we call a caravan.*

Tartars

BEAUPLAN. *Tartars*, they make a ſign, and the *tabort* halts. If the *Tartars* are diſcovered firſt, the *Coſſacks* beat them; and if the *Tartars*, diſcover the *Coſſacks* firſt, they give them a fierce aſſault by way of ſurprize in their *tabort*. In ſhort, they who travel over thoſe plains muſt have, as the *Italians* term it, good feet and good eyes. I have often met them in the field at leaſt five hundred together, who aſſaulted us in our *tabort*; and though I had but fifty or ſixty *Coſſacks* with me, they could do us no harm, nor could we gain any advantage over them, for they would not come within the reach of our arms, but after making ſeveral eſſays as if they would fall upon us, and let fall ſhowers of arrows on our heads, for they ſhoot flights twice as far as our arms will carry, they go off and cunningly hide themſelves in the plains to ſurprize ſome *Caravan* before they are diſcover'd. You muſt underſtand that thoſe plains are cover'd with graſs two foot high, ſo that they cannot go without treading it down, which leaves ſuch a track as it is eaſy to gueſs what number they were, and which way they went; and therefore for fear of being purſued by a greater power, they have found out this contrivance, that if there are four hundred in a troop, they will make four ranks of about an hundred men each, ſome march north, others ſouth, others eaſt, and others weſt: every one of them goes about a league and a half ſtrait on its way, and then each little parcel divides into three of about thirty three in a company, who move, as is mention'd before, excepting towards the river; then at about half a league diſtance they divide into three again, and ſo travel till they come to be but ten or twelve together, as may be better conceiv'd by the draught than can be explain'd by words.

How the Tartars *ſhun the* Coſſacks.



All this is done in leſs than an hour and a half, and riding a large trot; for when they are diſcover'd they can never make haſte enough; they have all of them theſe tricks at their fingers end, and know all the plains as well as pilots know their harbours. Every little ſquadron of ten or eleven croſſes the country at diſcretion, without ever meeting in their range, but at a day appointed they rendezvous ten

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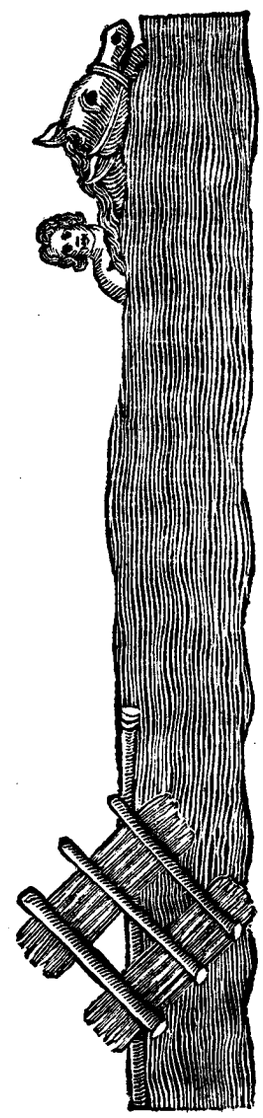

or twelve leagues from the place where they broke up, in ſome bottom where there is water and good graſs, for there they lie. Every little troop travels by itſelf, ſome have but a little way to the rendezvous, but others by reaſon of their windings and the compaſs they take, have a long journey; and the graſs trod but by eleven horſes, riſes again the next day, ſo that no ſign remains. When together they lie hid ſome days, then move in a body, and fall upon ſome open town on the frontiers, which they ſurprize and carry; which done, they fly, as has been ſaid before. This crafty method have the *Tartars* found out to conceal themſelves in the plains, and the better to delude the *Coſſacks*, who purſue them hotly, knowing they are not above five or ſix hundred: the *Coſſacks* mount to the number of one thouſand or twelve hundred, purſue them, ſeek the tracks, and having found them, follow them to the maze abovemention'd, where their meaſures are broken, and they know not where to look for them, becauſe the track goes every way, which obliges them to return home, and ſay they could ſee nothing. You ſee how difficult a matter it is to find thoſe *Tartars*, unleſs they light upon them by chance, eating or drinking, or reſting at night, but always upon their guard. Their eyes are ſharper and clearer than ours, becauſe they are not ſo open, and therefore the rays are ſtronger, and they ſee better than we do: They diſcover us before we do them, and policy, not ſtrength, carries it. If they meet in the morning or evening an hour before ſun-riſing, or after his ſetting, they both contrive to have the ſun in their back, as two ſhips at ſea ſtrive for the wind. If the *Polanders* fall in with the *Tartars*, and they find they are not ſtrong enough to ſtand them with ſword in hand, they will ſcatter like flies, and run every one a ſeveral way, ſhooting with their bow as they gallop full ſpeed, ſo dexterouſly that they never miſs their man at ſixty or a hundred paces diſtance.

How they fight. The *Polanders* cannot purſue them, their horſes being ſhorter than the *Tartars*. Theſe rally again a quarter of a league off, and give a freſh charge upon the *Polanders*, and when drove diſperſed again, ſhooting over their left ſhoulder, for they cannot over the right; and ſo tire the *Polanders* that they are forced to go off: and this is when the *Tartars*, as I ſaid before, perceive they are ten to one, otherwiſe they go clear off without looking back. Thus thoſe people made war in that country.

Now let us give an account how the *Tartars* ſwim rivers, and thoſe the biggeſt in *Europe*. All their horſes ſwim well, eſpecially in that country which is cold, and the water heavier than ours in *France*, as not being ſo well purg'd by the ſun: but I am ſatisfied that were their horſes brought into *France*, they would not croſs the *Seine* as they do the *Boriſthenes*; for, as I ſaid, the water is heavier, and conſequently bears other bodies better, as I have found by experience. When their army would croſs the *Boriſthenes*, which is the greateſt river in that country, they ſeek out where the banks are eaſieſt on both ſides, and every one provides ruſhes, or reeds, as they find, and make two little truſſes, three foot long, and ten or twelve inches thick, about a foot diſtant from one another, and join'd together with three ſticks well bound at top, and one under from corner to corner, well faſtened and tied to the horſe's tail. Then the *Tartar* puts his ſaddle upon his float, ſtrips himſelf, lays his clothes on the ſaddle, and on that his bow, arrows and ſcymitar, all well bound and faſtened together; then enters the river ſtark naked with a whip in his hand, and drives on his horſe with his bridle on his neck, which

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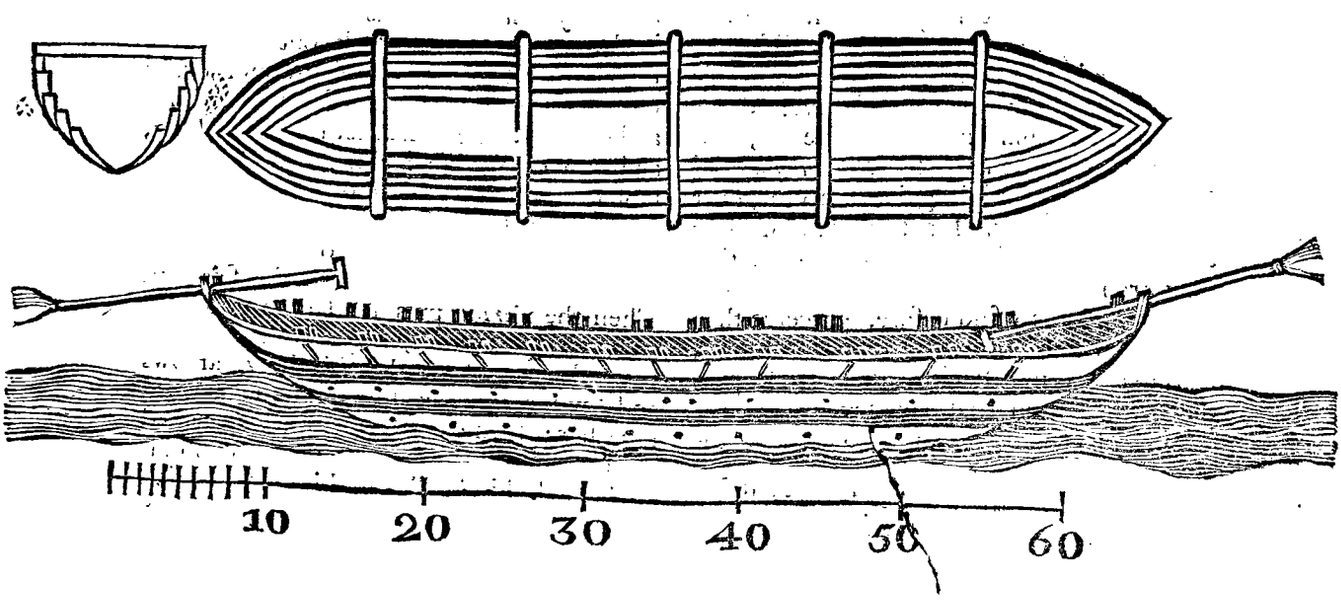
yet he holds ſometimes with one hand and ſometimes with the other, together with the mane; and ſo putting on his horſe, makes him ſwim, and he ſwims with one hand, holding the mane with the other, and the bridle which he never quits; and thus leads his horſe, putting him on with the whip till he has paſs'd the river. Then when his horſe finds his feet upon the other ſide, and the water reaches but to his belly, he ſtops him, takes the float from his tail, and carries it aſhore. All of them paſs together in this manner, for they make a front half a leaugue in length upon the river. All the cattel paſs in the ſame manner. This is what I could learn of the *Tartars*.

How the Coſſacks *chooſe their general.*

It remains that we perform what we promiſed before, which is, how the *Coſſacks* chooſe their general, as alſo how they make their excurſions, croſſing all the *Black Sea* even to *Anatolia*, to make war upon the *Turks*. Thus it is they chooſe their general: when all the old colonels and antient *Coſſacks*, who are in eſteem among them, are aſſembled together, every one gives his vote for the man he thinks fitteſt for the employment, and he that has moſt voices carries it. If he that is choſen will not accept of the place, excuſing himſelf as being incapable of it, or for want of experience, or his great age, that does him no good, for they make no other anſwer, but that he is not worthy of that honour, and immediately kill him upon the ſpot as a traitor; and it is they themſelves that are treacherous in ſo doing, which you may remember I ſaid they were when I ſpoke of their manners and frequent infidelity. If the *Coſſack* elected accepts of the generalſhip, he thanks the aſſembly for the honour done him, tho' unworthy and uncapable of that poſt, yet proteſts he will uſe his utmoſt endeavours to become worthy to ſerve them either in general or in particular, and that his life ſhall be always expoſed for the ſervice of his brethren (ſo they call one another:) having ſpoke theſe words, they all ſhout, *Vivat, vivat*, &c. then they go in order to pay their reſpects to him, and the general gives them his hand, which is the manner of ſaluting one another among them. This is the manner of chooſing their general, which is often done in the deſart plains. They are very obedient to him, and in their language he is called *hettman*. His power is abſolute, and he can behead and impale thoſe that are faulty. They are very ſevere, but do nothing without the council of war, which they call *ruds*. The general may fall into diſgrace, if he have not ſuch conduct when he leads them out to war that no diſaſter befal them, and if he does not appear brave and politick upon any unexpected or unlucky accidents; for if he commits any act of cowardice, they kill him as a traitor. Immediately they chooſe another among themſelves in the uſual manner, as was ſaid before. It is a troubleſome employment to lead and command them, and unfortunate to him it falls upon; for during ſeventeen years I ſerved in the country, all that had this poſt died miſerably.

How the Coſſacks *go out to rob on the* Black Sea.

When they intend to go to ſea, it is without the king's leave, but they take it of their general, and then they hold a *ruds*, that is, a council, and chuſe a general to command them during that expedition, obſerving the ſame ceremonies we have mentioned in the election of their great general, but this now choſen is but for a time. Then they march to their *Sczabeuiſza Worſkowa*, that is, their place of rendezvous, and there build boats about ſixty foot long, ten or twelve foot wide, and twelve foot deep; theſe boats have no keel, but



but are built upon bottoms made of the wood of the willow about forty five foot in length, and rais'd with planks ten or twelve foot long, and about a foot broad, which they pin or nail one over another, like the common boats upon rivers, till they come to twelve foot in height, and ſixty in length, ſtretching out in length and breadth the higher they go. This will be better underſtood by the rough draught I have inſerted here. You may obſerve they have great bundles of large reeds put together as thick as a barrel end to end, and reaching the whole length of the veſſel, well bound with bands made of lime or cherry-tree; they build them as our carpenters do with ribs and croſs-pieces, and then pitch them, and have two rudders one at each end, as appears in the draught, becauſe the boats being ſo very long, they ſhould loſe much time in going about when they are forced to fly back. They have commonly ten or fifteen oars of a ſide, and row faſter than the *Turkiſh* gallies: they have alſo one maſt, which carries an ill-ſhaped ſail made uſe of only in very fair weather, for they had rather row when it blows hard. Theſe veſſels have no deck, and when they are full of water, the reeds above-mentioned tied quite round the boat, keep it from ſinking. Their biſket is in a tun ten foot long, and four foot diameter, faſt bound; and they take out the biſket at the bung. They have alſo a puncheon or half-tun of boil'd millet, and another of dough diſſolved in water, which they eat mixed with the millet, and make great account of it: this ſerves for meat and drink, and taſtes louriſh; they call it *ſalamake*, that is, a dainty food. For my part, I found no delicacy in it, and when I made uſe of it upon my voyages, it was for want of better. Theſe people are very ſober, and if there be a drunkard found among them, the general cauſes him to be turn'd out; therefore they are not permitted to carry any brandy, being very obſervant of ſobriety in their expeditions and enterprizes.

When they reſolve to make war upon the *Tartars* in revenge for the miſchiefs received from them, they take their opportunity in autumn. To this purpoſe they ſend all neceſſaries for their voyage and enterprize, and for the building of ſhips and other uſes to the *Zaporouys*, then five or ſix thouſand *Coſſacks* all good able men well armed take the field, and repair to *Zaporouy* to build their boats: ſixty of them go about a boat, and finiſh it in a fortnight; for, as has been ſaid, they are of all trades. Thus in three weeks time they make ready eighty or a hundred boats, ſuch as I deſcribed above; between fifty and ſeventy men go aboard each veſſel, with each of them two firelocks and a ſcymitar, carry four or five falconets upon the ſides of the veſſel, and proviſions proper for them. They wear a ſhirt and drawers, have a ſhift, a pitiful gown, a cap, ſix pounds of cannon powder, and ball enough for their ſmall arms and falconets, and every one carries a quadrant. This is the flying army of the *Coſſacks* on the *Black Sea*, able to terrify the beſt towns in *Anatolia*.

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Thus provided, they run down the *Boriſthenes*; the admiral carries his diſtinction upon the maſt, and generally has the van, their boats keeping ſo cloſe that the oars almoſt claſh. The *Turk* has commonly notice of their coming, and keeps ſeveral gallies ready at the mouth of the *Boriſthenes* to hinder their coming out; but the *Coſſacks*, who are cunninger, ſlip out in a dark night about the new moon, lying hid among the reeds that are three or four leagues up the *Boriſthenes*, where the gallies dare not go, having far'd ill there formerly, and think it enough to wait their coming out, in which they are always ſurpriz'd: yet the *Coſſacks* cannot ſlip by ſo ſwiftly but they are diſcovered, then all the country takes the alarm, and it runs as far as *Conſtantinople*. The grand ſeignior ſends expreſſes all along the coaſt of *Anatolia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, that all people may be upon their guard, giving them notice that the *Coſſacks* are at ſea. But all this is to no purpoſe, for they make ſuch uſe of their time, that in thirty ſix or forty hours time they are in *Anatolia*, where they land with every man his firelock, leaving but two men and two boys to keep each boat: There they ſurprize towns, take, pillage and burn them, and ſometimes go a league up the country, but return immediately, and go aboard with their booty, haſting away to try their fortune in another place. If by chance they meet with any, they fall on; if not, they return home with their booty. If they find any *Turkiſh* gallies or other ſhips, they purſue, attack and make themſelves maſters of them, which they do in this manner: their boats are not above two foot and a half above water, and they diſcover a ſhip or galley before they themſelves can be perceived by them: Then they ſtrike their maſts, obſerve how the enemy winds, and endeavour to have the ſun upon their backs at night; then an hour before ſun-ſetting they row with all their might towards the ſhip or galley till they come within a league of it, for fear of loſing ſight of it, and ſo continue: Then about midnight (the ſignal being given) they pull up again amain towards the veſſel, half the crew ready to fight, only expecting when they come together

They ſet not out till after mid-ſummer, *to be back the lateſt at the beginning of* autumn.

to

BEAUPLAN. to board. Thoſe in the ſhip or galley are aſtoniſhed to be attacked by eighty or a hundred veſſels, which fill them full of men, and in a moment bear all down: this done, they pillage what they find in ſilver, or goods of no great bulk, that cannot be ſpoil'd by the water, as alſo the braſs guns, and what they think can ſerve them, then ſink the veſſel and men in it. This is the practice of the *Coſſacks:* had they ſkill to manage a ſhip or galley, they might carry it away, but they have not that knack. When they are to return home, the guards are doubled upon the mouth of the *Boriſthenes*; but tho' weak they laugh at that, for when they have been forced to fight, they have often loſt many men, and the ſea has ſwallowed ſome of their veſſels, for they cannot be all ſo good, but ſome muſt fail. Therefore they land in a creek, three or four leagues eaſt of *Oczakow*, where there is a valley very low, about a quarter of a league in length, the ſpring tides ſometimes overflowing it half a foot deep, and is about three leagues over to the *Boriſthenes:* there two or three hundred *Coſſacks* draw their boats acroſs one after another, and in two or three days they are in the *Boriſthenes* with their booty. Thus they avoid fighting the gallies that keep the mouth of the river of *Oczakow*. To conclude, they return to their *Karbenicza*, where they ſhare the ſpoil, as was ſaid before. Beſides this, they have another refuge, they return by the mouth of *Don*, through a ſtrait that lies between *Taman* and *Kercy*, and run up the mouth to the river *Mius*, and as far as this river is navigable, from whence to *Taczawoda* is but a league, and *Taczawoda* falls into the *Samar*, which runs into the *Dnieper* a league above *Kudac*, as may be ſeen in the map. But they rarely return this way, becauſe it is too long for them to return to *Zaporouy*. Sometimes they go this way out to ſea, when there is a great force at the mouth of the *Boriſthenes* to obſtruct their coming out, or that they have but twenty or twenty five boats.

When the gallies meet them at ſea in the day time, they ſet them hard with their guns, ſcattering them like ſo many rooks, ſink ſeveral, and put them in ſuch a conſternation, that thoſe who eſcape make haſte to put in whereſoever they can. But when they fight with the gallies, they do not ply their oars, which are laſhed to the ſide by withs; and when they have fired a muſquet, their comrades give them another ready loaden to fire again, and thus they ply it without ceaſing, and effectually. The gallies are not able to board one of them, but their cannon does them much harm. Upon theſe occaſions they commonly loſe two thirds of their men, and ſeldom come off with half; but they bring rich booty, as *Spaniſh* pieces of eight, *Arabian* ſequines, carpets, cloth of gold, cotton, ſilks, and other commodities of great value. Thus the *Coſſacks* live, and theſe are their revenues; for as for trades they uſe none, but drinking and debauching among their friends when they return home.

To proceed in the performance of what I promis'd, ſomething muſt be ſaid of the cuſtoms they obſerve in ſome of their marriages, and how they make love, which will ſeem odd and incredible to ſome perſons. There, contrary to the practice of all other nations, the maids make love to thoſe young men they take a liking to; and a certain ſuperſtition they have among them, and obſerve punctually, is the cauſe they ſeldom miſs of their aim, and they are more ſure to ſucceed than the men would be, if application were made by them. This is the manner of it.

How the maids court the young men.

The maid that is in love goes to the young man's father's houſe, at ſuch a time as ſhe judges ſhe may find the father, mother, and gallant together. Coming into the room, ſhe ſays, *Pomagaboa*, that is, GOD bleſs you, the common ſalutation uſed at entering their houſes. Having taken her place, ſhe compliments him that has won her heart, and ſpeaks to him in theſe words, *Juan, fediur, demitre, woitek, mitika*, &c. (in ſhort, ſhe calls him by one of theſe names, which are moſt uſual among them) perceiving a certain goodneſs in your countenance, which ſhews you will know how to rule and love your wife; and hoping from your virtue that you will be a good *Deſpodorge:* Theſe good qualities make me humbly beſeech you to accept of me for your wife. Then ſhe ſays as much to the father and mother, praying them to conſent to the match. If they refuſe her, or make ſome excuſe, ſaying, he is too young, and not fit to marry; ſhe anſwers, She will never depart till ſhe has married him, as long as he and ſhe live. Theſe words being ſpoken, and the maid perſiſting, and poſitively aſſerting ſhe will not depart the room till ſhe has obtain'd her deſire; after ſome weeks the father and mother are forced, not only to conſent, but alſo to perſuade their ſon to look favourably upon her, that is, as one that is to be his wife. The youth perceiving the maid fully bent upon loving him, begins to look upon her as one that is in time to be miſtreſs of his inclinations, and therefore intreats his father and mother to give him leave to place his affections upon that maid. And thus amorous maids in that country cannot miſs of being ſoon provided, for by perſiſting they force the father, mother,

ther, and ſon, to comply with them; and this, as I ſaid above, for fear of incurring God's wrath, and that ſome diſaſter may not befal them; for to thruſt the maid out would be an affront to all her kindred, who would reſent it; and in this caſe they cannot uſe violence, without incurring, as I was ſaying, the indignation and puniſhment of the church, which is very ſevere in theſe affairs, impoſing, when ſuch a thing happens, penances, and great fines, and declaring the family infamous. Being kept in awe by theſe ſuperſtitions, they, as near as may be, avoid the misfortunes they believe, as firmly as they do their articles of faith, will befal them, by refuſing to give their ſons to thoſe maids that demand them. And this cuſtom holds only among people of equal rank, for in that country the peaſants are all rich alike, and there is but little difference as to their worth.

Now I will ſpeak of other unequal amours between a peaſant and a gentlewoman, allowed by antent cuſtom and privilege kept up among them.

How a peaſant may marry a gentlewoman.

It is the cuſtom in all the villages of that country, for all the peaſants, with their wives and children, to meet at the uſual place of rendezvous, every ſunday and holiday after dinner. The place of rendezvous is the tavern, where they ſpend the reſt of the day a merry making together; but only the men and women drink, while the youth ſpend their time in dancing to a *douda*, that is, a horn-pipe. The lord of the place is uſually there with all his family to ſee them dance. Sometimes the lord makes them dance before his caſtle, which is the moſt uſual place; and there he dances himſelf, with his wife and children. At that time the gentry and peaſants mix together; and it is to be obſerved, that all the villages of *Podolia* and *Ukraine* are for the moſt part encompaſſed with underwoods, where there are lurking-places for the peaſants to retire in ſummer, when they are alarmed with the coming of the *Tartars*. Theſe underwoods may be half a league over; and though the peaſants are kept under like ſlaves, nevertheleſs they have this antient right and privilege of conveying away, if they can, out of this dancing aſſembly, a young maiden gentlewoman, though ſhe were their own lord's daughter, provided he does it ſo dexterouſly as to come off well, otherwiſe he is a loſt man, and that he can fly into the neighbouring copſes, where if he can lie hid four and twenty hours, without being diſcovered, he is clear'd of the rape committed; and if the maid he has ſtole will marry him, he cannot refuſe her without loſing his head; if not, he is acquitted of the crime, and cannot be puniſhed: but if it happen that he is taken within the twenty four hours, his head is immediately chopt off, without any form of law. Though I lived there ſeventeen years, I never heard that this was once done. I have ſeen the maids make love to the young men, and often ſucceed, as I ſaid above; but this laſt practice is too dangerous, for a man muſt have good heels to carry away a maid by force, and run away with her in ſight of a conſiderable company, without being overtaken; and it would be yet harder, unleſs the maid was conſenting to it; beſides that at preſent the peaſants are more kept under than they were formerly, and the nobility is grown more haughty and imperious. It is likely this privilege was granted the peaſants when the *Polanders* at the election of their kings, preferred him that ran ſwifteſt barefoot, looking upon him as the braveſt and beſt man; as if valour and worth conſiſted in ſwiftneſs and activity of body. Hence I ſuppoſe it came too, that the nobility make the king ſwear, the day after his election, before the altar, that he will impriſon no nobleman for any crime whatſoever, except treaſon againſt the ſtate, or himſelf four and twenty hours after the fact committed, to ſhew they had as great value for thoſe that ran well and were nimble. And this may be further obſerved by the great value they put upon fleet-horſes, for that is all they look for, and give any thing for them, ſo they run well: and this, I gueſs, is that they may overtake a flying enemy, and fly themſelves ſwiftly when purſued. BEAUPLAR.

Since we have ſpoken of the amours of the *Ruſſians*, let us ſay ſomewhat of the wedding-feaſts and ceremonies obſerved at it.

Of their weddings.

The nuptial ceremonies are theſe: The youth on both ſides are invited, and have orders from the bride and bridegroom to bring all their kindred, to be preſent at the *Weſellé*, that is, the wedding, to authorize them for performing this duty; each of them has a garland of flowers given him, which he puts upon his arm, carrying a liſt of all the gueſts invited, to whoſe houſes they go the day before the wedding, by two and two. The firſt of them who delivers the meſſage, and makes the ſpeech, has a rod in his hand. I ſhall not ſpend time to give you an account of the diſhes, and what varieties are ſerved up to table; I ſhall only inform you, that the bride being well dreſs'd after their manner, that is, in a long gown of a ſad colour cloth hanging on the ground, ſtiffen'd with whalebone all round, which makes her ſpread, and laced with broad laces, half ſilk and half woollen, her head bare, her hair

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When it is time to put the bride to bed, the bridegroom's female kindred carry her into a room, where they ſtrip her ſtark naked, and ſearch her all round, even her ears, hair, between her toes, and other parts of her body, to ſee whether there is no blood, pin, or cotton dipped in ſome red liquor hid about her; and ſhould they find any ſuch thing, it would diſcompoſe the wedding, and cauſe much diſorder: but if they find nothing, they put her on a fine ſmock of cotton cloth, very white and new; and then lay her between two ſheets, making the bridegroom ſteal to bed to her. When they are together, they draw the curtains, and yet moſt of the people at the wedding come into the room, with the horn-pipe, dancing, and every one with a glaſs in his hand. The women dance and ſkip, and clap their hands, till the matrimony be abſolutely conſummated; and if ſhe makes any demonſtration of joy at that happy moment, all the company leaps, and clapping their hands, give great acclamations of joy. The bridegroom's kindred are ſtill watching about the bed to hear what is doing, waiting to draw the curtain as ſoon as the ſport is over. Then they give the bride a clean ſmock, and if on that they take from her they find the tokens of a maiden-head, they make the houſe ring with joyful acclamations, in which all the kindred joins. After that, when ſhe is dreſs'd, it is after the faſhion of women, into which number ſhe is admitted, that is, her head is covered, which is only allowed to them, for maids never wear any thing but their hair, and would look upon it as a diſgrace.

Next day another no leſs comical part is acted, which to thoſe who have not ſeen it muſt ſeem very ſtrange, which is, that they run a ſtaff through both the ſmock ſleeves, turning it the wrong ſide outwards, and ſo in great ſtate walk with it all about the town, like a banner bearing the honourable tokens of the combat, that all the people may be witneſſes, both of the bride's virginity, and the bridegroom's manhood. All the gueſts follow with the muſick, ſinging and dancing more eagerly than before. And in this proceſſion, the young men leading the young maids that were at the wedding, walk all about the town; all the multitude runs out, hearing the noiſe, and follow them till they return to the houſe of the new-married couple.

But if on the other ſide they ſhould not find the marks of honour, every man throws down his glaſs, and the women forbear ſinging, for then the feaſt is ſpoiled, and the bride's kindred diſgraced, and out of countenance. There ends the wedding: then they commit a thouſand extravagancies in the houſe, make holes in the pots the meat was dreſſed in, break off the mouths of the earthen cups they drank out of, put a horſe collar about the bride's mother's neck; then ſet her upon a table, and ſing a thouſand filthy beaſtly ſongs to her, giving her to drink in one of thoſe broken-mouthed cups, and upbraid her unmercifully for not having been watchful in preſerving her daughter's honour. In ſhort, after having uſed all the vile language they can think of to her, every one goes home vexed to have been at ſo diſagreeable an entertainment. Eſpecially the kindred of the bride keep in their houſes as if they abſconded, and continue there ſome time without ſtirring abroad, becauſe of the ſhame of that misfortune. As for the huſband, it is left to his choice to keep or leave her; but if he will keep her, he muſt reſolve to put up all affronts that ſhall be offered him upon that account.

Coſſack women chaſte.

I muſt add this one word more upon this ſubject, concerning the manners of their women, and allow them the honour of being chaſte when faſting; but the liberty allowed them of drinking *aqua vitæ*, and their liquor made of honey, would render them more eaſy of acceſs, were it not for fear of publick ſhame, and the diſhonour done to maids if they will marry, as has been ſhewn above, without having the tokens of their virginity.

Ceremonies at Eaſter.

Before I conclude this diſcourſe, I will ſay ſomething of the ceremonies they obſerve at *Eaſter*. Upon holy ſaturday they go to church (which they call *cerkeil*) to be preſent at the ceremonies perform'd there, which are putting an image of our Saviour into a ſepulchre, whence they draw it out with great ſolemnity: which repreſentation

ſentation being ended, all the men, women, and children go in their turns, and kneel down before the biſhop (whom they call *wladik*) and preſent him an egg painted red or yellow, ſpeaking theſe words, *Chriſtos vos Chriſt*; and the biſhop lifting up each perſon ſays, *Oyſtinos vos Chriſtos*, and at the ſame time kiſſes the women and maids. Thus the biſhop, in leſs than two hours, gathers above five or ſix thouſand eggs, and has the ſatisfaction of kiſſing the handſomeſt women and maids in his church: true it is, it would be ſome trouble to him, and diſpleaſing, to kiſs the old women; but he has ways to make a diſtinction between them; for when he does not like the faces, he only gives them his hand to kiſs. The metropolitan call'd *Moquilla*, who is head of all the biſhops, exerciſed this function at *Kiow*, as do all the meaneſt curats, whom they call *doſpodé*.

For eight days there is no going about the ſtreets, without a quantity of thoſe painted eggs, to give ſuch of your acquaintance as you meet, ſaying the ſame words they do to the *wladik*, or *doſpodé*. Then the friend, whether man or woman, anſwering as above, they embrace one another and kiſs; and he or ſhe thus ſaluted, is obliged to return another egg, performing the ſame ceremony over again.

On *Eaſter* monday, very early in the morning, they have another pleaſant cuſtom, which is, that ſeveral young fellows go about the ſtreets together, and take up all the young maids they meet, whom they carry to the brink of a well to bathe them, throwing five or ſix pails of water over their heads, that they may be wet all over. This ſport is only allowed till noon.

On tueſday following the maids have their revenge, but more cunningly: ſeveral of them hide themſelves in a houſe, with each of them a pitcher full of water ready, and have a little girl that ſtands centinel, and gives notice by ſome ſign, when a young man goes by; then all the maids run out into the ſtreets, and ſeize the man with great ſhouts; which the neighbours hearing, all the maids flock to their aſſiſtance, and two or three of the ſtrongeſt holding him, the reſt pour all their pitchers of water down his neck, and let him not go till he is well waſhed. This is the ſport between young men and maids at *Eaſter*.

The men play another game on *Eaſter* monday, which is, that they go in the morning in a body to the caſtle to meet the lord, who devoutly expects them; and after making their obeyſance, every one draws near, and preſents him with pullets, or ſome other ſort of fowl. The lord in return for theſe offerings, treats his vaſſals with *aqua vitæ*, cauſing the head to be beat out of a caſk, which is ſet upon the other head in the middle of the court: then all the peaſants make a ring about it, and the lord comes with a great ladle, which he fills, and drinks to the eldeſt in the company, then gives the ladle to him he drank to; ſo they all drink round, and begin again till the caſk is out; and if it be out before night (which often happens) the lord muſt cauſe another full caſk to be brought inſtead of the empty one, for he is bound to treat them after this manner till ſun-ſet, if the peaſants can hold out; but after ſun-ſet they ſound a retreat. Thoſe that are able go home, thoſe that cannot lie down in the ſtreet and ſleep it out, unleſs their wives and children have ſo much charity as to lay them on a hand-barrow and carry them home; but they who have overcharged themſelves, remain in the court of the caſtle to ſleep their fill. It is an odious thing to ſee thoſe wretches ſo drunk, without having eaten a morſel of bread, rolling in their filth like ſwine: and I have ſeen one of thoſe brutal fellows carried away dead upon a cart, and it was not then above two a clock in the afternoon. Thoſe are ſtrange cuſtoms which make men die miſerably; and how brutiſh is the proverb they have always in their mouths. *That a man had as good drink fair water if he does not feel the effects of drinking?* Thoſe people can hardly ſleep after their common meals, but when they are drunk they ſleep ſound; ſo that the next morning they remember nothing that happened the day before, drunkenneſs ſo drowning their reaſon that they have nothing left but the ſhape of men. Upon theſe occaſions, ſuch as deſign to get any thing from them by way of gift, do pretend to be drunk with them; and when they ſee them hot-headed (for then they are very free-hearted) they beg ſomething they have a mind to of them, which is immediately granted and delivered, which he that receives takes and ſends away; but in the morning they are ſurpriſed, for having forgot what they did, and not finding what they gave away, they grow ſad, being concerned at their prodigality, but comfort themſelves with the hopes of catching another the ſame way to make up their loſs.

BEAUPLAN. *A drunken cuſtom.*

Since we are entred upon the ſubject of our *Ruſſians*, or *Coſſacks*, it will not be amiſs to relate what more we know of them, and ſpeak of their manner of behaviour upon ſeveral other occaſions. I have ſeen *Coſſacks* ſick of a fever, who take no other medicine but half a bandeleer of cannon-powder, and diſſolve it in half a pint of *aqua vitæ*; and having ſtirred it well together, drink it off, and go to bed upon

Cure of the Coſſacks.

BEAUPLAN. upon it, and riſe in the morning in perfect health. I had a coachman whom I have ſeen do it ſeveral times, and who has often cured himſelf with this drench, which the phyſicians and apothecaries would never think on. I have ſeen others take aſhes, and mix them with *aqua vitæ*, tempered as above, which they have drank with ſucceſs. I have often ſeen them wounded with arrows, and being far from ſurgeons, dreſs themſelves with a little earth, tempered in their hand with their own ſpittle, which healed them as well as the beſt ſalve; which ſhews that neceſſity exerts ingenuity as well in this country as any other.

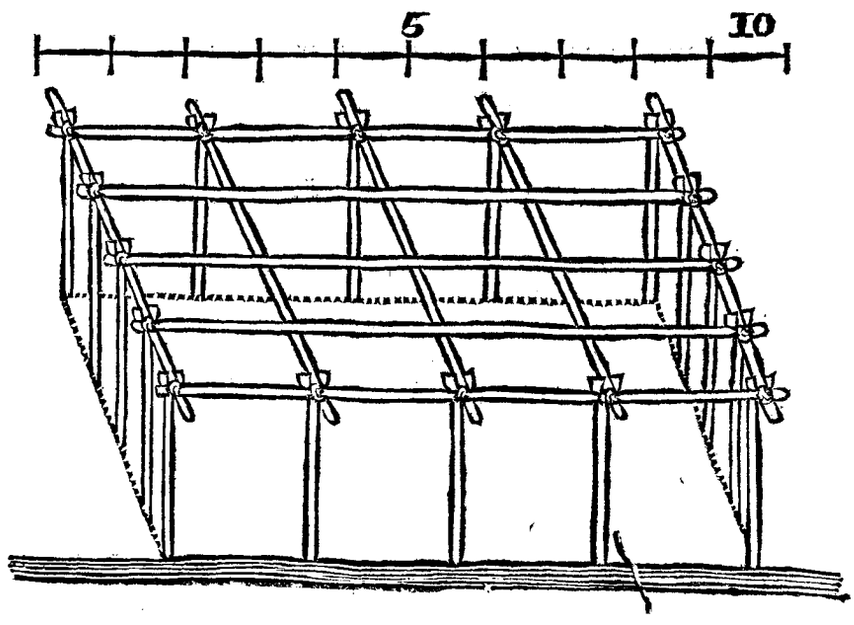
This puts me in mind of a *Coſſack* I once met upon the river *Samar*, who was boiling fiſh in a wooden bowl, which the *Polanders* and *Coſſacks* carry behind them on the ſaddle to give their horſes water: to do this he heated flat ſtones in the fire, and threw them into the bowl; which he did till the water boiled, and the fiſh was ready; an invention which at firſt ſight has but an indifferent aſpect, and yet is ingenious enough.

I remember I once made mention of a diſeaſe they call *goſcheſt*, to which they are ſubject, and whereof it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a few words.

Goſcheſt *a diſeaſe among the* Coſſacks. The perſons afflicted with this diſeaſe (which the *French* call *coltons)* are lame of all their limbs for a year, as if they were ſtruck with a dead palſy; but endure great pains in all their ſinews, ſo that they are continually crying out. After a year is expired, their head falls ſome night into a great ſweat, ſo that in the morning they find all their hair clung together, and flat, like a tail of ſalt-fiſh. Then the ſick perſon finds much eaſe, and ſome days after is perfectly well, nay better in health than ever he was before, only that his hair looks ſcurvily, and cannot be comb'd; and if he ſhould happen to cut it off within two days, the humour that purges out at the pores of the hair would fall upon his eyes, and he would be quite blind.

Among them they look upon this diſeaſe as incurable; but I have cured ſeveral after the ſame manner as we do the pox in *France*. Some perceiving this diſeaſe come upon them, go away for a while into other countries for change of air, which is another remedy that cures them inſenſibly. This diſeaſe is not got by drinking out of the ſame glaſs with thoſe that have it; but if one perſon lies with another that has it, the huſband gives it his wife, and the wife the huſband. The phyſicians make a diſtinction between male and female, and ſay, that old *Babas*, as they term them, poiſon the men and give them this diſtemper, making them eat of certain cakes. Others giving it in the ſteam of hot water; ſo that he who receives it, finds his brain diſturbed, and falls ill within a few days after. There are children born with their hair clotted together; but that is a good ſign, for as they grow it looſens, and thoſe children can never after have this diſtemper.

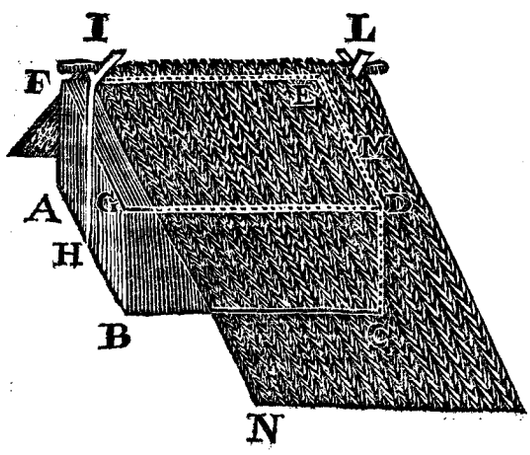
Plagues of flies. I muſt further add, as a thing very remarkable in that country, that there is an infinite number of flies along the banks of the *Boriſthenes*. In the morning there are thoſe of the common ſort which do no harm; at noon others as thick as a man's thumb, which trouble horſes very much, and ſting them through the ſkin, ſo that they are all over bloody; but at night it is ſtill worſe along that river becauſe of the gnats, and other inſects, ſo that there is *Of gnats.* no ſleeping without a *polené* as the *Coſſacks* call it, which is like a little tent, under



which

which they lie to ſecure themſelves againſt thoſe vermin, and without which in the morning their faces would be all ſwollen. I once felt it, and can give an account of it; three days paſſed before my face came to itſelf, and I could ſcarce ſee or open my eyes, for my eye-lids were ſwelled, and I looked monſtrouſly. But, as I ſaid, the *Coſſacks* have a *Polené* made after this manner: They cut ſixteen little forks of hazle, about an inch thick, and two foot and half long, or thereabouts: theſe they fix in the ground about two foot one from the other, and breadth-way a foot diſtance. Then they lay five croſs pieces of the ſame hazle upon the forks, and five more athwart them, and bind all together with a withy. Over this they lay a cotton-cloth made on purpoſe, and ſewed, to fit this bigneſs; which covers not only the top, but all the ſides, about a foot or more lying on the ground, which is tucked in under the quilt or bed for fear the flies ſhould get in: thus two perſons lie very well. Only principal officers uſe this, for all people have not the little tent or pavilion. When they ſee it will rain, they cover themſelves as in the following draught, which will better demonſtrate it than all I can ſay. In ſhort, they are ſo perſecuted in that country, that they are fain to make a fire continually, that the ſmoke may drive away the inſects.

A B C D E F G is the *Polené* covered with cloth, H I and L M are two forks on which a croſs pole I L reſts, which ſupports the *Turkey* carpet made of twiſted thread, which the rain cannot pierce, and ſerves as a roof to the *Polené*.



Of locuſts. After the flies, let us talk of the graſhoppers, or locuſts, which are there ſo numerous that they put me in mind of the ſcourge God ſent upon *Egypt*, when he would puniſh *Pharaoh*. I have ſeen this plague for ſeveral years one after another, particularly in 1645, and 1646: thoſe creatures do not only come in legions, but in whole clouds, five or ſix leagues in length, and two or three in breadth, and generally come from towards *Tartary*, which happens in a dry ſpring; for *Tartary* and the countries eaſt of it, as *Circaſſia*, *Bazza*, and *Mingrelia*, are ſeldom free from them. Theſe vermin being drove by an eaſt, or ſouth-eaſt wind, come into *Ukraine*, where they do much miſchief, eating up all ſorts of grain and graſs: ſo that whereſoever they come, in leſs than two hours they crop all they find, which cauſes great ſcarcity of proviſions; and if the locuſts remain there in autumn, and the month of *October*, which is the time when they die after laying at leaſt three hundred eggs apiece, which hatch next ſpring if it be dry, then the country is three hundred times worſe peſtered. But if it rains when they begin to hatch, they all die, and the country eſcapes that year, unleſs they come from other parts. It is not eaſy to expreſs their numbers, for all the air is full and darkned; and I cannot better repreſent their flight to you than by comparing it to the fleaks of ſnow in cloudy weather drove about by the wind: and when they alight upon the ground to feed, the plains are all covered, and they make a murmuring noiſe as they eat, where in leſs than two hours they devour all cloſe to the ground; then riſing, they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by the wind; and when they fly, though the ſun ſhines never ſo bright, it is no lighter than when moſt clouded. In *June* 1646, having ſtayed two months in a new town called *Novogrod*, where I was building a citadel, I was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo vaſt a multitude; for it was prodigious to behold them, becauſe they were hatched there that ſpring; and being as yet ſcarce able to fly, the ground was all covered, and the air ſo full of them, that I could not eat in my chamber without a candle, all the houſes being full of them, even the ſtables, barns, chambers, garrets, and cellars. I cauſed cannon-powder and ſulphur to be burnt to expel them, but all to no purpoſe; for when the door was opened, an infinite number came in, and the others went out fluttering about, and it was a troubleſome thing when a man went abroad to be hit on the face by thoſe creatures, ſometimes on the noſe, ſometimes the eyes, and ſometimes the cheeks; ſo that there was no opening ones mouth, but ſome would get in. Yet all this was nothing, for when we were to eat, thoſe creatures gave us no reſpite; and when we went to cut a bit of meat, we cut a locuſt with it; and when a man opened his mouth to put in a morſel, he was ſure to chew one of them. In ſhort, the wiſeſt men were confounded to ſee ſuch innumerable multitudes, which were ſuch as cannot be expreſſed; and they

BEAUPLAN.

BEAUPLAN. that would conceive it, ſhould have ſeen it, as I did. After they had deſtroyed all that grew in the country for a fortnight together, and having gathered ſtrength to fly further, the wind took them up and carried them away to do as much miſchief in ſome other place. I have ſeen them at night when they ſit to reſt them, that the roads were four inches thick of them one upon another; ſo that the horſes would not trample over them, but as they were put on with much laſhing, pricking up their ears, ſnorting and treading very fearfully. The wheels of our carts, and the feet of our horſes bruiſing thoſe creatures, there came from them ſuch a ſtink as not only offended the noſe but the brain. I was not able to endure that ſtench, but was forced to waſh my noſe in vinegar, and hold a handkerchief dip'd in it continually at my noſtrils. The ſwine feaſt upon them as a dainty, and grow fat, but no body will eat of them ſo fatned, only becauſe they abhor that ſort of vermine that does them ſo much harm. Theſe vermine increaſe and multiply thus: They generate in *October*, and with their tails make a hole in the ground, and having laid three hundred eggs in it, and covered them with their feet, they die, for they never live above ſix months and a half; and tho' the rains ſhould come then, it would not deſtroy the eggs, nor does the froſt, tho' never ſo ſharp, hurt them, but continue till ſpring, which is about mid-*April*, when the ſun warming the earth, they hatch and leap all about, being ſix weeks before they can fly, without going far from the place where they received life; but when ſtronger, and that they can fly, they go wherever the wind carries them. If it ſhould happen that the north-eaſt prevails when they firſt take their flight, it carries them all into the *Black Sea*; but if the wind blows from any other quarters they go into ſome other country to do miſchief. But if the rains fall when they begin to hatch, and continue but eight or ten days, all the eggs are loſt, and ſo in ſummer eight or ten days continual rain kills all the locuſts upon the ground, for they cannot fly, and ſo the people are delivered from them. But if the ſummer prove dry (which is moſt uſual) they are tormented with them till they die in *October*. This is what I have obſerved ſeveral years in thoſe parts concerning the locuſts, which are as thick as a man's finger, and three or four inches long. I have been told there by perſons that underſtand languages well, that theſe words are writ on their wings in *Chaldee* letters, *Boze Gnion*, in *Engliſh*, *ſcourge of* GOD; for the truth of it I rely on thoſe that told me ſo, and underſtand the language.

Now let us proceed to what I found moſt remarkable beyond the *Dnieper*, where there are two rivers, one call'd *Sula*, the other *Supoy*, which both fall into the *Nieper*, between which rivers there are little creatures which they call *Babaques*, in ſhape and bigneſs much reſembling the *Barbary* rabbets, which have but four teeth, two above, and two below, their hair and colour like a badger. They make burroughs like rabbets, and in *October* ſhut themſelves up, and do not come out again till *April*, when they run about to feed, and ſpend all the winter under ground, eating what they have laid up in ſummer. They are great ſleepers, and good managers, nature directing them to lay up their proviſion, inſomuch that one would think there were ſlaves among them, for they take thoſe that are lazy and lay them on their backs, then lay a great handful of dry herbage upon their bellies, which they hold faſt with their paws, or rather hands, becauſe they make uſe of them almoſt as the monkeys do; then the others drag thoſe drones to the mouths of their furrows, and ſo thoſe creatures ſerve inſtead of barrows, whence they make them carry the proviſion into their holes. I have often ſeen them practiſe this, and have had the curioſity to obſerve them whole days together, and making them run to their burrows to ſee their apartments. and have found ſeveral holes parted like chambers, ſome ſerve for ſtore-houſes, others for burying-places, whither they carry the dead; and others for other uſes. They live eight or ten in a family together, and every one has its apartment by it ſelf, where they live very orderly; and their government is nothing inferior to that of the bees or ants, of whom ſo much has been writ. I muſt add that all theſe creatures are hermaphrodites, and being taken young in *May* are eaſily tamed. In the market they do not coſt above a penny or three half-pence. I have bred ſeveral of them, and they are pleaſant in the houſe, being as diverting as monkeys or ſquirrels, eating the ſame ſort of food.

Bobaques *little creatures like* Barbary *rabbets.*

I had forgot to ſay that theſe creatures are very cunning; for they never go abroad without poſting a centinel upon ſome high ground, to give notice to the others whilſt they are feeding. As ſoon as the centinel ſees any body, it ſtands up on its hind-legs, and whiſtles. Upon which ſignal they all fly into their burrows, and the centinel after them, ſtaying there till they think the people are gone by.

The diſtance between theſe two rivers of *Sula* and *Supoy* is not above ſix leagues; and from the *Nieper* to the borders of *Muſcovy*;

Muſcovy, is not above fifteen or twenty leagues. Theſe creatures I have deſcrib'd live there, and are not to be found elſewhere. There is no good galloping in thoſe parts, becauſe the ground is full of little burrows (like a warren) and if a horſe treads into a hole, he falls and is in danger of breaking his legs; I have been catch'd ſo ſeveral times. In *May* and *June* the peaſants catch them after this manner, they pour five or ſix pails of water into their burrows, which makes them come out, and clapping a ſack or net at the mouth of it, take them in it. The young ones, though never ſo tame, cannot forget their own nature; and in *October*, if they are not ſecured, they will earth in the houſe, and hide themſelves to ſleep a long time; and perhaps if they were let alone, would ſleep out ſix whole months, as the dor-mice and mountain-mice do. Mice have been hid a fortnight, and after much ſeeking we found a hole; I caus'd them to be dig'd out, and found them quite wild.

Quails. There is a ſort of quails in thoſe parts with blew feet, which are preſent death to any that eat of them.

In the deſert plains toward the *porouys* along the river *Nieper*, I have met a beaſt about as tall as a gooſe, but its hair very fine and ſmooth, and ſoft as ſattin, when it has caſt its coat, for afterwards it grows harſher, and is of a cheſnut colour. This creature has two white ſhining horns, in the *Ruſſian* language they call it *Sounaky*. Its legs and feet are very ſlender, has no bone in its noſe; and when it will goes backward, not being able to graze otherwiſe. I have eaten of it, and the fleſh is as good as kid; the horns which I keep as a rarity, being white, ſhining, and ſmooth.

Sounaky a Ruſſian beaſt.

In thoſe ſame parts there are alſo ſtags, hinds, troops of wild goats, wild boars of a vaſt bigneſs, and wild horſes, who keep in flocks of fifty or ſixty, and have often alarmed us, for at a diſtance we took them for *Tartars*. Theſe horſes are not ſerviceable, and the colts tho' taken up and broke, are good for nothing but to eat: their fleſh is very dainty to look to, and tenderer than veal; yet in my opinion not ſo well reliſhed, but unſavoury. Thoſe people who eat pepper, as we do peaſe, took away all its ſweetneſs with their ſpice; the old ones being no way to be broke, or only fit for the ſhambles, where their fleſh is ſold as common as beef and mutton. Beſides, their feet are ſpoiled, for the hoof does ſo bind their feet that they cannot be ſhod nor pared down, and conſequently cannot run, which ſhews the providence of God; and that this beaſt is wholly deſign'd for the uſe of man, becauſe when out of his hands, it becomes unfit for uſe, and unable to run.

Wild horſes.

There are alſo along this river birds, that have ſuch a large neck, that within it there is as it were a pond, where they keep live fiſh, to eat when they have occaſion. I have ſeen ſome of the ſame ſort in the *Indies*. The other moſt remarkable birds there, and moſt numerous, are the cranes, of which there are vaſt multitudes. As for buffaloes, and other large creatures, they are on the frontiers of *Muſcovy*; as are the white hares and wild cats. There are alſo in that country, but towards *Walachia*, ſheep with long wool, their tails ſhorter than uſual, but much broader and triangular. The tails of ſome of them have weighed above ten pounds, generally it is above ten inches broad, and more in length ending in a point, all of it excellent fat. The great men of the country have fine horſes ſpotted like leopards, beautiful to behold, which draw their coaches when they go to court.

BEAUPLAN. *Strange birds.*

The greateſt inconvenience in that country of *Ukraine* is the want of ſalt, and to ſupply that want they have it brought from *Pocouche*, a country belonging to *Poland*, on the frontiers of *Tranſylvania*, above eighty or a hundred leagues in length, as will appear in the map. In that country all the wells are of ſalt-water, which they boil, as we do white ſalt, and make little cakes an inch thick and two inches long, giving three hundred of them for a penny. This ſalt is very pleaſant to eat, but does not ſalt ſo much as ours. They make another ſort of elder and oak, which is good to eat with bread; they call this ſalt *Kolomey*. About *Cracow* they have mines of ſalt, as clear as cryſtal; that place is called *Wieliczka*. That country is alſo ill furniſhed with good water; I believe it is that which in ſome meaſure breeds the diſtemper they call *Goſchets*, whereof we have ſpoken before.

No ſalt in Ukraine.

Notwithſtanding thoſe countries are near in the ſame latitude with *Normandy*, yet the cold is much more ſevere and ſharp than in *France*, as we will make appear. Among other things to be obſerved there, is the cold, which ſome years is ſo violent, and exceſſive, that it is inſupportable, not only for men, eſpecially to thoſe that belong to the army, but to the brute beaſts themſelves, as horſes and other ſerviceable creatures. Such as are expoſed to the rigor of it, if they loſe not their lives, come off well with the loſs of any part, as fingers or toes, the noſe, cheeks, ears, and even that part modeſty forbids to be nam'd, the natural heat of which parts is ſometimes put out in a moment, and it produces a mortification. Sometimes thoſe parts eſcape a ſudden mortification, but if not ſpeedily relieved are ſubject to cancerous tumours,

Exceſſive cold.

BEAUPLAN. as painful as thoſe proceeding from a malignant burning humour, which made me ſenſible whilſt I was there that cold has as much power and force to deſtroy any thing as fire has to conſume. The beginning of thoſe tumours is ſo ſmall, that the place where the pain is at firſt is not ſo big as a pea; but in a few days, nay ſometimes a few hours, it grows ſo big, and ſpreads ſo that it deſtroys all the part: and thus two perſons I am acquainted with, in a trice loſt the pleaſanteſt part of them.

Sometimes, and that very frequently, it ſeizes men ſo violently, that there is no poſſibility of eſcaping it, eſpecially when both inward and outward precautions have not been uſed, and it kills two ways. The one is quick, being violent, and may be ſaid to be eaſy, becauſe a man is not long in pain, and dies in his ſleep. For they that are abroad, whether a horſeback, in coach, or waggon, if they have not uſed the neceſſary precautions, and are not well clad and lined, and naturally of a diſpoſition fit to endure ſuch terrible cold, it ſeizes the extreme parts of their hands and feet, and by degrees all the reſt of thoſe parts, in ſuch manner that being become inſenſible of the cold, they are taken with a ſort of lethargick heavineſs, which cauſes an extraordinry inclination to ſleep; which if they are ſuffered to give way to, they ſleep, but never wake again; but if they uſe all poſſible means to ſhake off that drowzineſs, they eſcape death. And thus have I eſcap'd it ſeveral times, being very near it; for my ſervants who were ſtronger, and more us'd to the like inclemencies of the air, awak'd me. The other ſort of death, tho' not ſo ſudden, is ſo cruelly painful and inſupportable, that it almoſt diſtracts thoſe that endure it. This it is that happens to the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, the cold ſeizes the body on the right ſide of the reins, and all about the waſte, the troopers under their armour; ſo pinching and ſtraitning thoſe parts, that it freezes up all their belly, eſpecially the ſtomach and entrails; ſo that tho' they are always hungry, if they eat ſuch things as are of eaſieſt digeſtion, ſuch as broths or gravy, when they are to be had, they are forced to caſt them up as ſoon as they have ſwallow'd them, with ſuch violent pains, and intolerable gripes, as are not to be expreſs'd. Thoſe perſons who are thus ſeiz'd and tormented, are continually complaining, loudly and frequently crying out that all their bowels and other parts of their belly are torn to pieces. I leave it to the ableſt phyſicians to examine into the cauſe of ſuch horrible pains; and this being none of my province, I ſhall think it enough to relate what I have ſeen, aſſiſted by the curioſity of ſome of that country, who being deſirous to ſee what was the effect of ſo violent and irreſiſtible a diſtemper, caus'd ſome that dy'd of it to be open'd, the greateſt part of whoſe bowels they found black, burnt up, and as it were glew'd together; which made them ſenſible that ſuch diſeaſes are generally incurable, and that as their entrails conſum'd and mortify'd, they were forced to complain and cry out day and night without reſpite, which render'd their death terrible, tedious, and without intermiſſion.

This terrible cold aſſaulted us in the year 1646, when the *Poliſh* army enter'd *Muſcovy*, to expect the return of the *Tartars*, who had made an irruption, to fight and take from them all the priſoners they had ſeized. The cold was ſo violent and cutting, that we were forced to remove our camp, with the loſs of above two thouſand men, moſt of whom dy'd in the cruel manner above mention'd, and the reſt were maim'd. This cold did not only kill the men, but the horſes too, tho' much more hardy and ſtrong; for in that campaign above a thouſand were ſpoil'd, that being ſeiz'd with that cold fit, were never able to go, and among them ſix horſes belonging to lieutenant general *Potoſki*'s kitchen, he who is now generaliſſimo and caſtellan of *Cracow*. This cold came upon us when we were near the river *Merlo*, which falls into the *Boriſthenes*. All remedies generally us'd are only by way of precaution, as being well clad and provided with all things that warm and repel ſuch violent cold. For my part being in a coach or waggon, I kept a dog upon my feet to warm them, covering them with a thick woollen blanket, or a wolf's ſkin, and waſh'd my face with good ſpirit of wine, as alſo my hands and feet, and wrapp'd them in clothes dipp'd in the ſame liquor, which I never ſuffer'd to dry up: and by theſe means, with the aſſiſtance of GOD, I prevented all the ill conſequences before-mention'd, to which a man is more ſubject if he does not take ſome hot meat or drink, ſuch as for example what they uſually take three times a day; which is made with hot beer, a little butter, pepper, and bread, and ſerves them inſtead of pottage, fortifying their bowels againſt the cold.

Election of the king.

The king being dead, the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* takes upon him the adminiſtration of affairs; and two or three weeks after the king's death, holds a great aſſembly at *Warſaw*, where he preſides: All the ſenators meet there to debate and conclude upon the time and place for electing a new king. This point being ſettled, every ſenate returns to his palatinate, there to hold a little diet of that territory; that

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is, he aſſembles all the nobility under his direction, at a certain time and place appointed, where none of them fail to come; and being all together, they confer about naming a new king. Every one ſhews reaſons, according to his inclinations; and after all their conteſts and debates, they fix upon ſeveral princes; one of whom the deputies appointed for the election make choice of, and no other, after every one has ſhewn his commiſſion for being at the election, and conſenting to one of thoſe five or ſix nam'd, ſo that every one of the ſenators has done the ſame thing in his palatinate at the ſame time. Thus all the deputies of the palatinates, or provinces, are the firſt voters, and have the plurality of voices in the diets above the palatines; yet they always deliver themſelves in the name of all; for before they come there they have all conferr'd notes, and are agreed upon what is to be done without contradicting one another; ſo that all depends on them, for nothing can be concluded on there, which all the deputies have not conſented to; and if there be but one that oppoſes, and cries out aloud *Nievolena* (which is, you are not allow'd it) all would come to nothing: for they have this power, not only at the election of kings, but may in any diet whatſoever break and diſappoint all that the ſenators have concluded upon; for they hold theſe as fundamental maxims in their dominions.

1. That no nobleman can pretend to the crown, or name or give his vote for another to be ſo.

2. That whoſoever is choſen king, muſt be of the *Roman* catholick and apoſtolick religion.

3. That he who is elected be a foreign prince, that he may have no lands in their dominions: and tho' the ſons of the kings of *Poland* are princes, and born within their territories, yet that does not hinder them from being look'd upon as ſtranger princes among them; and they may not purchaſe lands of inheritance as the native nobility may: And for this reaſon they may be choſen kings, as happened to *Uladiſlaus* the fourth, who was then eldeſt prince, after the death of *Sigiſmund* the third his father, who was ſucceeded by *John Caſimir* his brother now reigning; and yet this is to be no precedent to render the crown hereditary.

The manner of their elections is thus: It is generally made in open field half a league from *Warſaw*, the capital of *Maſovia*, were the king uſually reſides; and in the caſtle of which place the diets are commonly held, that town being as it were the center of all the provinces belonging to the crown of *Poland*. The place of election is half a league from *Warſaw* to-wards *Dantzick*, where there was a ſmall inclоſure made about one thouſand or twelve hundred paces in compaſs, inclos'd by a pitiful ditch about five or ſix foot wide, which ſerves only to hinder horſes from going into the ſaid incloſure; in which there are two great tents, one for the election where all the ſenators ſit, and the other where all the deputies of provinces meet, who confer together before they go into the great audience of the ſenate. Every one ſhews his commiſſion, and what he may conſent to; and in this conference they all agree upon what they may oppoſe or grant. They meet thus every day before the audience, which every time laſts ſix or ſeven hours; during which time they propoſe all they can think on towards preſerving their liberties. At leaſt a fortnight was ſpent at the election of the late king *Uladiſlaus*; during which time there were no leſs than eighty thouſand horſe about that little incloſure, all ſoldiers following the ſenators; for every one of them had a little army, ſome greater, ſome leſs, as the palatine of *Cracow* who then had ſeven thouſand men; and ſo others according to their power; for every one is attended by his friends and ſubjects in the beſt condition they can; being well diſciplin'd, and with a reſolution to fight in caſe they cannot agree. Obſerve, that during the time of the election, all the nobility of the country was upon its guard, every one with his foot in the ſtirrup ready to mount upon the leaſt diſagreement or falling out, to fall upon thoſe that ſhould attempt to infringe their liberties. At length, after ſeveral ſittings and audiences, they agreed upon a prince for their king; every one, or at leaſt the chief of the ſenators and deputies, put his hand to it, but did not publiſh it till next day. Then every one returning to his quarters, gives orders to his troops to be ready to draw up, according to the great general's command (for then they all put themſelves under the great ſtandard of the crown) and were ready to cry, *Long live the king*, calling him by his name. After three ſhouts they fir'd volleys of all the cannon and ſmall arms, expreſſing their ſatisfaction, and repeating it three times. Then all the ſenate roſe, and the principal ſenators went to the elder prince who had been choſen king, and was then at a village half a league off. After ſaluting him in the name of all the republick, they made a ſpeech declaring how they had choſen him for their king, deſiring him to accept of it, and to receive them under the government of his wiſdom, aſſuring him they would be his moſt faithful and moſt obe-

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Articles the king ſwears to obſerve.

1. *That he ſhall never enjoy any demeſn of the crown but what is aſſign'd him; ſo they term their ſtate.*

2. *That it ſhall not be in his power to purchaſe or poſſeſs one foot of land in it.*

3. *That he ſhall not give out commiſſions for raiſing of men, unleſs they have been appointed in the diet.*

4. *That it ſhall not be in his power, after the expiration of 24 hours, to cauſe any Poliſh gentleman to be impriſoned, unleſs it be for high treaſon againſt his perſon, or the ſtate.*

5. *That he ſhall not declare war, nor ſo much as ſend an embaſſador upon affairs of ſtate, without the conſent of the republick.*

6. *That he ſhall always allow three ſenators to be near his perſon to aſſiſt him in council; and that they ſhall have an eye upon his actions, for fear he ſhould contrive any thing to their prejudice.* Theſe three ſenators ſerve quarterly, ſo that the king can bring about nothing but what muſt be preſently known.

7. *The king ſhall not marry, make any alliances, nor go out of the kingdom, without conſent of the ſenate.*

8. *It ſhall not be in his power to make any commoner noble for any ſervice done, unleſs it be to the ſtate, and then the ſenate muſt conſent to it.*

The king's power.

The king, tho' thus ty'd to conditions, yet has the power, not only of beſtowing all eccleſiaſtical benefices, but all lands belonging to the crown, as they fall, but it muſt be to gentlemen that are ſubjects of the crown; and particularly to ſuch as have merited by their ſervice, either in war or embaſſies, or other publick ſervice, that this may be a reward, and make others vie to be uſeful and virtuous.

He has alſo the ſovereign power to grant leave to burn wood in thoſe lands; and governments he beſtows, for making of pot and other aſhes, which yield a great revenue, tho' it deſtroys much wood.

He has alſo the right of beſtowing all offices, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and that for life; for no man can be removed from his employment without his own conſent, or being proceeded againſt according to law.

He appoints the meeting of diets, which are uſually held every two years. When he goes to war, he may oblige all the gentry of any province to attend him by way of arrier-ban; and whoſoever fails, forfeits his head, his race loſes his nobility, and his goods are confiſcated to the crown.

This is the extent of his power; and tho' he be a king, his hands are tied up in many caſes, not doing as he thinks fit, but being forced to conſent to many things againſt his inclination. Nevertheleſs he is head of the republick, and all things are done in his name, tho' he can do nothing of himſelf.

Poliſh nobility.

The *Poliſh* nobility are all equal, there being no ſuperiority among them, as is uſual in *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. where there are dukes, marquiſſes, earls, barons; for they have no other title but that of *taroſta*, which are governments and demeſns the king beſtows on the nobility; for all the lands of noblemen are held without any mention of feoffee, or under-feoffee, ſo that the pooreſt gentleman thinks himſelf no way inferior to one much richer than himſelf; but they pay a reſpect to thoſe that are officers of the crown. The meaneſt of them pretend they are capable of being ſenators, when it ſhall ſo pleaſe the king; and to this purpoſe they all from their infancy learn *Latin*, becauſe all their laws are writ in that language. They all aſpire to hold ſome lands belonging to the demeſn of the crown; and this makes them ſtrive to outdo one another in virtue, and to appear in the army, and there to perform ſome notable exploits upon occaſion, that they may be taken notice of by their general, and be recommended to the king, who rewards them with ſome of thoſe eſtates.

The nobility, as has been ſaid, has the power of chuſing their king, who cannot after 24 hours impriſon any of them for any crime whatſoever, except treaſon. Nor can any of them be impriſon'd till his cauſe be try'd, judgment given, and he thrice ſummon'd to appear. So that the nobility have liberty to come and go, to make intereſt with their judges, and be preſent at the examination of witneſſes who depoſe againſt them, without fearing to be apprehended before ſentence is paſt; after which they have time to withdraw into a monaſtery, which very often is the ſanctuary of wicked men, who are not able to ſupport themſelves by main force; for the great lords laugh at juſtice, and travel with company enough to oppoſe them that have caus'd them to be convicted. The ſentence is uſually to be beheaded, and their goods forfeited. Then they are three times ſummon'd by a crier to appear, and come before the court of juſtice in an hour: But they are not ſuch fools to put

themſelves into the hands of the hangman, knowing they are condemn'd to die. They not appearing, infamy is added to the ſentence; that is, any one that meets, is authoriz'd and allow'd to kill them; and they that eat or drink with them are accounted guilty of the ſame crime. Then the plaintiff being too weak for the party condemn'd, comes to ſome compoſition, and for a ſum of money diſcharges the other: After which the criminal may ſue out the king's pardon, which coſts two or three thouſand livres; by which he is clear'd of his crime, and of the infamy, and reſtored to his goods. But when the criminal is not ſo powerful as the party griev'd, he muſt fly the country to ſave his life, and his goods are forfeited to the crown. Theſe are the benefits the king cannot enjoy, and which he gives the nobility for life. But, as they ſay, guilt wears out in time; for after ſome years paſt, friends endeavour to make up the buſineſs, either becauſe the party concerned is dead, or that he relents and forgives, or through ſome other means, after which the criminal may eaſily recover his goods, if he has any intereſt.

It is not ſo among ſoldiers, for upon the leaſt offence they are ſecured, without being look'd upon as gentlemen, but as ſoldiers, and are accordingly try'd by a council of war, and judgment no ſooner given than executed.

The nobility may farm land without any diſparagement, and ſell the product of the earth; but they are not allow'd to trade, any more than in *France*.

No ſingle duels.

In private quarrels they are not oblig'd to ſeek ſatisfaction of the wrong done them, man to man. When they think themſelves injur'd, they gather all their friends, and the moſt reſolute of their vaſſals, and march out with the greated ſtrength they can make, to attack and worſt their enemies whereſoever they can meet them, and do not lay down their arms till they have fought, or elſe ſome friends have interpos'd and reconcil'd them; and inſtead of a ſcymitar put into their hands a great glaſs full of the liquor they call *toquoye*, to drink one another's health.

They have alſo the liberty of wearing little crowns over their arms, as being petty ſovereigns, to caſt as much cannon as they pleaſe, and to build as conſiderable forts as they are able, without being obſtructed by the king or republick; and they only want the privilege of coining, to be abſolute ſovereigns. Formerly money was coin'd in the name of the republick, at preſent in the king's name only. In ſhort, it appears at the beginning of this relation, that they have ſovereign and abſolute authority over the peaſants that hold of them; that is, who are their vaſſals in their hereditary poſſeſſions: for they have not ſuch full power over the peaſants that live upon crown-lands, which they hold only for life; for of theſe they can put none to death with legal proceſs, nor ſeize their goods without ſhewing a reaſon for it; the peaſant of the crown, when moleſted, having their complaints heard before the king, who protects them, and keeps their privileges. BEAUPLAN.

A gentleman cannot be condemn'd to death for killing a peaſant belonging to another gentleman, but is by law to pay forty *grivenes* to the heirs of the party kill'd to have their diſcharge; a *grivene* is worth thirty two *ſols*. In theſe caſes the teſtimony of two gentlemen is ſufficient to condemn a peaſant, but there muſt be fourteen peaſants to convict a gentleman.

Strangers, peaſants, and burghers.

Strangers may not purchaſe land there, nor the native peaſants, who never can poſſeſs any of their own; but they and their children hold their farms for life, pay great rents to their lords, and cannot ſell or mortgage, but the lord can enter upon them when he pleaſes. In towns the burghers may buy houſes and gardens, about the ſame towns within their liberties. By this it appears that all the lands in that republick are poſſeſs'd by the nobility, who are very rich, excepting only the lands remitted to the crown (which are not hereditary, like thoſe we have ſpoken of) where there are certain villages depending of the crown, which the kings have given to *boyars*, who are a ſort of people inferior to the gentry, and above the trading ſort, to whom the king has given eſtates for them and their heirs, who enjoy them upon condition they ſhall ſerve in the wars at their own expence, as often as the great general requires, and do all they are commanded for the ſervice of the ſtate. Tho' moſt of theſe are very rich, yet there are ſome among them poor enough; but the nobility is rich, as has been ſaid. In *Maſovia*, where there is a great number of them, being at leaſt the ſixth part of the inhabitants, they are not ſo well to paſs; for which reaſon a great many of them go to plow, and ſerve great men as gentlemen-followers, which is more honourable than to be coachmen, as the moſt ſtupid of them are forc'd to be. Of this ſort were two that ſerv'd me as coachmen ſeveral years, whilſt I was in that country employ'd as firſt captain of the artillery, and the king's ingineer, tho' they were gentlemen of good birth.

The patrimony of the nobility is free from winter-quarters and gariſons; and the army is only permitted to march thro', being

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When ſeveral brothers are coheirs, the eldeſt divides, and the youngeſt chuſes.

A widow marrying again, may, if ſhe pleaſes, give all ſhe has to him that marries her, and ſo diſappoint her children: This law makes children obedient to their parents.

Manners of the Poliſh nobility.

The *Poliſh* nobility are humble, and complaiſant enough towards ſuperiors, ſuch as the *palatines* and other officers of the crown; courteous and well-bred to their equals and countrymen, but haughty and inſolent to their inferiors; affable to ſtrangers, whom yet they do not much affect, or willingly converſe with: as for inſtance, the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whom they ſeldom ſee but in war, and with ſword in hand. As for the *Muſcovites*, by reaſon of their brutality, they do not aſſociate, or deal with them; nor with the *Swedes* and *Germans*, for whom they have ſo great an averſion that they cannot bear with them, but hate them mortally; and whenſoever they make uſe of *Germans*, it is for very great need. On the contrary, they call the *French* brothers, ſympathizing with, and being ally'd to them in behaviour, as well in their free way of delivering themſelves without diſſimulation, as in their eaſy jovial temper, which inclines them to laugh and ſing without any melancholy. So the *French* who converſe with thoſe people, have a great eſteem for them, becauſe generally they are good-natur'd, generous, void of malice, not given to revenge, witty; and thoſe that apply themſelves, improve mightily. They have excellent memories; are magnificent, honourable, expenſive in their habit, wearing rich linings; and I have ſeen ſome of ſables worth about two thouſand crowns, adorn'd with large gold buttons ſet with rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and other precious ſtones. They carry abundance of ſervants after them; are very courageous, reſolute and ſkilful at their weapons, wherein they outdo all their neighbours, as making it their common exerciſe; for they are ſeldom or never without war againſt ſome of the powerful princes of *Europe*, as the *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Muſcovites*, *Swedes*, *Germans*; and ſometimes two or three of them together, as happen'd in the years 1632, and 1633, when they were at war with the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muſcovites*, and came off very well, after ſeveral victories obtain'd over them, follow'd by that over the *Swedes* in 1635.

After which peace was concluded between the two crowns of *Sweden* and *Poland*, by the mediation of monſieur *Davavy*, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's embaſſador, to the ſatisfaction of both kings. Beſides their generoſity in other reſpects, they entertain their friends in their houſes very civilly, being honoured and viſited by them; nay, they are moſt obliging to ſtrangers they never ſaw before in their lives, and treat them with the ſame civility as if they had been long acquainted.

There are in that country ſome very rich lords, for there are thoſe whoſe perſonal eſtates amount to 800000 livres *per annum*, without reckoning thoſe that hold by gift of the crown, which are the ſixth part of the kingdom; and the cauſe of this great wealth is, becauſe the peaſants can have no inheritance, ſo that all belongs to the nobility, being fallen into them, either by conqueſt, or by confiſcations from rebels and turbulent perſons, whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated, and annext to the demeſn. The nobility, fearing leſt the king, if poſſeſs'd of ſuch vaſt eſtates, might make himſelf abſolute, they obſtruct his being maſter of them, and are themſelves gainers by it.

Theſe people, when they go to war, ſerve after a ſtrange manner; and ſhould we ſee ſuch as them in our armies, we ſhould rather gaze at than fear them, tho' they are loaded with all ſorts of offenſive arms. I will give a deſcription of them by what I ſaw my ſelf in the perſon of monſieur *Deczeinſky*, [1] *Roſtemaſter* of a troop of [2] *Coſſacks*, who are thus arm'd. In the firſt place he has his ſcymitar over his coat of mail, his headpiece, which is a ſteel cap, with labels of the ſame ſort as his coat of mail, hanging down on both ſides, and behind over his back, his carbine, or elſe his bow and quiver; there hung about his waſte a [3] *czidela*, a [4] ſteel, a knife, ſix ſilver ſpoons made to lie one within another in a purſe of red *Turkey*-leather; a piſtol in his girdle, a fine handkerchief, a purſe of dreſſed leather that folds, holding about a pint and half, which they uſe to take up water to drink in the field; [5] *ſableta*, a [6] *naiyque*, two or three fathom of ſilk rope about the thickneſs of half a man's little finger to bind the priſoners they take. All theſe things hang on the ſide oppoſite to the ſcymitar; and beſides all this, a horn to drench their horſes. There alſo hung by the ſaddle, on the off-ſide, a wooden bowl that would hold half a pail to water his horſe; alſo three [7] *noganſt* of leather to hold his horſe whilſt he feeds. Beſides, when he had not his bow, inſtead of it he

[1] *That is, a captain.* [2] *Who are horſemen with bows and arrows.* [3] *An awl.* [4] *This ſteel ſerves to ſharpen his ſcymitar and knife, and to ſtrike fire.* [5] *It is a great flat pouch of red cloth to carry papers, their combs and their money.* [6] *A little leather whip to put on his horſe.* [7] *Leather fetters, holding three of the horſes legs as he feeds.*

carried

carried his carbine at his belt: he had, moreover, a [1] *ladonnequis*, a worm for the carbine, and a flaſk. Judge whether a man thus loaded be in a condition to fight.

The *houſarts* are lancers, and all of them gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates, as far as 50000 livres a year; are excellently mounted, the worſt of their horſes worth two hundred ducats, being all *Turkiſh* horſes brought from *Caramania*, a province in *Anatolia*. Every one of them ſerves with five horſes, for in a company of a hundred lancers, there are but twenty maſters, who all march in the front, being file-leaders; and the four other ranks are their ſervants each in his file. Their lancets are nineteen foot long, the ſpear hollow, the reſt of ſolid wood. At the point of their lances they wear a ſtreamer or flag of red and white, or blue and green, or black and white, but always of two colours, four or five ells long, which, I ſuppoſe, is to fright the enemies horſes; for when they have couch'd their lances, running with all the ſwiftneſs their horſes heels can carry them, theſe ſtreamers twirl about, and diſcompoſe the enemies horſes they are to charge. They are armed back and breaſt, arms, head, *&c.* By their ſide they have only their ſcymitar, a palache under the left thigh; and on the right ſide of the pomel of the ſaddle is faſten'd a long ſword, broad at hand, and tapering downwards with a ſquare point, which is to run a man thro' as he lies on the ground, if he is not yet dead; and therefore this ſword is five foot long, and has a round pomel that they may the better thruſt againſt the ground to pierce the coat of mail; the *palache* is to cut fleſh, and the ſcymitar to hack and hew the coats of mail. They alſo carry battel-axes, weighing at leaſt ſix pounds, made like our ſquare pick-axes, well temper'd, with a long handle to ſtrike upon the helmet, and enemy's armour, which they pierce with theſe inſtruments.

Poliſh *entertainments.*

As their armour and manner of waging war ſeems to us very different from ours, we will let you ſee, by what follows, that their banquets and their behaviour at them, is different from what is us'd by moſt nations in the world. For the lords who value themſelves moſt upon this particular, the people that are very rich, and thoſe that are in a medium, treat very ſplendidly according to their ability; and I can with truth affirm, that their common meals do much exceed our feaſts in all points, by which ſenſible men judge what they do when they debauch and make extraordinary treats. The great lords of the kingdom, and other officers of the crown, upon leiſure days, when they are excus'd from going to the ſenate, and hold the diet at *Warſaw*, have made entertainments that have coſt fifty, and even ſixty thouſand livres, a very great expence, conſidering what is ſerved in, and how it is ſerved. For it is not there as in thoſe countries, where amber, muſk, pearls, and coſtly dreſſings ariſe to prodigious ſums. All that is ſerv'd here is very ordinary and coarſely dreſt, but in prodigious quantities, though it be but for a ſmall occaſion. But the waſte their ſervants and family make, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter, is what enhances the charge. Now that you may gueſs at the value of the whole by a ſmall ſample, I muſt inform you upon my own knowledge, that very often (according to the bills of expence which I have ſeen) there has been one only article which mentioned a hundred crowns in glaſſes only, and they were not curious ones, but only a penny a piece. When they begin, they are generally only four or five lords ſenators, and ſometimes the ambaſſadors that are at court join with them, which is but a ſmall number for ſo great an expence as we have ſpoke of, but increaſed by the number of their gentlemen followers, to the number of twelve or fifteen, who are all bid welcome, and in all make ſeventy or eighty perſons, who all ſit down to a table, made of three tables put end to end, and near a hundred foot in length, generally covered with three fine large table-cloths, and all the ſervice gilt; upon every plate a loaf under a very little napkin, no bigger than a handkerchief, with a ſpoon but no knife. Theſe tables ſo placed are commonly in a ſpacious hall, at the end of which is a ſideboard full of plate, with a rail about it, within which no body is to go but the butler and his aſſiſtants; upon that ſideboard there are often eight or ten heaps of ſilver diſhes, and as many plates as will reach the height of a man, and they are no ſhort ones in that country. Oppoſite to this ſideboard, and generally over the door, is a gallery for the muſicians, as well vocal as inſtrumental, which are not to be heard confuſedly all together, but begin with the violins, which are followed by cornets in a proportionable number, after them come the voices with children that make an harmonious conſort enough. All theſe ſeveral ſorts begin again alternatively, and laſt as long as the feaſt. The muſicians have always eaten and drank before the feaſt begins, during which, being bound to attend their buſineſs, they could have no leiſure to eat or drink. All things being thus in order, the tables are covered with all ſorts of varieties; then the lords are led into the hall,

BEAUPLAR.

[1] *A cartridge-box for carbine and piſtol.*

BEAUPLAN. in the midſt whereof there are four gentlemen, two of whom hold a gilt baſon, at leaſt three foot diameter, to waſh in, and the ewer proportionable to it. The gentlemen drawing near the lords, give them water for their hands, and withdrawing, give way to the other two, who hold a towel about three ells long, each holding an end, and offering it to the lords, who dry their hands. After this, the maſter of the houſe having performed the honours due, gives to every one his proper place, according to his rank and dignity. Being thus ſeated, they are ſerved by gentlemen-carvers, three at each table, and treated with the varieties which are dreſſed and ſeaſoned after their manner, that is, ſome with ſaffron, whoſe ſauce is yellow; others with juice of cherries, which makes the ſauce red; others with the juice of prunes, and that ſauce is black; others with juice of boil'd onions ſtrain'd, and this makes a greyiſh, and is by them called *gonche*. All theſe ſorts of meat in their ſeveral ſauces are cut into bits as big as a ball, that every one may take what he pleaſes. No ſoop is ſerved up to table, becauſe the meat has its broth with it in the diſhes, among which there are ſome paſties. Every one of the gueſts eats according as the ſauce pleaſes him, which are never any more than thoſe four we have mentioned, beſides the ſeveral ſorts of meat. They ſerve up beef, mutton, veal and pullets without ſauce, well ſeaſoned according to the cuſtom of that country, with ſalt and ſpice, and ſo well that they have no need of ſalts, which are therefore never uſed. As ſoon as one diſh is emptied, they ſet on another, as ſalt-cabbage, with a piece of ſalt pork, or millet, or boiled dough (I ſuppoſe dumplins) which they eat as a great dainty. They make another ſort of ſauce of a root they call *creſen*, which they bruiſe and ſteep in vinegar, and has the reliſh of delicious excellent muſtard, fit to eat either with freſh or ſalt beef, and with all ſorts of fiſh. The firſt courſe being thus over, and the diſhes emptied, moſt of the meat not eaten by the gueſts but their ſervants, as we ſhall mention more fully hereafter, they take off, and not only the diſhes, but the firſt table-cloth with them, and then comes the ſecond courſe of roaſt-meat, as beef, mutton and veal, cut into large pieces, capons, chickens, pullets, goſlins, ducks, hares, veniſon, kid, wild-boar, and all other ſorts, as partridges, quails, larks, and other ſmall birds, whereof they have great plenty. As for pigeons, they never uſe them, becauſe they are rare in that country, as are rabbits and woodcocks. All theſe ſorts are ſerved up without any order, but confuſedly, intermixing them with ſeveral ſalads of divers ſorts. This ſecond courſe is attended by an intermeſs of ſeveral ſorts of ſtrained peaſe with a good piece of bacon, whereof every one takes part and cuts it into bits, which they eat with a ſpoon, dipping in the ſoop, and look upon it as a dainty diſh, ſwallowing it without chewing; and the value they put upon it is ſo great, that they think they have not been well treated if it be wanting; as alſo if they have not millet buttered, and huſked barley dreſſed in the ſame manner, which they call *çacha*, and the *Dutch*, *gru*. They have alſo bits of paſte like macaroons fry'd in butter full of cheeſe: and another ſort made of buck-wheat, like very thin cakes, which they dip in the juice of white poppy-ſeed, which I ſuppoſe they eat to fill them up quite, and diſpoſe them to ſleep. This ſecond courſe being taken away, as the firſt was, the deſert is brought in, ſuch as the ſeaſon and opportunity will allow of, as cream, cheeſe, and many other things I cannot at preſent call to mind. All which diſhes and dainties are ſo far inferior to the meaneſt of ours, that I ſhould value one *French* diſh above ten of theirs. But for fiſh they underſtand it wonderful well, for they not only have that which is very good, but dreſs it to perfection, and give it ſo fine a reliſh that it will raiſe a decay'd appetite, wherein they exceed all other nations, not only in my opinion, but by the general conſent of all *French* and other ſtrangers, who have been entertained by them. Nor is it any wonder, for they ſpare neither wine, nor oil, ſpice, currants, pine-apple kernels, nor any other thing which with their ingenuity can contribute to ſeaſon it well. During dinner they drink but little, to lay a good foundation, and what they drink is beer out of long round glaſſes as big as a *French* pot, into which they put toaſted bread ſprinkled with oil. It was above-mention'd, that though the diſhes of the firſt and ſecond courſe were taken from table almoſt empty, yet the gueſts had eaten the leaſt part; which is very true, for it is to be obſerved that every one of thoſe that is at table has one or two ſervants, and when they would have clean plates, they fill their foul ones with what is next them, and give them heaped to the ſaid ſervants, who being well provided, get together to devour it in ſome corner of the room, as it were by ſtealth, making an indecent noiſe, which yet their maſters do not hinder, but cauſe it by ſupporting ſuch a cuſtom. After the maſters have eaten heartily at table, without much drinking, and the ſervants gormandized what their maſters have given them in the corners of the hall, then they begin in earneſt to drink one another's

healths, not in beer as before, but in their wine, which is the beſt and nobleſt in the world; and though it be white, yet it makes their faces red, and enhances the expence of their treats, for they conſume abundance, and it coſts four livres a pot, paying ſo much rather for its goodneſs than ſcarcity. When one has drank his friend's health, he gives him the ſame glaſs of that wine that he may pledge him, which they do eaſily without the help of ſervants, the tables being cover'd with great pots of wine and glaſſes, which are as ſoon filled as emptied: ſo that an hour or two after this pleaſant work begins, it is no leſs pleaſant to ſee the vaſt number of glaſſes every one has before him, to ſuch a prodigious quantity that it is impoſſible he ſhould drink them off, than to obſerve the forms and figures they ſtand in, for ſometimes they are ſquares, ſometimes triangles, ſometimes oblongs, and ſometimes circles; and theſe glaſſes are ſo variouſly moved, and in ſo many ſeveral forms, that I cannot believe the motion of the planets can be more irregular and diſagreeing than that which is cauſed by that excellent pleaſing white-wine. When they have ſpent four or five hours at this notable but not laborious exerciſe, ſome of them overcome, fall aſleep; others go out to make water, and return more able to carry on the work; others diſcourſe of their brave actions on the like occaſions, and of what advantages they gain'd over their companions. But all the maſters do, is nothing compared with the behaviour of the ſervants, for if they were expenſive in eating, they are ſo much more in drinking, and deſtroy ten times as much wine as their maſters, and conſequently they commit unparallel'd inſolencies, rubbing the dirty greaſy plates againſt the hangings, though never ſo rich, or elſe againſt their maſter's hanging-ſleeves, without any reſpect to them or their rich garments; and to crown the work, they all drink to ſuch a pitch that none of them goes off without feeling the effects of wine, for maſters, ſervants and muſicians are all drunk. Yet they that have the charge of the plate, are not generally ſo gorged, but that they take care, as near as they can, that no man ſhall get out of the houſe till all the plate be ſecur'd by thoſe to whom it is committed: but theſe officers generally making uſe of their time, cannot perform their duty ſo well as they ſhould, ſo that there is generally ſomething loſt. BEAUPLAN.

To conclude; this is what at preſent I can call to mind of what I have ſeen and heard in that northern country, as to its ſituation, the people inhabiting it, their religion, manners, and way of making war; if my memory which has furniſhed me with what hitherto I have found to divert you, ſhall bring to light any thing elſe I ſhall think worthy to preſent you with, I ſhall not forget my duty, but will moſt willingly acquaint you with it, hoping that if this I have preſented you with does not anſwer your expectation, you will eaſily excuſe my inability to write more politely, which I thought improper for a ſoldier, who has ſpent all his days in throwing up works, caſting of canon, and burning of ſalt-petre.

A CU-

A Curious and Exact ACCOUNT

OF A

VOYAGE

TO

CONGO,

In the Years 1666, and 1667.

By the R.R. F.F. MICHAEL ANGELO *of* Gattina, *and* DENIS DE CARLI *of* Piacenza, *Capuchins, and Apoſtolick Miſſioners into the ſaid Kingdom of* Congo.

TO THE

READER.

THE authors of this ſmall work being two perſons who travelled not out of any vain curioſity, or out of any deſign of gathering wealth, but only out of a pure zeal to propagate the Chriſtian religion; it would appear ſomewhat unchriſtian to call in queſtion the truth of their relation. No worldly intereſt could biaſs them, who propoſed to themſelves no gain, nor indeed were they capable of any, their profeſſion not permitting them to poſſeſs any thing. It is needleſs to ſay much in vindication of them; for in truth whoſoever reads, will ſcarce find any thing but what is credible enough, unleſs they be ſuch perſons as being altogether ſtrangers to the world, will credit nothing but what they ſee is frequent in their own country. I do not pretend to apologize for the book, every man will give his judgment whatever I can ſay for it. Therefore all I ſhall add is, that to ſome the account of Congo *will not appear ſo diverting as they perhaps might have conceited it, becauſe they always expect things very ſurprizing from countries very remote. This is not a hiſtory of a country, or of its conqueſt, and therefore there are no warlike expeditions to pleaſe the reader. The people are rude and ignorant, and therefore there are no fine deſcriptions of cities and noble ſtructures. The authors were religious men, and therefore added no romantick invention of their own to make their writings taking. The account is very particular, it ſpeaks not only of* Congo, *but of* Brazil *and ſome parts of* Europe, *the firſt part being made out of the letters of F.* Michael Angelo *who died in* Congo, *and the reſt compoſed by F.* Denis *who returned home, and ſets down particularly all that befel him there in his way back to* Italy. *The tranſlation is faithful, without adding or diminiſhing in the leaſt; and even the ſtile of the authors, which is plain and eaſy, is followed: which is all that I think requiſite the reader ſhould know before he enters upon the voyage.*

A Voyage to Congo, *in the Years* 1666, *and* 1667. *By the R. R. F. F.* Michael Angelo *of* Gattina, *and* Denis de Carli *of* Piacenza, *Capuchins, and Apoſtolick Miſſioners to the ſaid Kingdom of* Congo.

TO ſatisfy the curioſity of ſeveral perſons, who preſs me in ſuch an obliging manner as I cannot eaſily withſtand, to give them an exact account of what I have ſeen and learned during the long voyage, from which I am lately returned, I will write a relation of the kingdom of *Congo* and of *Africk*, where the duty of my miſſion made me acquainted with ſtrange cuſtoms, and go through abundance of hardſhips, omitting at preſent to ſpeak of *Braſil*, and ſome other parts of *America*, whither we were firſt carried, and of which I ſhall ſay but very little.

The author appointed for the miſſion.

In the year 1666, *Alexander* the 7th being pope, fifteen *Capuchin* miſſioners, of which I was one, were diſpatched by the cardinals *de propaganda fide*, and received the commiſſions or patents at *Bononia*, where I then reſided, at the hands of F. *Stephen de Ceſa*, of the noble family of *Clermont*, whoſe virtue has been ſince rewarded with the poſt of general of the ſaid order. Our patents contained the following privileges: to diſpenſe with any irregularity except incurred by bigamy, or wilful murder: to diſpenſe and commute ſimple vows even to that of chaſtity, but not that of religion: to diſpenſe with marriages within the ſecond and third degrees, and for *pagans* converted to keep one of their wives: to abſolve in caſes reſerved to the pope: to bleſs church-ſtuff, churches, and chalices: to give leave to eat fleſh and whitemeats, and to ſay two maſſes a day in caſe of neceſſity: to grant plenary indulgences: to deliver a ſoul out of purgatory, according to the intention of the prieſt, in a maſs for the dead ſaid on monday and tueſday: to wear ſecular clothes in caſe of neceſſity: to ſay the roſary for want of a breviary, or any other impediment; to read forbidden books, except *Macchiavel*.

His voyage to Lisbon.

As ſoon as theſe letters patents were delivered to me, I ſet out for *Piacenza* my native country, arrived there at the beginning of Advent, and received orders to expect F. *Michael Angelo* of *Rheggio*, who was to be my companion in this voyage. He being come, we went together to *Genoa*, where all the miſſioners were to embark: thence we ſailed for *Liſbon*, and having reſided there ſome months, took the opportunity of a *Portugueſe* veſſel bound for *Braſil* to load there, and ſail over to *Africk* to the coaſt of *Congo*. ANGELO.

To Brasil.

We ſpent three months in our paſſage from *Liſbon* to *Braſil*, the fair winds uſually on theſe ſeas befriending us. By the way we had often the ſatisfaction to ſee the flying fiſhes about our ſhip: this is a very white fiſh about a foot long, with two wings or fins proportionable to the body; it is not unlike a herring, ſave that its back is of an azure colour, and its fins larger, and fitter to ſerve inſtead of wings. This fiſh flying from another called the *dorado* or *dory*, which purſues to devour it, ſprings out of the water, and flies as long as any moiſture is in the fins, which once dried by the air it falls back into the ſea, and is devoured by its enemy, who never loſes ſight of it, or elſe is taken and eaten by the ſeamen if it happens to fall into the ſhip, or is ſometimes catched in the air by ſome bird of prey. So that this wretched creature, as it were baniſhed by nature, can ſcarce find any place of ſafety in the air, in the ſea, or on the earth, the delicacy of its fleſh being the cauſe of its unhappineſs. There is another ſort of fiſh in thoſe ſeas called a *ſhark*, very greedy of man's fleſh: they catch it with a rope and a chain at the end of it, to which is faſtned a ſtrong hook baited with a piece of fleſh: the *ſhark* perceiving it ſwallows the fleſh, hook, and moſt of the chain; then the ſailors draw the head above water, and batter it with clubs; after which they bind the tail where its greateſt ſtrength lies, and bringing it aboard cut it in pieces.

Drawing near the coaſt of *Guinea*, we began to feel much heat from the ſun, which is there in the zenith; and as we went

Angelo. went farther it grew ſo violent, that in a few days we were ſo weak that we could neither eat nor ſleep; and to add to our ſufferings, the proviſions and drink were full of maggots. This laſted for fifteen days we ſailed under the line, ſo that 'tis a ſort of miracle we ſhould live amidſt ſo many hardſhips, tho' it was then the month of *Auguſt*, the moſt temperate time of the year in thoſe parts.

Sports at ſea. The *Portugueſe* uſe generally to make ſome rejoicing, and keep holiday, to beg of God a good iſſue of that dangerous voyage. They alſo obſerve this ancient cuſtom: thoſe who have never been under the line are obliged to give the ſailors either a piece of money, or ſomething to eat or drink, or at leaſt money's worth, from which no man is excuſed, not even the *Capuchins*, of whom they take beads, *Agnus Dei's*, or ſuch like things; which being expoſed to ſale, what they yield is given to ſay maſſes for the ſouls in purgatory. If any man happen to be ſuch a miſer as to deny paying this duty, the ſailors clothed like officers carry him bound to a tribunal, on which a ſeaman is ſeated in a long robe, who acting the part of a judge, examines him, hears what he has to ſay, and gives judgment againſt him to be thrice ducked in the ſea after this manner: the perſon condemned is tied faſt with a rope, and the other end of it run through a pully at the yard-arm, by which he is hoiſted up, and then let run amain three times under water; and there ſeldom fails to be one or other that gives the reſt this diverſion. The ſame is practiſed in paſſing the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*, and cape of *Good-Hope*.

Having paſſed the line, the wind ſtill continued right aſtern, but ſo very violent, that if it had not pleaſed God we had met with ſo rapid a current of water as ſtemmed our furious courſe, I know not how we could have eſcaped. Some time after, when we had made conſiderable way, the wind calmed, and conſequently we loſt that refreſhment we had ſo much need of in the great heat, which had not yet ceaſed; this calm falling out no leſs unluckily for our proviſions, which we were afraid would ſoon fall ſhort. What increaſed our fear was, the impreſſion remaining in us of the diſaſter lately had happened to the ſhip called *Catarinetta*, which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to be acquainted with.

Strange account of a ſhip. The veſſel being laden with commodities of great value ſet ſail from *Goa*, and meeting with a proſperous wind, arrived ſafe in *Brazil*; whence putting to ſea with as fair a wind as could be wiſhed, it took its courſe for *Liſbon*, but in paſſing the line the maſter died, overcome with the violent heat of the climate, and ſoon after him all the beſt ſailors: ſo that the ſhip being left, like a horſe that has ſhook off the bridle, to the mercy of the waves, drove about in a piteous manner upon the ſea for ſeven months, which forced ſuch as were left alive, after conſuming all their proviſions, to eat the cats, dogs, and rats that were in the ſhip, and to dreſs their ſhoes and any other leather, which they endeavoured the beſt they could to make eatable. At laſt nothing being left, only five remained of four hundred men they were at firſt. One of theſe five was the captain, who being diſtracted with the diſmal thoughts which a miſerable death near at hand is wont to inſpire, fancied that death would not be the greateſt of his misfortunes, but that together with his life he ſhould loſe his reputation; and that fame, which commonly ſpreads abroad falſe news, would report, that he was fled into ſome far country to make his advantage of the great treaſure he was entruſted with, and enjoy the fruits of his diſhoneſty out of danger. So that being ardently deſirous that at leaſt ſome one of them might ſurvive to carry home the news of their misfortune, he propoſed to his companions to caſt lots which of them ſhould be killed to ſerve for food to the other four. Not one of them contradicted that inhuman propoſal, but only they would exempt their captain from being ſubject to the rigour of it. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make him conſent; but after much contending, he ſolemnly ſwore he would not be exempt from falling a ſacrifice to the reſt, if it fell to his lot, ſince abſolute neceſſity made that courſe juſt and reaſonable. In ſhort, having caſt dice, the lot fell upon the unhappy captain, who was already offering up his ſoul to God; but the others bewailing their misfortune, began to conclude it was better they ſhould all die like good catholicks, than like *Barbarians* to imbrue their hands in the blood of their companion. God inſpiring them in return for this good reſolution, one of them went up to the top-maſt head, from whence looking about on all ſides, he ſpied at a great diſtance ſomething dark, which he told the captain; who going up with a perſpective glaſs, diſcerned that it was the coaſt of the continent. They ſteered that way the beſt they could, and being come up with the ſhore, found it was a port then in peace with *Portugal*. Being landed, with God's aſſiſtance, they went immediately to the governor, whom they acquainted with their misfortune. The governor gave them good entertainment, and furniſhed them with all they ſtood in need of. During their ſtay there, they were adviſed by phyſicians to make uſe of ſome medicines, and proper reſtoratives

reſtoratives to recover their health, and return to ſea; yet two of them more ſpent than the reſt, gave up their ghoſts; the other three, with the help of the good medicines applied, were perfectly recovered. They gave thanks to God for his mercy, and to the governor for his civility, refitted their veſſel, and ſet ſail again for *Liſbon*. As ſoon as they came thither, one of the three who relapſed by the way, died. To conclude, the captain and ſailor that remained, landed, and were immediately introduced to the king of *Portugal*, to whom they gave a diſmal account of their adventures, which turned to their advantage; for the king moved at their ſufferings, comforted, and gave them gifts of value, making the captain admiral of the fleet, and the ſailor captain of the beſt ſhip.

Now I return to our voyage.

Being in ten degrees of ſouth latitude, we diſcovered about evening cape S. *Auguſtin* at a great diſtance; and in the morning it pleaſed GOD, we ſaw abundance of land-fowls flying near about us, and whales, which ſpouting up great ſtreams of water, at that diſtance looked to us like fine fountains guſhing in the midſt of the ſea. There are ſuch numbers of them in that ſea, that I ſhall ſcarce be believed, if I ſay a merchant pays the king of *Portugal* fifty thouſand crowns in gold for the patent to make oil, though nothing be more true.

Paſſing by our lady of *Nazareth*, we all ſaluted her with three *ave maries*, and a triple diſcharge of our cannon. This church is but five miles from the town of *Fernambuco*; near to which place *Francis de Brito* a *Portugueſe* nobleman, travelling before the church was built, the good lord who had a ſpecial devotion for the bleſſed Virgin, met a poor woman clad in white, with a child in her arms, who humbly begged an alms of him. He putting his hand into his pocket, gave her a ducat; and whilſt he was giving, and ſhe receiving, the woman's face ſeemed to him to be altogether changed. *Brito* following on his way at a ſmall diſtance from the place, as if he were quite ſurpriſed at what he had ſeen, turned about ſeveral times to ſee the perſon that had won his heart; but tho' it was a plain field, where there was no place to be concealed, nor any thing to obſtruct the ſight, he could never ſee the beautiful beggar again. This breeding a diſſatisfaction in his mind, he returned to the very place where he left his alms, and his thoughts, and only found the print of two feet upon the earth, which made him conclude that the poor woman was the bleſſed Virgin, that had inflamed his heart with her heavenly eyes, and raviſhed his ſoul with her divine beauty; and therefore in that very place he erected a ſtately church in honour of the moſt holy Virgin, endowing it with a revenue, and chaplains proportionable to the worth and generoſity of that noble gentleman.

Story of a church in Braſil.

Angelo.

When we were under the tower, which ſerves as a fort to the harbour of *Fernambuco*, we caſt anchor there, ſaluting the town after the uſual manner, the port being too little for ſhips to lie in.

Port of Fernambuco.

The captain went away in the pinnace, to get leave for us to land. Whilſt he was gone, we obſerved that a wall runs from the tower, which the people there call *arrecife*, which creditable people ſay is natural, running three hundred miles, one part of it incloſing the harbour, and ſecuring it againſt any weather. This ſame wall in like manner parts the ſea from a river that runs through the middle of the city; and when the ſea grows boiſterous, it ſometimes raiſes its waves above the wall, mixing its ſalt with the freſh waters of the river, which is the cauſe that the people catch freſh and ſalt-water fiſh indifferently in the river, and in the ſea, as if by a ſort of metamorphoſis the ſea were become a river, and the river ſea.

As ſoon as we landed in the port of *Fernambuco*, we ſaw a great croud of people, as well *Blacks* as *Whites*, about us, and among them a black woman, who kneeled, beat her breaſt, and clapt her hands upon the ground. I enquired what the good woman meant by all thoſe motions with her hands; and a *Portugueſe* anſwered me: father, the meaning of it is, that ſhe is of the kingdom of *Congo*, and was baptized by a *Capuchin*; and being informed you are going thither to baptize, ſhe rejoices, and expreſſes her joy by thoſe outward tokens.

In going to the houſe appointed for our entertainment, we paſſed through the middle of the town, which we found to be indifferent for bigneſs, but very full of people, eſpecially of black ſlaves they bring from *Angola*, *Congo*, *Dongo*, and *Mattamba* every year, to the number of ten thouſand, whom they employ about their tobacco, ſugar-works, and to gather cotton, abundance of which grows there upon ſhrubs, about the height of a man; as alſo to cut wood for dying of ſilk, and other ſtuffs of value, and to work in coco and ivory.

As for the original natives of *Braſil*, or ſouth *America*, the *Portugueſe* have not been able to ſubdue them to this day, they being a people too fierce and barbarous. They call them *Tapuges*, or *Caboclos*, and the colour of their ſkin is a dark-tawny. They go quite naked, and carry a bow an ell and half long, with arrows made part of cane, and part of a hard wood ſharpned to-

Indians of

Angelo. wards the point like a ſaw, that where it hits it may make the wound bigger, more troubleſome, and be the harder to be drawn out; and it is moſt certain that when they ſhoot with a deſign, and their beſt, they ſtrike a board or plank through and through at a muſket-ſhot diſtance. Theſe *Tapuges*, when they can, eat man's fleſh; and when they have none of their enemies about them, they feaſt upon ſuch ſtrangers as they can catch in their country.

They wear little bits of wood and ſtone of ſeveral colours ſet in their faces; I know not whether for ornament, or to appear more terrible. At their ears they have pendants, not of lead as our lap-dogs have, but great pieces of the ſame ſort of wood. They live upon ſuch beaſts as they hunt, and upon men; for when any one among them takes his bed, they aſſign him a certain time to recover, which if he does not within the time limited, they kill him without mercy and eat him, to put an end charitably to his ſufferings. The ſame favour or inhumanity they uſe towards their parents, and old people, become unfit for hunting, whom the children kill and eat with their near relations, invited by them to that cruel feaſt; thus killing thoſe to whom they owe their life, and burying thoſe in their bowels, from whoſe bowels they came. In ſhort, they are miſerable pagans plunged in idolatry. The reſt of the inhabitants of that new world, whether good or bad, are Chriſtians, or at leaſt bear the name.

At the place of our reception we found two of our companions ſick of a fever, and we ourſelves felt ſome indiſpoſition, which obliged us to go into the doctor's hands, it being uſual and almoſt inevitable for all who come into that country to fall ſick, whether it proceed from the change of air or food.

One morning we heard an admirable conſort of trumpets all aboard the fleet, as well within as without the port, ſounding, to the number of eighty ſhips, including ours, which was loading with ſugar, of which ſhe carried no leſs than one thouſand cheſts. Nothing could be pleaſanter than that proſpect, which ſeemed to repreſent a town where the houſes were toſt at the pleaſure of the waves, or like a foreſt floating about as drove by the wind. There we received the news of the death of *John Mary Mandelli* of *Pavia*, prefect to the two miſſions of *Angola* and *Congo*, who died among thoſe people with the reputation of ſanctity, after enduring a thouſand hardſhips for their ſpiritual advantage during twenty five years he lived there.

Town of Olinda. We took a time to go ſee the town of *Olinda*, but three miles diſtant from *Fernambuco*. It was formerly a great town, but at this time almoſt ruined, ſince the *Dutch* made a deſcent there. In a marſhy field we were ſhewn certain trees, which like others have their roots in the ground, but have others above, the leaves being all covered with them. There we ſaw abundance of great parrots, ſeveral ſorts of *macacos*, that is, monkeys or apes, of which the leaſt called *ſagorini* are moſt valued. We went this way in a canoo, which is a large trunk of a tree hollowed; and our watermen were two *Blacks*, naked like the people of *Braſil*, having only a little rag before them for decency.

The temper of that climate though very hot is not bad, nor the great dampneſs of the moon dangerous, ſo that there is good travelling enough by night as well as by day. Silver and gold money in this town goes as it does in other parts of *Braſil*, they give two teſtons for a maſs, and thirty or forty for a ſermon. The country produces neither wheat nor wine, but there is enough carried out of *Europe*, and ſold dear enough. The ground being ſandy, the natives and travellers are troubled with a kind of inſects, which ſome call *Pharaoh*'s lice, alledging that was one of the ten plagues wherewith God formerly puniſhed *Egypt*. They are leſs than lice, and work themſelves inſenſibly in between the fleſh and the ſkin, and in a day's time grow as big as a kidney-bean, or other ſmall bean. Some experienced *Black* undertakes the cure, for were they left unregarded, they would corrupt all the foot in a very ſhort time. Obſerving two days after I came, that ſomething hindred my walking, I cauſed a *Black* to ſearch me, who took out four of thoſe inſects pretty big grown, and there was not a day but they came and took out ten or twelve apiece from us. It is no ſmall misfortune, if any one eſcapes undiſcovered by the *Blacks*, for they gnaw and torment the feet.

During our ſtay at *Fernambuco* there was a great feaſt of the roſary kept in the great church called *Corpo ſanto*, or the holy body. The order of it was very magnificent. The church was hung with ten thouſand ells of ſilk of a fire-colour, and other rich ſtuffs: the tabernacle which was lofty, covered with ſilk embroidered full of flames of gold, and a ſilver galloon over it, which dazzled the eyes: the muſick of harps, violins, and cornets, making a conſort to the holy hymns. The religious are not at this great expence, but chuſe the richeſt merchant in the city, who looks upon it as a point of honour to open his purſe freely upon ſuch an occaſion. He that bore the charge that year, proteſted to us the next day, that he had ſpent four thouſand ducats in bonfires, the night before; but he meant

meant thus: we being impatient to go over into *Africk* as ſoon as poſſible to perform the duty of our miſſion, went to ſee that merchant, who had a great kindneſs for us, to beg of him that when a ſhip of his bound for *Africk*, was laden and ready to ſail, he would be ſo charitable as to aſſign us the great cabbin to go in, which he readily granted. The veſſel being found unfit for the voyage, was unloaded, all the iron-work and rigging taken out, and the timber burnt, which he ſaid coſt him four thouſand ducats, that being the coſt of the ſhip.

Sugar-works. To divert us we went one day to ſee ſugar-works, which is a great curioſity. The engine they uſe is a great wheel turned violently about by a number of *Blacks*; it turns a preſs of maſſy iron, in which the ſugar-canes cut in pieces are bruis'd, the moiſture that runs from them falling into a great chaldron over the fire. It is wonderful to ſee the *Blacks*, who are naturally lazy, labour ſo hard, and clap the canes ſo dexterouſly under that maſs of iron, without leaving their hands or arms behind them.

Fruit. The fruit in that country, which generally laſts all the year upon the trees, is very delicious, and among the reſt the *niceffes*, which are like our lemons. They grow on a ſtalk like an *Indian* cane, and two of its leaves would clothe the biggeſt man. This ſtalk ſometimes produces but one bunch, in which there are about fifty *niceffes*. To ripen them, they muſt be cut off green and hung in the air, where they grow yellow in a little time. When they are cut through the middle, there appears on both ſides the exact figure of a crucifix. When the bunch is cut off, the ſtalk withers, and another ſoon grows out of the ſame root. The *bananas* is much of the ſame nature, only the *niceffe* is three foot high, and the *banana* twice as much.

The *ananas* are like a pine-apple, about a ſpan long, and the plant produces but one. The rind being taken off, they look yellow, and the juice of them is like that of a muſcadine grape, but it muſt be eaten with moderation, being hot in the third degree. There are other ſorts of fruit, as that called *fruta do conde*, or the count's fruit, which grows on a plant as high as an orange-tree, of a very pleaſant flavour. *Manaques*, like our ſmall melons, and growing on very large trees. *Marracoupias*, like a great round apple, and yellow without, of which I ſent the draughts, as I did of ſeveral other curious ſorts of fruits, to the *Sieur Jaques Zanoni* apothecary of *Bononia*, who will make them publick in his book of plants now in the preſs.

As for *European* fruits, ſuch as grapes, pomgranates, melons, figs, gourds, cucumbers, oranges, lemons, and citrons, they grow there to a wonder; and theſe laſt are like our gourds in *Italy*, by reaſon of the goodneſs of the radical moiſture of the earth. So the *Portugueſe* orange-trees do not only multiply there, but improve very much; and the young plants grow up to vaſt high trees. Little other meat is eaten there but beef and ſome pullets. Wine is dearer than ſaffron, for it is brought from the *Maderas*, that is above ſix hundred and fifty leagues, and pays above eight piſtoles a pipe cuſtom. All the *Whites* in that country are either *Portugueſes*, or deſcended from them, and drink little wine. The commonalty drink all water, which is none of the beſt. Inſtead of bread they eat cakes made of the meal of a root called *manioca*. In that country there are properly but two ſeaſons, ſpring which is temperate enough but rainy, during which the trees don't loſe their leaves; and ſummer, which is very hot and dry, inſomuch that did not the dew make ſome amends, the country would be quite dry'd and parch'd up. The town of S. *Paul*, and country about it, which lies furtheſt up in *Braſil*, may be call'd the true lubberland, or country of pleaſure. Any ſtranger that comes thither, though never ſo poor, is welcom, and preſently meets with a wife to his liking, provided he ſubmit to the conditions, which are to think of nothing but eating, drinking, and walking, but particularly of being kind to no woman but his own. If he gives the leaſt cauſe to ſuſpect he will make his eſcape, ſhe certainly poiſons him; but if he agrees well with her, he is cheriſhed and made much of, every one ſtriving to outdo another in kindneſs. *Angelo.* *A happy country.*

Their wealth comes out of a river that waters the country, and which is ſo rich, that it can relieve the miſerableſt wretch who implores its aſſiſtance; for they need only take the ſand of the river, and ſeparate the gold from it, which abundantly requites their trouble, there being only the fifth part due to the king by way of acknowledgment. Much more curious and extraordinary is reported of that country; but not having been there my ſelf, becauſe it lies in the furtheſt part of *Braſil*, and near to the river of *Plate*, I dare not avouch all for truth, tho' in reality nothing ought to appear incredible to thoſe who are well acquainted with the extravagant cuſtoms, and abſurd manners of thoſe barbarous nations.

The author ſails for Congo. At length on the ſecond of *November* 1667, we ſet ſail for the kingdom of *Congo*, and were forced, to avoid contrary winds, to run into 29 degrees of ſouth latitude, even with the cape of *Good Hope*, which might

Angelo. might better be called the cape of *Death*, becauſe of the continual fear of death they are in who come near it. For the ſpace of eight days we were toſs'd in a terrible manner; ſometimes lifted up to the clouds, and ſometimes caſt down to the deep, either way dreading to periſh. At laſt the wind fell, the waves ſettled, and we ſaw ſome bones of cuttle-fiſh, which the goldſmiths make uſe of for caſting, float upon the water, eſteemed a token of fair weather, and of being within ſixty leagues of the continent, that fiſh never going far from ſhore.

In ſhort, next day we ſaw land, and began to hope well of the ſucceſs of our voyage, becauſe there are never any ſtorms on that coaſt, and ſhips may run along within muſquet-ſhot of it, without any danger of ſands. Our boat being out for ſeveral days, ſounding to diſcover ſome rocks that lie under water along the ſhore; we fiſhed as we went, and always brought aboard a great deal of fiſh. Among the reſt we caught one that weighed about 15 or 16 pound, which the captain ſaid he would treat us with. The colour of it was red, the head large and round, the eyes ſparkling like fire, the noſtrils flat upon the forehead, the fins beating, the ſcales ruſtling together, the whole body toſſing and puffing in a hideous manner. The captain knowing it to be one of the moſt delicious fiſhes in thoſe ſeas, would dreſs it for us himſelf, making a ſort of white ſauce with ſugar, ſpice, and juice of oranges and lemons; ſo that it being all like a diſh of curds, we eat it with ſpoons, and could not diſtinguiſh whether the ſauce made the fiſh good, or the fiſh mended the ſauce.

Coaſt of Africk. I had a great mind to go aſhore, but the maſter would not ſuffer it, aſſuring me there were *Blacks* along that coaſt that eat man's fleſh. We diſcovered two of them, who as ſoon as they ſaw us, ran away far enough, which made the maſter put off from ſhore, for fear thoſe *Blacks* were gone to call ſome magician to ſink our boat, and ſeize us. Some days after the maſter went out of the boat aſhore to comply with ſome corporal neceſſity; but as ſoon as he got behind a little rock, he ran back to the water out of breath, calling out to us to come to his aſſiſtance, as we did with all poſſible ſpeed. The cauſe of his fright was that behind the rock he ſaw a fire lighted, near to which there was a ſtring of fiſhes a drying, a certain token that ſome *Blacks* lived near, which ſo terrify'd him, that forgetting the need he was in, he had no occaſion for three days after.

When we had paſs'd that coaſt, which is hideous to look to by reaſon of a long ridge of barren mountains, about the latitude of 14 degrees we diſcover'd ſome green trees, and a pleaſanter ſhore, in which there were good ports made by nature, capable of containing two or three thouſand ſhips. Upon *Chriſtmas* eve we touch'd at *Benguela*, capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, where there is a *Portugueſe* governor and gariſon; and we found about two hundred white inhabitants, and abundance of *Blacks*. The houſes are built with mud and ſtraw, the church and fort being made of no better materials.

Abundance of ſmall boats came aboard us, each carrying two black fiſhermen, who came to exchange fiſh with the ſeamen for *Braſil* roll-tobacco.

The father ſuperior and I went aſhore, where I preach'd the firſt time in *Portugueſe*. The temper of that climate is ſo bad, that it gives the food the country produces ſo pernicious a quality, that thoſe who eat of it at their firſt coming certainly die, or at leaſt contract ſome dangerous diſtemper; which is the reaſon that paſſengers take care not to go aſhore, nor to drink the water which looks like lye. This made us unwilling to accept of the dinner the governor invited us to, tho' he aſſur'd us there ſhould be none of the country proviſions, and we ſhould drink wine brought by ſea; which he perform'd, giving us a treat altogether after the faſhion of *Europe*. After which he further expreſs'd his kindneſs, ſending very good *European* fruit aboard after us, with a whole beef ſtead, but little, and without horns, very well taſted, as is all the meat of the country, whereof there is great plenty and very cheap.

Any body that ſees the *Whites* who live in that country, may eaſily diſcern how little that air agrees with them; they look as if they were dug out of their graves, their voices are broken, and they hold their breath in a manner between their teeth; which made me, in the moſt obliging manner I could, refuſe the governor's requeſt, who wanting prieſts would have kept me there ſome time to adminiſter the holy myſteries. The courts at *Liſbon*, as a puniſhment for ſome heinous crime, often baniſh criminals to *Angola* and *Benguela*, looking upon thoſe countries as the moſt wretched and infectious of any the *Portugueſes* poſſeſs: Therefore the *Whites* there are the moſt deceitful and wickedeſt of men.

Having taken leave of the governor, we went aboard again, and proceeded on our voyage, which we ended happily before the wind, arriving on *Twelfth-day* at the port of *Loanda*, which is the fineſt and largeſt I ever yet ſaw. My companion

and

and I landed, and were received by an infinite number of *Whites* and *Blacks*, who ſtrove to outdo one another in expreſſing their joy for our arrival, kiſſing our habits, and embracing us. Attended by this croud, we proceeded to our *hoſpitium* or houſe for our reception, in the church whereof we found above three hundred perſons, with the chief men of the town, who came out to meet us. Having ador'd the bleſſed ſacrament, and returned thanks to God for our proſperous voyage, we went into the convent, where we found three fathers, an old layman threeſcore and ten years of age, an under-guardian of *Congo* recovering after a fit of ſickneſs, and one of *Angola* in a fever. We were informed, to our great regret, that two religious men of our company, who came away a little before us from *Genoa*, dy'd both of them as ſoon as they arrived, one at *Loanda*, and the other at *Meſſangrana* not far off. Thoſe fathers, who were of a vigorous conſtitution, now enjoy the reward of their pious intention, which they had not the power to put in excution, being prevented by death. Soon after the ſub-guardian of *Congo* intended to ſet out and conduct me and my companion to the county of *Songo*, and thence to the county of *Bamba*, there to be expos'd to all thoſe fatigues for which we had prepared our ſelves. The country of *Bamba* is no leſs in extent than the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* together.

Deſcription of Loanda.

Loanda is an iſland and town of the ſame name, being the capital of all thoſe countries the *Portugueſes* poſſeſs in thoſe vaſt regions of the *Blacks*. The *Dutch* once made themſelves maſters of it, but the *Portugueſes* with much bravery beat them out. There is a good number of jeſuits, who are allow'd by the king of *Portugal* a penſion of two thouſand *Cruzadoes* a year, that is, 266 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* They keep ſchools, preach, and perform other functions for the ſalvation of ſouls. To requite their labours, the people of that country have given them the property of ſeveral houſes, and of twelve thouſand ſlaves of ſundry trades, as ſmiths, joiners, turners, and ſtone-cutters, who when they have no employment at home, ſerve the publick, and bring their maſters in a *Cruzado* a day. We alſo found *Carmelites* there, and ſome of the third order of S. *Francis*, all of religious men, of a very exemplary life.

The city *Loanda* is large and beautiful enough. The houſes of the *Whites* are of lime and ſtone, and cover'd tiles; thoſe of the *Blacks* are of mud and ſtraw. One part of the city ſtretches to the brink of the ſea, the other riſes up to the top of the hill. There are about three thouſand *Whites*, and a prodigious multitude of *Blacks*, whoſe number is not known: They ſerve as ſlaves to the *Whites*, ſome of whom have fifty, ſome a hundred, two or three hundred, and even to three thouſand. He who has moſt is richeſt, for they being all of ſome calling, when their maſters have no uſe for them, they go work with any that wants them; and beſides, ſaving their maſters their diet, they bring home their earnings. ANGELO.

The *Whites* when they go about the town, are followed by two *Blacks*, with an hammock of network, which is the conveniency us'd for carrying of people even when they travel. Another *Black* walks by his maſter's ſide, holding a large umbrello over him to keep off the ſun, which is violent hot. When any two that have buſineſs meet, they join their umbrelloes, and walk ſide by ſide in the ſhade. When the *White* women go abroad, which is very ſeldom, they are carry'd in a cover'd net, as is us'd in *Braſil*, with attendance of ſlaves. The ſlaves, both men and women, kneel when they ſpeak to their maſter.

At *Loanda* they eat abundance of fiſh, cow-beef, which is the beſt ſort of fleſh, goat and mutton. Each of the laſt may be ſaid to have five quarters, the tail being the biggeſt of them; but it is not wholeſome becauſe of its great fatneſs, nor indeed is any fleſh in that country. Inſtead of bread they uſe the root of *manjoca*, as they do at *Braſil*, and *Indian* wheat, of which they make little cakes, and other things of paſte, which yet are not ſo good as bread. The water they drink is very bad: It is brought from a neighbouring iſland, where they dig a trench even with the ſea, and the water freſhens as it ſtrains through the ſand, but not thoroughly. Elſe they go for it to a river twelve or fourteen miles from *Loanda*, and load their canoos, which are boats made of one piece of timber. Theſe canoos have a hole at the bottom, which they open when they are in the river, and ſtop it up when the canoo is full enough. When they come home, they ſtrain it from the dirt, and let it ſtand ſome days to ſettle. Wine brought from *Europe* is ſold for ſixty *mil reys* the pipe, that is twenty pound *ſterling*; when there is a ſcarcity, it riſes to one hundred *mil reys* a pipe, and ſometimes there is none at all to be had.

There is but little money paſſes in that country; but inſtead of it they buy and ſell with *maccutes*, *birames*, and *Indian* pieces, or *muleches*. The *maccutes* are pieces of cloth made of ſtraw a yard long, ten of which are worth one hundred *reys*. The *birames* are pieces of coarſe cotton cloth made in the *Indies* five ells long, and coſt two

ANGELO. hundred *reys* the piece. The *Indian* pieces, or *muleches*, are young *Blacks* about twenty years of age, worth twenty *mil reys* each. If they are younger, they are valued by people who have judgment in them. Young women are of the ſame value as men. Beſides theſe there are ſhells they call *zimbi* which come from *Congo*, for which all things are to be bought as if they were money; two thouſand of them are worth a *maccute*. The people of *Congo* value theſe ſhells, though they are of no uſe to them, but only to trade with other *Africans* who adore the ſea, and call theſe ſhells which their country does not afford, GOD's *children:* For which reaſon they look upon them as a treaſure, and take them in exchange for any ſort of goods they have. Among them he is richeſt and happieſt who has moſt of them.

The inhabitants of *Loanda* courted us to ſtay with them for a year at leaſt, to uſe our ſelves to the air and proviſions, before we ventured further into thoſe deſerts and unhealthy countries of *Bamba*, where our lives would be in danger. We anſwered, it would be a happy exchange to meet with death that would purchaſe us true life, and to loſe our bodies to find ſo many ſouls, for whoſe ſalvation Providence had brought us thither.

All that follows to the End is writ by F. Denis Carli.

CARLI. WE ſet out both of us for our miſſion of *Bamba*, where a great duke ſubject to the king of *Congo* reſided; for in that kingdom there are five provinces. The firſt is that of S. *Salvador*, or S. *Saviour*, where the king of *Congo*, whoſe name is *D. Alvaro*, reſides. It takes name of the capital city call'd S. *Salvador*, which is beſt ſeated, and in the wholeſomeſt air in the kingdom, built upon a hill. In it there are ſcarce any flies or gnats, fleas or bugs, as there are in the reſt of the kingdom; but it is not free from ants, which are very troubleſome. The king's palace is almoſt a league in compaſs. Formerly it was the only houſe that was boarded, but the *Portugueſes* who have ſettled there have put the great men in the way of adorning and furniſhing their houſes. The cathedral is built with ſtone like thoſe of our *Lady*, S. *Peter* and S. *Anthony* of *Padua*, in which are the tombs of the kings of *Congo*. That of the jeſuits dedicated to S. *Ignatius* is not the meaneſt. Our *Lady* of *Victory* is made of mud, but whitned both within and without; it was given to the *Capuchins* by king *Alphonſo* the third. The ſecond province is that of *Bamba*, where the great duke call'd *D. Theodoſio* rules. The third that of *Sondi*, where there is another duke. The fourth that of *Pemba*, where a marquiſs reſides; and the fifth that of *Songo*, in which there is a count who has not own'd the king of *Congo* for ſome years: He reſides in the town of *Songo*, a league from the river *Zaire*.

Kingdom of Congo.

Province of S. Salvador.

Having provided all things neceſſary, F. *Michael Angelo* and I went aboard, and coaſting along the continent, in two days came to *Dante*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Angola*, where the *Portugueſes* have a fort. We went to wait upon the governor, and ſhew'd him the letters we brought from the lords of the council of *Loanda*, who then govern'd the kingdom, the viceroy that was expected not being yet come; they were letters of recommendation for him to help us to *Blacks* to carry us and our goods. During two days we ſtay'd there, the governor ſent out a fiſhing, and ſalted the fiſh for us; and among other ſorts there were ſoles and pilchards above a ſpan long. Our proviſion being ready and thirty *Blacks* appointed to carry us and our equipage, hammocks were provided for us; the gentlemen of that city giving us to underſtand, that it was impoſſible for us to go afoot, being clad and equipp'd as we were: ſo that there being no other remedy, we comply'd with the cuſtom of the country.

Way of travelling.

We ſet out, and there being no great roads in thoſe wild countries, but only paths, were forced to go in file. Some *Blacks* went before us with their burdens, next F. *Michael* in his hammock follow'd by ſome *Blacks*; then came I carry'd in my net, which to me ſeem'd an eaſy ſort of carriage; and after me follow'd the reſt of the *Blacks*, to relieve thoſe that carry when they are weary. It is wonderful to ſee how ſoft they go tho' loaded. They are arm'd with bows and arrows, and were to carry us to one of their towns, which in their language they call *libattes*, as we ſhall always call them in this relation. There we were to provide other carriers.

How people live.

The lord or governor of the *libatte*, whom in their language they call the *macolonte*, came immediately to viſit us, and aſſign'd us two of the beſt cottages in the place; for throughout all the kingdom there is never a ſtone houſe, but only ſtraw and ſtubble; and the fineſt are of mud walls, and thatch'd, moſt of them without windows, the door ſerving for a window.

window. We muſt except the city of S. *Salvador*, as was ſaid above.

The *macolonte* was clad after this manner: He only wore a clout of the bigneſs of a handkerchief made of palm-tree leaves, for decency-ſake, to cover that which modeſty requires ſhould be cover'd, and a cloke of *European* cloth reaching down to the ground; it was blue, a colour much eſteem'd among them; the reſt of his body was naked. The *Blacks* that attended the *macolonte*, and who were his officers, had only one of thoſe handkerchiefs, which they ſend to be dy'd blue at *Loanda:* The reſt of the people had only leaves of trees, and monkeys ſkins; and thoſe who live in the open country, and lie under the trees, whether men or women, wear nothing at all, but go quite naked without any ſenſe of ſhame.

This firſt *libatte* was pretty large, conſiſting of about a hundred cottages, ſeparate from one another, and without any order: It may be ſaid they don't live in them in the day-time, for the men go abroad a walking, to take their diverſion, to converſe together, and play upon certain inſtruments, which are wretched and ridiculous enough, till night, being altogether ſtrangers to melancholy. The women on the other ſide, go out in the morning to till the ground, carry a baſket at their backs, into which they put a black earthen pot, which they call *quiouſou*, and one of their children carrying the youngeſt in their arms, who takes the breaſt without the mother's help. They lead one by the hand, and very often carry another in their belly, for theſe people are fruitful and incontinent. The reſt of the children, if there be more, follow the mother; but when they are grown ſomewhat big, they let them go where they will, without taking any more care of them than if they were not their children.

We preſented the *macolonte* with a ſtring of beads of *Venice* glaſs, which they call *miſſanga*, and hang about their neck, having no pocket or other place to keep it. The *macolonte* having receiv'd and return'd his compliments, ſends a *Black* all about the *libatte*, to order the inhabitants to bring their children to be baptiz'd; the youth being almoſt all baptiz'd before, we having had that miſſion thirty years. They acquaint them that a *Capuchin* is come, whom in their language they call *Gramga*, adding, by way of reſpect, the word *fomet*, which is as much as father or maſter. As ſoon as they hear of our coming, they all flock in, bringing their children, and by way of alms two of their handkerchiefs of palm-tree leaves, or elſe 3500 little ſhells, which, as has been ſaid, is the money of the country, call'd by them *zimbi*; or elſe a pullet, for a quantity of them was once carry'd thither, but the wars have almoſt deſtroy'd them. They alſo bring a little ſalt upon a leaf to bleſs the water, and give one of the preſents above-mention'd for baptizing their children, and if they have nothing to give, they are chriſten'd for GOD's ſake. In this firſt place we baptiz'd thirty, each of us fifteen, to our great ſatisfaction, they being the firſt we had made Chriſtians. I ſpoke to the *macolonte* to prepare things to ſay maſs next day; and immediately he ſent out ſeveral *Blacks* to cut wood, and palm-tree leaves, wherewith they erected a little green chapel, as was the altar, I having given them the height, and breadth; and then we furniſh'd it, all the miſſioners carrying a cheſt along with them, containing all things neceſſary for the holy ſacrifice. Whilſt my companion ſaid maſs, the *macolonte* ſent notice to other *Blacks* that were at a ſmall diſtance from thence, who came time enough to hear the ſecond maſs: after which we baptiz'd ten children of that neighbouring *libatte*. There was a great number of people preſent, the chapel having been erected on a riſing ground, to the end they might at leaſt ſee, if they could not hear the maſs. Next we catechis'd, dividing the people into two parts, and explaining what we ſaid to them by the help of an interpreter. ANGELO.

That done, they fell a playing upon ſeveral inſtruments, a dancing, and ſhouting ſo loud, that they might be heard half a league off. I will deſcribe but one of their inſtruments, which is the moſt ingenious and agreeable of them all, and the chief of thoſe in uſe among them. They take a piece of a ſtake, which they tie and bend like a bow, and bind to it fifteen long, dry, and empty gourds, or *calabaſhes* of ſeveral ſizes, to ſound ſeveral notes, with a hole at top, and a leſſer hole four fingers lower, and ſtop it up half way, covering alſo that at the top with a little thin bit of board, ſomewhat lifted above the hole. Then they take a cord made of the bark of a tree, and faſtening it to both ends of the inſtrument, hang it about their neck. To play upon it they uſe two ſticks, the ends whereof are cover'd with a bit of rag, with which they ſtrike upon thoſe little boards, and ſo make the gourds gather wind, which in ſome manner reſembles the ſound of an organ, and makes a pretty agreeable harmony, eſpecially when three or four of them play together. *A muſical inſtrument.*

Drums.

They beat their drums with open hand, and they are made after this manner: They cut the trunk of a tree three quarters of an ell long or more; for when they hang them

CARLI. them about their necks, they reach down almoſt to the ground: they hollow it within, and cover it top and bottom with the ſkin of a tiger, or ſome other beaſt, which makes a hideous noiſe when they beat it after their manner.

The gentlemen, or gentlemens ſons carry in their hand two iron bells, ſuch as the cattel among us wear, and ſtrike ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other, with a ſtick, which is ſeldom ſeen among them, this inſtrument being only carried by the ſons of great men, who are not very numerous among them.

We preparing to be gone, our *macolonte* made a ſign for his *Blacks* to ſtand ſtill, and be ſilent, which was done in a moment, and they had need enough of it, being all in a ſweat. Having given them our bleſſing, we ſet out, and they began afreſh to play, dance and hollow, ſo that we could hear them two miles off, not without ſurprize and ſatisfaction, it being a conſort of ſo many curious, and to us ſtrange inſtruments.

Beaſts. By the way we ſaw ſeveral ſorts of creatures, particularly little monkeys, and abundance of apes of divers colours, who all fled to the tops of the higheſt trees. We diſcovered two *pacaſſes*, beaſts ſomewhat like *buffaloes*, that roar like lions: the male and female go always together, they are white, with black and red ſpots; have ears half an ell long, and their horns ſtreight: when they ſee any body, they neither run away, nor do any harm, but look upon ſuch as paſs by. We ſaw another beaſt with black and yellow hair upon a mountain; the interpreter told us it was a leopard, but it was far enough from us. There is alſo in thoſe parts a beaſt ſhaped like, and as ſtrong as a mule; but its hair is diſtinguiſhed by white, black and yellow ſtreaks, which go round the body from the back-bone under the belly, which is very beautiful, and looks as if it were done by art, it is called *zebra*.

Going on our journey we came, before we were aware of it, upon a beaſt that lay aſleep, and was waked by the ſhouting of the *Blacks* as they travel; it roſe, took a great leap, and fled; the body was like that of a wolf, whereof there are abundance, but its head was like a bullock, which is diſproportionable and frightful to behold: I aſked what beaſt it was, and they aſſured me it muſt be ſome monſter. There were abundance of beaſts like our goats, which ran away, and then ſtaid for one another; and a multitude of wild hens, bigger than the tame, which taſte like a hare.

Nothing extraordinary happen'd to us at the ſecond *libatte*, and we did there as we had done at the firſt. One night when we were got into one of thoſe *libattes*, they ſhut the door, which was made of dried thorns; all the incloſure, like the walls of our towns, being hedges of thorn as high as a pike. Cottages were aſſigned us to paſs the night; but the heat being exceſſive, I choſe rather to lie in the open air in my hammock, faſtening one end of it to the top of the cottage, and the other to two poles ſet up acroſs one another; F. *Michael Angelo* did ſo too. About midnight came three lions roaring that they made the earth ſhake, which waked me thoroughly; and had it not been for the thorny hedge, F. *Denis* had never ſeen *Italy* again. I lifted up my head to try whether by the moon-light I could diſcern one of them, but the hedge was ſo cloſe and full of leaves, that I could perceive nothing, tho' I was ſenſible they were not far from it. I was almoſt reſolved to go back into the cottage, but thinking it impoſſible they ſhould leap ſuch high hedges, I lay quiet till day, not without panting for fear now and then. Day being come, I went to aſk F. *Michael Angelo*, who was in a cottage hard by, whether he had heard the lions in the night; to which he anſwered, he never ſlept better, becauſe the night was freſh, and had heard nothing. You are happy, ſaid I, for if they had broke in, you had gone to heaven without knowing which way. He reply'd, That GOD's providence always watches over his elect, and that it was not his will that they ſhould be expoſed to the cruelty of thoſe mercileſs beaſts.

After baptizing ſeveral children, we ſet out, and having travelled till noon, the *Blacks* told us we muſt ſtay and reſt, there being a little river of good water hard by. Being ſet down, we got into the ſhade under ſome trees, there to make ready our dinner. Some of our men went to gather buck-wheat, others to bring wood to make fire. F. *Michael Angelo* would have made uſe of his ſteel to light; but a *Black* who was cook, ſaid, Father, we have no need of that; and taking a piece of wood about two fingers thick, with many holes in it which did not go quite through, then taking another little ſtick about the thickneſs of ones finger, and putting it into one of thoſe holes turn'd, rub'd the two ſticks haſtily one againſt another with both hands, and the little one took fire, which is their way of lighting it. The others who came loaded with buck-wheat, ſhook it out of the ear, and put it into four pots to make broth, and boil'd *batataes*, which are tolerable good roots.

Whilſt every one was buſy about the cookery, on a ſudden we diſcovered an elephant, not much leſs than a cart loaden with

with hay in *Lombardo*, his head hanging a little, one of his teeth being already dropt: All the *Blacks* got up haſtily, and laying hold of their bows, began to let fly arrows at him with their uſual cries; but one of them more cunning than the reſt, took a firebrand and ran to ſet fire to a neighbouring thatch'd cottage: the elephant ſeeing that great flame, preſently fled with three arrows in his body. The fire of the cottage being ſpread by the wind laid hold of the next herbage, which being dried up with the exceſſive heat of the ſun, and very high, burnt ſo that the conflagration ſpread for above a league, conſuming the graſs, trees, and all it met with; ſo that all the beaſts thereabouts being frighted, we could continue our journey to the next *libatte* in all manner of ſafety, though now and then my fancy repreſented to me that terrible beaſt which frighted us.

Another day being upon our journey, we ſaw a great ſerpent draw near to us; it was without any hyperbole twenty five foot long, which I ſhould not be ſo ready to aſſert, had I not ſeen and meaſured the ſkin of ſuch another, nothing inferior to it, which was preſented to F. *Michael Angelo*, and which he ſent with ſome other curioſities to his father. This creature had a head as big as a calf, and what frighted us more was, that it came along the ſame path we were upon. The *Blacks* according to cuſtom gave a great ſhout, and ſtriking out of the way, made us go up a riſing ground to give it time, either to go back or move forwards. I obſerved that in going on it made as much herbage ſhake, as if there had been twenty people. We waited above an hour for it to paſs, after which we came down and went on our way. F. *Michael* told me in *Italian*, that he might not be underſtood; I thought being ſo many of us we were ſafe, but I perceive theſe *Blacks* are more fearful than we. To which I anſwer'd, We were to expect no farther aſſiſtance from them but what their heels could afford us, carrying us the beſt they could, and rather flying from enemies than attacking them. And to ſay the truth, we often wiſhed we had brought a gun along with us, which would have been very uſeful, being often at ſuch a non-plus and in ſo great danger, that without God's ſpecial aſſiſtance we could never have come off, being forced throughout the journey, either to fly, or to fire the herbage to ſecure our ſelves from wild beaſts.

One day as we drew near a river, where we were told there was never a *libatte*, but only two thatch'd houſes to entertain and lodge the *Blacks* that go from *Loanda* to S. *Salvador* the capital of the kingdom, being come within ſight of the river, we diſcovered a number of cottages, and heard a great noiſe of people ſounding trumpets, and playing on drums, fifes, and other inſtruments. The *Blacks* halting a little, ſaid, Perhaps that might be the great duke lord of the province; but coming up we perceived they were all new cottages encompaſſed with a thick hedge of thorn to ſecure them againſt the wild beaſts that come to drink at the rivers. We aſked a *Black* what there was in that place, and he told us there was the brother of the captain-major of *Dante*, of whom mention has been made before. That gentleman hearing of our approach, ſent four *Mulattoes* with muſquets to meet us. *Mulattoes* are the children of a *White* and a *Black*: with them came many *Blacks* with fifes and trumpets. We went to wait upon that gentleman, who received us with much courteſy, and told us that every evening whereſoever night came upon him, he cauſed ſuch a village to be built encloſed with thorns. CARLI.

That worthy gentleman ſhewed us abundance of reſpect, and treated us with pullets and fruit of the country. We would have ſtaid there till he was gone, eſpecially becauſe there was no *libatte* on the other ſide of the river; but he ſaid it was better we ſhould croſs whilſt he was preſent, becauſe there were ſeveral *Blacks* well acquainted with thoſe parts, who would take care we ſhould receive no harm. He bore us company to the river with all the inſtruments, and there was ſuch a multitude of people with him, that a man would have thought it had been the king of *Ethiopia*, there being above eighteen hundred men, beſides women and children, which was the reaſon we had been forced to ſtay two days at *Dante*, where we found not men enough to bear us company. He had ſo much patience as to ſee us carried over and out of danger; and having ſaluted him, he returned to his cottage, where he cauſed his people to make ready to march, which we had the pleaſure to ſee. Among the reſt he had twenty four *Mulattoes*, who are bold, daring, and undaunted fellows in all dangers; they were arm'd with muſquets and ſcymitars; the *Blacks* had bows and arrows, and half-pikes: the inſtruments ſounded, and the cries were redoubled at their departure, which made us admire to ſee with what ſtate and attendance great men travel in thoſe parts.

We went from the river, and the ſun being very low, had ſcarce travelled half a mile when we ſtopp'd at the two cottages, but perceived we ſhould not be very ſafe there from wild beaſts, becauſe there

CARLI. were no thorny hedges, only four trees where watch might be kept, and where we might reſt that night, there being little huts on the tops of them. The *Blacks* told us we might go into one of the cottages, and that ſome of them would ſtand centinel all night upon the trees, and the reſt would go into the other hut. F. *Michael Angelo* ſaid we ſhould be ſafer if we got up the trees; but the *Blacks* aſſured us we could not ſleep there, telling us we need not take care, for they would watch all night in their turns. We went into the beſt cottage, and caus'd ſome ſtraw to be brought to lie on, as we did, after eating of what the *Black* gentleman had charitably beſtowed on us, and giving thanks to GOD for having brought us ſafe ſo far. After making the ſign of the croſs we gave our ſelves up to ſleep.

About midnight we were diſturb'd by a lion and ſhe tiger that came ſporting together towards our huts; perceiving their roaring draw nearer and nearer, I aſked my companion whether he had heard the lion? Too much of it, ſaid he, and it would not be amiſs whatſoever may happen that we ſhould hear one another's confeſſions. Having done ſo, we looked thro' the crevices of the cottage, whether we could perceive them by the light of the moon: it was eaſy to ſee them, they not being a ſtone's throw off; and any body may believe it was not without ſome heart-aking that we ſilently expected how GOD would be pleaſed to diſpoſe of us. We heard the *Blacks* on the trees, and thoſe in the other cottage talk together; and ſoon after they lighted fire, which made thoſe beaſts fly towards the river. Thus were we again delivered from that danger, thro' the mercy of GOD, to whom we had heartily recommended our ſelves.

The next day, having travell'd half our journey to the next *libatte*, we heard a great noiſe of people, and drawing near them, found they were *Blacks* carrying a *Portugueſe* to be canon of S. *Saviour*, where the cathedral of all the country is. Having view'd him, and remembring we had ſeen one another at *Loanda*, where he came every day to ſay maſs in our church, we expreſt the great ſatisfaction we received in meeting ſo fortunately, and travelled together the remaining part of the day. We aſked him how he could leave ſo fine a city as *Liſbon* his native country, to come into thoſe wretched and deſert countries? To which he anſwered, he had a good penſion allowed him of 50 *mil. reys* a year, which is about 17 *l. ſterling*. I would not undertake ſuch a taſk, ſaid I to him, for a thouſand millions of gold. What do you come to do here then, quoth he? It is for the love of GOD and of our neighbour, reply'd we, that we left *Italy*; and we ſhall think all our care and fatigues ſufficiently rewarded, if but one ſoul purchaſes heaven through our means. Diſcourſing in this manner we came to the *libatte*, where we found but few people, which troubled us, becauſe there were not *Blacks* enough to convey us all; which made us deſire the canon to go before, and we would ſtay till his carriers came back, but we could never prevail with him, though it had proved better for him, for he died a few days after at *Bombi*, whence we were gone before he came, and where we might have comforted and done the laſt duties towards him, if he were paſt the others.

Bombi is a very great *libatte*, where there reſides a marquis ſubject to the great duke of *Bamba*, as he is to the king of *Congo*. There we found a ſon of the marquis who ſpoke *Portugueſe*, and offer'd to go along and be our interpreter, not only on our journey, but during our ſtay at *Bamba*, which we accepted of with the conſent of his father, the marquis. When the ſun was up, we ſet out better pleaſed than before, becauſe we had that youth of twenty five years of age with us, who expreſſed himſelf well in *Portugueſe*; yet we ſuffer'd never the leſs for that, for when we leaſt thought of it, we perceived at a diſtance a great fire the *Blacks* had lighted among the herbage, which running on before the wind, drove all the wild beaſts towards us: our men ſaid, Fathers we muſt ſhun the fury of theſe beaſts, for perhaps there are lions and tigers among them, the beſt way is to climb the trees. Hearing this, and being ſenſible there was no other remedy, we open'd one of our trunks, and took out a ladder of ropes made in *Braſil*; then we made a *Black* get up a tree to faſten it, after which, my companion and I, and the marquis's ſon went up, drawing up the ladder after us, all the reſt getting up other trees. And in truth we were in the right not to loſe time, for that troop of wild beaſts was with us immediately, and their number was ſo great, that as many as we were, we ſhould all of us have ſcarce made one good meal for them. There were tigers, lions, wolves, pocaſſes and rhinoceroſſes, which have a horn over their noſe, and ſeveral other ſorts of creatures, who as they paſs'd by lifted up their heads, and look'd at us. Our *Blacks* who had arrows for the moſt poiſoned with juice of herbs, wounded ſome of them, but that did not make them run ſo much as the fire they felt drawing near. This danger being paſt, we came down, and went on our way, giving thanks to GOD for having deliver'd us from ſuch danger of death.

The

The next day we came to a *libatte*, where we found but very few people; they told us they were gone to the war with the duke of *Bamba* againſt the count of *Songo*, who had been long revolted againſt the king of *Congo:* That after ſome were deſtroy'd on both ſides, the reſt concluded a truce, and ſome time after took up arms again.

There being but few men in that place, we reſolved to part, that ſo one might expect the return of thoſe that carried him who went firſt. F. *Michael Angelo* offer'd to go before, our reſidence at *Bamba* not being far off, and ſend me twenty men from thence to carry me and our burden which was to remain behind. I ſtaid ſix days with the marquiſs's ſon, both of us living upon kidney-beans, which in their language they call *cazacaza*, and the young man gather'd them every day: but perceiving that food of kidney-beans did not nouriſh me, and that I could ſcarce ſtand upon my legs thro' weakneſs, I began to ſtring beads, ſitting upon a little ſtraw at the door of my cottage; which the *Blacks* obſerving, who were moſt of them good old men, they flock'd about me, admiring thoſe beads with ſilk toſſels, to which the medal was faſten'd, and earneſtly entreated me to give them a pair of beads for the *macolonte*. I told them I would, provided they gave me a pullet, having ſeen a great many about the *libatte*, which they did. Neceſſity obliged me to do ſo, there being never a child to baptiſe there, and they being little acquainted with giving alms for God's ſake. In ſhort, with the help of the beads, I liv'd the beſt I could.

At laſt the *Blacks* my companion ſent me came; and being on our way not far from the *libatte*, where we were to lie that night, we were ſurprized to meet a lion ſo wounded that he could ſcarce go, and left a track of blood whereſoever he went. The *Blacks* in a fright ſat down their burdens and me ſo haſtily, that I had much ado to get looſe out of my net: They laid hold of their bows, and one of them taking the two ſticks, as I deſcribed them before, lighted fire, and put it to the herbage, which immediately flamed, it being then almoſt dry, very tall and thick, becauſe it was the month of *March*, contrary to what is uſual in our *European* countries: the flames riſing, and the *Blacks* continuing their cries, the lion who was coming towards us in a fury turned about and took another way. We came to the *libatte* an hour before night, but it had no encloſure of thorns like the reſt, and went to the great place in it, where we found all the people gather'd about a wounded man: I came down from my hammock, and aſked what the matter was? they told me it was the *macalonte* who had fought a lion. They made way for me, and drawing near, I ſaluted him, telling him he was in the wrong in not making a thorn hedge about the *libatte* as was about others. Father, ſaid he, as long as I live there will be no need of a hedge; when I am dead, they may do as they think fit. His wound was but ſlight, and I deſired him to tell me how he had fenced with the lion. Father, ſaid he, as I was ſtanding here talking with my people, a hungry lion led by the ſcent of man's fleſh came upon us ſo unexpectedly, without roaring as is uſual, that my people who were all diſarm'd had ſcarce time to make their eſcape; I who am not us'd to run away, clapt one knee and one hand on the ground, and holding up my knife with the other, ſtruck him with all my force in the belly; he finding himſelf wounded, roar'd, and came upon me ſo furiouſly, that he wounded himſelf again in the throat, but at the ſame time with his talon he tore a piece of ſkin off my ſide: however, my people returning with their weapons, the lion wounded in two places ran away ſwiftly, loſing much blood. That was the lion which we met, certainly in a bad condition, being wounded with a knife made after the manner of a *Genoeſe* bayonet, guided by the hand of ſo brave a man as the *macolonte*.

CARLI.

A notable encounter with a lion.

I was further informed by him, that the great duke of *Bamba*, who had fought with the count of *Songo*, was made the king's generaliſſimo. At this time they brought me a handſome young black woman ſtark naked to be baptiſed. Being obliged to catechiſe her, I cauſed her to be cover'd with ſome leaves, and reprov'd her for deferring to be baptiſed ſo long, it being a long time ſince the kingdom had received the faith of Jesus Christ. She anſwer'd, That ſhe liv'd in the open country, as many others do, who lie under trees; and that ſhe had but then heard of the coming of the *Capuchins*. Having inſtructed her in the principles of Chriſtianity, and it being St. *Joachim*'s day, I called her *Anne*. The ceremonies of baptiſm being perform'd, all the *Blacks* of the *libatte*, men, women, and young lads, whom they call *muleches*, made a ring, and took her in the midſt of them, dancing, playing on their inſtruments, and crying, Long live *Anne*, long live *Anne*, with ſuch a noiſe and hubbub, that I was quite ſtun'd and beſide my ſelf. F. *Michael Angelo* having gone before me, there were no children to baptiſe. I only baptiſed ſome of the country, who will not draw into the *libattes*, that they may be more at liberty, tho' it be not without danger.

Next

CARLI. Next morning I continued my journey towards *Bamba*, and being forced to alight in a great valley, becauſe the way was bad, I got out of the net, and walk'd about half a league in a ſtony way, a very rare thing in that country, where till then I had not ſeen one ſtone. The *Blacks* who were bare-footed ſuffer'd much, and I was not without fatigue, the heat being exceſſive, and the path narrow; beſides, the graſs which was high and thick beat againſt my legs, which flead them, and they were ſore for two months after. My companion had far'd no better, for I found his legs ſwath'd.

Through the midſt of the valley there ran a river, narrow, but very deep. The *Blacks* ſounded the ford to carry us over where there was leaſt water, which was four foot deep. We lay in our hammocks, and two of the luſtieſt carriers held the ſtaff over their heads, not without danger of falling together into the water; but they only laugh'd at it, and ſtopt to bathe themſelves. We took notice of abundance of very beautiful birds of ſeveral colours, green, red, yellow, and ſome which I thought the fineſt with white feathers, and black fillets, looking like the ſcales of fiſh; their tail, eyes, beak, and feet, of the colour of fire. Theſe are *Ethiopian* parrots, which talk like thoſe of *America*, and are rarely brought into *Europe*, but ſcarce ever into *Italy*.

Fine birds.

Being very near *Bamba*, I heard a bell, which they told me belong'd to our convent, ſeated on a hill. F. *Michael Angelo* had made it ring to maſs, and having ſaid it, came to meet us with ſeveral *Blacks* playing on inſtruments after their manner. After performing my devotions in the church for my good journey, I went into the convent, where I found four little cells of mud-walls covered with ſtraw, an entry and porch, and ſacriſty or veſtry, and church all built with the ſame materials. Whilſt we were giving one another an account of what had happen'd to us, there came a *Black* from the great dutcheſs to bid me welcome, and let me know ſhe was deſirous to ſee me. Finding my ſelf very much weaken'd and ſpent with continual ſweating, I deſired him to excuſe me to her, and aſſure her that as ſoon as I was a little recovered I would not fail of going to pay my reſpects to her. I had great need of reſt, but being in a ſtrange country where every thing was new to me, curioſity made me go out to ſee our garden, where I could not ſufficiently admire ſuch variety of fruits of the earth, not only of *Africk*, but of *America* and *Europe*, obſerving all thoſe ſorts there which I had before ſeen in *Braſil*. Thoſe of *Europe* were grapes, fennel, cardoons, or thiſtles, all ſorts of ſalleting, gourds, cucumbers, and many other ſorts, but no pears, apples, nuts, or ſuch like fruits as require a cold climate. At night the dutcheſs ſent me a bottle of wine made of the palm-tree, as white as milk. I taſted a little, but neither I nor F. *Michael Angelo* liking it, we gave it to our *Blacks*, who look'd upon it as a great dainty, often repeating the word *malaf*, which among them ſignifies wine.

It is to be obſerved that in the kingdom of *Congo* there are two harveſts every year; they begin to ſow in *January*, and reap in *April*. After that they have their winter when our ſummer is; but that winter is like a ſweet ſpring or autumn in *Italy*. The heat begins again in *September*, when they ſow again, and have a harveſt in *December*.

Two harveſts in a year.

F. *Michael Angelo* had already taken ſeveral *Blacks* into our ſervice, and ſettled the affairs of the houſe. The houſe and church being old, and threatening ruin, he had thoughts of building new ones. He had appointed two of our *Blacks* to be gardiners, one to be cook, one ſacriſtan, two to go fetch water to drink and dreſs our meat, one to look after the little ſhells which ſerve inſtead of money in that country, and to buy honey, wax, fruit, meal, buck-wheat; and our interpreter, who continued with us. We found a great many *Blacks* who underſtood *Portugueſe*, *Bamba* being in the road to go to St. *Salvador*; theſe *Blacks* having often occaſion to ſpeak that language with thoſe who carried ſuch merchandize as the *Portugueſe* merchants at *Loanda* tranſport to St. *Salvador*. *Bamba* is a great town, ſeventy leagues from the ſea, the capital of the province of that name, and well peopled, becauſe of the great duke's reſiding there.

I went to viſit the great dutcheſs, and we agreed together to ſend a *Black* to the great duke to adviſe him to make a truce with the enemy, and return to his own eſtate. But being informed that the king of *Congo* was come to *Pemba*, diſtant ten days journey from *Bamba*, F. *Michael Angelo* told me we ought to lay hold of that opportunity to go both of us to pay our reſpects, and the more becauſe our labour would not be loſt; for whatſoever place we went through, we ſhould find children and youth to baptiſe and inſtruct, and might preach our holy faith. We ſet out the next day with ſeveral *Blacks* allowed us by the great dutcheſs, rather for our guard than any thing elſe, we carrying nothing with us but what was neceſſary for ſaying maſs, and for our ſubſiſtence, leaving the reſt in our houſe. We being to paſs over ſome very deſert mountains,

Journey to Pemba.

were told that abundance of lions were abroad, and that it was requiſite to give them time to get further off and loſe themſelves in the wood; which moved us, that we might force them away the ſooner, and not loſe our time to no purpoſe, to ſet fire to the fields, as we had done in the way to *Bamba*, and it ſucceeded with us; for the wind ſpreading the flame every way, made the lions go off very ſoon.

We found abundance of children to baptize by the way as we had foreſeen; and being come to *Pemba*, went to our *hoſpitium*, or little houſe of reception, where F. *Antony de Saraverre* a *Capuchin* of the province of *Tuſcany* reſided, who received us very courteouſly, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee us ſo young, for we could not make up ſixty years between us. Having told him our deſign, which was to pay our reſpects to his majeſty, and return immediately to our miſſion of *Bamba*; we preſently heard a great noiſe of trumpets, fifes, drums and cornets, which drew near us; and F. *Antony* told us, it was certainly his majeſty, and we might go out and ſalute him. No ſooner were we out of the convent, but we met the king, who was a young *Black* about twenty years of age, all clad with a ſcarlet cloak and gold buttons. He commonly wears white buſkins upon carnation ſilk ſtockings, or of any other colour; but they ſay he has new clothes every day, which I could hardly believe in a country where fine ſtuffs and good tailors are ſcarce. Before him went twenty four young *Blacks*, all ſons of dukes or marquiſſes, who wore about their middle a handkerchief of palm-tree died black, and a cloak of blew *European* cloth hanging down to the ground, but all of them bare-headed and footed. All his officers, being about an hundred, were much in the ſame dreſs. After them came a croud of other *Blacks*, with only thoſe black handkerchiefs.

The king of Congo.

Near to his majeſty was a *Black*, who carried his umbrello of ſilk, of a fire-colour, laced with gold; and another who carried a chair of carnation velvet, with gold nails, and the wood all gilt. Two others clad in red coats, carried his red hammock, but I know not whether it was ſilk, or died cotton; the ſtaff was covered with red velvet. We bowed and ſaluted his majeſty, whoſe name was *D. Alvaro*, the ſecond king of *Congo*. He told us we had obliged him in coming into his kingdom, for the good of his ſubjects, but that it would be more pleaſing to him, if we would go along with him to S. *Salvador*. We humbly thank'd him, and anſwered, that there was more need of us at *Bamba*, there being never a prieſt in all that province, whereas there were many at S. *Salvador*. After this we talked with him of ſeveral matters concerning *Italy* and *Portugal*; after which he ordered his ſecretary, who was a *Mulatto*, to give us letters of recommendation to the great duke, that upon all occaſions whatſoever he might not fail to aſſiſt us in all things relating to our miſſion, or our private concern. CARLI.

Being thus diſmiſſed by his majeſty, he made us ſeveral preſents, as we did of ſeveral jewels of devotion, which were very acceptable to him, he being a perſon very religious and affable. We took leave of F. *Antony*, and thanked him, returning very well ſatisfied that we had ſaluted the king, and ſeen in what ſtate he goes, carrying ſuch a number of people about with him. King *Alphonſo* the 3d in 1646, when he gave audience to ſome miſſioners of our order, was more richly clad. He had on a veſt of cloth of gold ſet with precious ſtones, and on his hat a crown of diamonds, beſides other ſtones of great value. He ſat on a chair under a canopy of rich crimſon velvet with gilt nails, after the manner of *Europe*; and under his feet was a great carpet, with two ſtools of the ſame colour and ſilk, laced with gold.

We went through our journey eaſily enough, meeting with no particular obſtacle, and every day ſaw all ſorts of beaſts, ſo that one would have thought they had rendezvouzed there from all parts of the earth. One day as we were upon the road I heard the crying as it were of a little child; and making the *Blacks*, who went very faſt, ſtop, bid them take notice of that voice, to go ſee what it was. We hear it, ſaid they laughing, but it is a great bird that cries ſo. Which was true, for within a moment after we ſaw it riſe off the ground and fly away. It was a bird bigger than an eagle, of a dark yellow. During this expedition both going and coming home, we had certainly ſtarved had we not been paid for our eccleſiaſtical functions. It is true, the people of the country are very charitable among themſelves; for if we gave one of them any thing to eat, he would give a little of it to the next he met, and ſo all of them eat together, which ought to put many *Europeans* to the bluſh, who let the poor ſtarve rather than give them a bit of bread. This I ſay without any reflection upon thoſe who have more compaſſion for their neighbour's wants. *A bird cries like a child.*

Being come again to *Bamba*, they began to bring us children to baptize, from all the country about. Others came to be married, but theſe were few, and only ſome of the beſt ſort and moſt civilized; for the main difficulty lies in bringing the multitude to keep but one wife, they being wholly averſe to that law. Others ſent us *How theſe people live.*

CARLI. their children to ſchool, which we were fain to keep in the church, becauſe of the great number of them, inſomuch that upon holidays not only the church, but all the place before it was full. We often ſaid two maſſes a day: true it is, we uſually went to ſay the ſecond in another *libatte*, where the *macolonte* treated us with kidney-beans, common beans, and other things the women ſow in the country, ſcarce eating any thing elſe, whilſt they are there, and at work. When harveſt is over, which is twice a year, they put all the kidney-beans into one heap, the *Indian* wheat into another, and ſo of other grain: then giving the *macolonte* enough for his maintenance, and laying aſide what they deſign for ſowing, the reſt is divided at ſo much to every cottage, according to the number of people each contains. Then all the women together, till and ſow the land for a new harveſt, the earth being fruitful and black like the people.

So they have ſomething to eat, they don't trouble themſelves about laying in great ſtore of proviſions, ſcarce minding in the morning whether they ſhall have any thing at night for ſupper. It has often happened, when I have been travelling with them, that having nothing to give them, becauſe I had it not for myſelf, they without any concern would take a piece of wood, which they cut, and ſhap'd ſo as to ſerve inſtead of a mattock, and ſitting down on the ground would cut up the graſs, and near the roots found certain little white balls which they fed on: which did not a little ſurprize me, for having taſted of them, I could not for my life ſwallow one of them; and yet after ſuch a wretched meal, they would ſkip, dance, and laugh, as if they had been at a feaſt. What greater happineſs can there be, than not to be afflicted when a man has nothing, nor ſo much as to deſire what he has not? So when they have any thing good to eat, they expreſs no more ſatisfaction than when they have the worſt.

Our employment continued as uſual. There was never a day but we baptized eight or ten children, and ſometimes fifteen or twenty, the poor people coming many leagues to us, which we conſidering reſolved to divide, one to ſtay in the monaſtry, and the other to go into the country. F. *Michael Angelo* offered to go abroad firſt, promiſing not to ſtay above a fortnight, and to let me hear from him, I being to take my turn after the ſame manner, to the end that by this means both the town and country might receive ſome ſpiritual comfort. During his abſence I continued adminiſtring baptiſm, and teaching ſchool. The great dutcheſs had two ſons, *D. Peter*, and *D. Sebaſtian*, who never miſſed coming, eſpecially to learn *Portugueſe*. At the ſame time I inſtructed them in the myſteries of faith, and their genius appeared to be ſuitable to their birth, though *Blacks*; being of a ſharp and ready wit, learning all I taught them, and behaving themſelves as became ſuch princes. Now and then ſome *Black* would come to me to complain that a wolf had devoured ſome one of his children in the night; to which I anſwered, what would you have me to do? if you who are the father or mother do not take care of them, muſt I look to them, who do not know where they go? for to ſay the truth, they take no more care of them when they are big, than if they were none of their own.

I began then to be ſenſible what it was to live without eating bread, or drinking wine: for though I was well in health, I had very much to do to ſtand upon my legs, I was ſo ſpent with living upon that food which has ſo little nouriſhment, and with which I was forced to be ſatisfied in thoſe parts. So I recommended myſelf to GOD, that it might pleaſe him to preſerve my health, for the benefit of thoſe poor *Blacks*; not ſo much, to ſay the truth, becauſe I found myſelf incapable of undergoing very long the fatigue of our continual employment, as becauſe of the little likelihood there was of ſeeing any other miſſioners come into that country to ſucceed us, and to eaſe me of that employment, which I found to be above my ſtrength.

Devotion of the Blacks.

One evening an hour after ſun-ſet, I heard abundance of people ſinging, but in ſuch a doleful tone as cauſed horror. I enquired of my domeſticks what that meant? they anſwered, it was the people of ſome *libatte*, that came with their *macolonte* to diſcipline themſelves in the church, becauſe it was a *friday* in *March*. This ſurprized me, and I preſently ſent to open the church doors, light two candles, and ring the bell. Before they came in, they continued a quarter of an hour on their knees before the church, ſinging the *ſalve regina* in their language, with a very doleful harmony; then being come into the church, I gave them all holy water. They were about two hundred men carrying great logs of wood of a vaſt weight, for the greater penance. I ſpoke a few words to them of the benefit of penance, which if we will not undergo in this world, we ſhall be forced to endure in the next. They were all on their knees, and beat their breaſts. I cauſed the candles to be put out, and they diſciplined themſelves a whole hour with leather-thongs and cords made of the bark of trees. After that we ſaid the litanies of

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our lady of *Loretto*; and having diſmiſſed them, they returned home, leaving the branches of trees they brought without the church, which ſerved us in the garden. This action, ſo much to be admired in thoſe poor people, comforted and encouraged me, conſidering how it pleaſed God thoſe miſerable *Ethiopians*, almoſt deſtitute of all ſpiritual aſſiſtance, ſhould one day upbraid the *Europeans* for their negligence, ſince they are ſo far from doing any thing, though they have full liberty and conveniency, that they even deſpiſe thoſe that do, and in contemptible manner call them, *hermits*, *executioners of Chriſt*, *and wry necks*. Be this ſaid without offence to thoſe who do not approve of ſuch injurious words, and whoſe thoughts are more agreeable to their character of catholicks.

Another night after the *Ave Mary* bell, our *Blacks* that were in the garden called me to ſee the heaven burn. I went out, imagining it might be ſome fire on a mountain, but found it was one of the greateſt blazing ſtars I ever ſaw in my life. I told them how it was called, and that it foreboded ſome ill to the world; that therefore they ſhould do penance for the ſins they had committed againſt the majeſty of ſo great a God, who is merciful to bear with ſinners, but juſt with thoſe that are impenitent. It was in *March* 1668, that this comet appeared.

Colla, *a ſort of nut.* One day they brought me a quantity of round roots like our *truffes* (in *Engliſh pig-nuts*) but theſe grow on trees and are as big as a lemon: opening them, there appear four or five ſuch nuts red within. To keep them freſh, they put earth about them; when they will eat of them, they waſh them, taſte a little of each, and drink of their water. In eating of them they have a little bitteriſhneſs, but the water drunk after makes them very ſweet. In their language they call them *colla*; and I having obſerved that the *Portugueſe* made great account of them at *Loanda*, had ſome ſought out, and ſent them to thoſe gentlemen my good patrons, who in return ſent me ſome preſents come from *Europe*.

F. *Michael Angelo* returned, well-pleaſed with his progreſs, having baptized abundance of infants and youths, who had never ſeen prieſts; for there are but ſix *Capuchins* in the whole kingdom, except at S. *Salvador*; and theſe have the hardeſt taſk in the world to preſerve their health; and when any one of them dies, as it often happens, it is a matter of no ſmall difficulty to get another into his place. My companion being come home, he applied himſelf to cultivate the garden, whence we had our chief nouriſhment; and finding there ſome vine-plants, he tranſplanted them to a riſing ground. He ſowed ſeveral ſorts of *European* grain, which all came up in perfection. CARLI.

He had brought with him a great many iron tools; for having baptized very many in a *libatte* that was near an iron mine, he had cauſed ſpades, ſhovels, hooks, axes, and other utenſils to be made of it for the garden and cutting of wood. He alſo cauſed to be made twelve ſharp ſpears two foot in length, to be fixt upon ſtaves, to ſerve the *Blacks* to defend themſelves againſt the wild beaſts when they go through the deſerts; for being ſometimes ſurprized when they leaſt think of it, they can make no uſe of their bows.

The father told me what had happened to him during his abſence; and particularly, that flying once from the paws of a tiger, he was forced to run a great way into a thicket of brambles, there being never a tree to get up, without which ſhift he muſt have loſt his life, as one of the *Blacks* did; who to avoid pricking his ſkin among the briars, truſted to the ſwiftneſs of his heels, which could not deliver him from death, that mercileſs beaſt ſoon overtaking him. The *Capuchin* habit did the father a kindneſs to keep off the prickles of the thorns, which had made as many holes in his legs as in a cullender.

I ſet out in my turn, after ſaying maſs, with twenty of thoſe who had accompanied F. *Michael Angelo*, and came to ſeveral places where no *Capuchin* had been of many years; ſo that in ſome *libattes* I baptized above a hundred children, taking ſomething of thoſe that would give, and beſtowing my charity for God's ſake on thoſe that had nothing. I accepted of the preſents of the *macolontes*, which were beans, and kidney-beans, to maintain thoſe that went with me, who were ſatisfied to attend us, provided we maintained them. In ſome places they fled as ſoon as they ſaw me, having in all probability never ſeen any *Capuchins*. After fifteen days travel, during which time I never returned to the ſame place, I came back to our houſe, where I found my companion buſy in the garden, which he had made up after the manner of *Italy*, and planted vines, orange and lemon-trees, ſo that one would have thought it was not the ſame garden we found there at our coming.

Since that nation has received the faith of Jesus Christ, there ſtill remain among them abundance of ſorcerers and inchanters (as there are hereticks in *Europe*) who are the ruin of thoſe people, otherwiſe tractable enough. It is in a manner impoſſible for the king to root them out, inſomuch as that prince, who is a very good Chriſtian and zealous catholick, has given leave to ſeveral of his great men, who know their lurking-places, to fire their cottages; but *Wizards.*

they

CARLI. they having ſpies abroad, though they meet at night, make their eſcape, and are very ſeldom taken.

The country very populous.

The great duke was now come home, and frequented our convent every day. He was ſurprized to ſee the alteration of our garden; and the more, becauſe in thoſe parts the country is always green; and when the ground is burnt any where, the graſs ſprings up again immediately. I enquired once of the great duke, where he had left his army, which conſiſted of one hundred and fifty thouſand *Blacks*. He told me he had dropt them in the *libattes* as he came along, to which they belong'd; and when he came to *Bamba*, he had but ten thouſand left. It is not to be admired there ſhould be ſo many people, for there being no ſort of religious perſon, and moſt of them keeping as many wives as they pleaſe, the country cannot chuſe but be well peopled. One of the kings of *Congo* led nine hundred thouſand *Blacks* to the war againſt the *Portugueſes*, an army one would think ſhould make all the world ſhake; and yet the *Portugueſes* gave him battel with four hundred muſketeers, and two field-pieces. The terror of that cannon loaded with partridge ſhot, and the death of the king, put them to flight. I ſpoke with the very *Portugueſe* who cut off that king's head, and he aſſured me they found all the utenſils belonging to him of beaten gold. For that reaſon they don't at preſent work in the gold mines, which are near thoſe of iron we have ſpoken of, leſt the *Portugueſes* ſhould make war upon them; for what miſchief will not gold ſtir up men to?

Great duke of Bamba.

There was ſcarce a day but the duke, who lived near us, came to our church, in which there was a chapel of timber-work pretty big, where were the tombs of the dukes deceaſed, over which there were figures made of clay like our mortars, coloured with red. He once told us he had refuſed to be king, that he might be nearer the *Portugueſes*, to have the opportunity ſometimes of drinking wine and brandy. We underſtood him perfectly well, but would not ſeem to do ſo, to prevent uſing him to ſuch familiarity; for it is difficult to get wine to ſay maſs, there being none but what is brought out of *Europe*. This duke went habited like the king, but with fewer attendants. He wore a coat down to his knees made of palm-tree leaves died black, and over it a cloak of blue cloth; a red cap with a gold galloom about it; about his neck he had a large pair of beads with above fifty medals, his legs and feet bare like the reſt. The ſon of ſome lord carried his hat, another his ſcymitar, and a third his arrows. Fifty *Blacks* went before him playing confuſedly on ſeveral inſtruments; twenty five men of note, and one hundred archers followed him. It is no difficult matter to find ſuch abundance of ſoldiers, the men exerciſing no trade, except ſome few who work in iron, or make thoſe clothes of palm-tree leaves.

The women of quality wear the fineſt cloth of *Europe*, whereof they make petticoats down to their heels. They cover their back, breaſt, and left arm, with a ſhort mantle of the ſame ſort, leaving their right arm naked. The inferior ſort wear Stuffs of leſs value, and the commonalty ſtuffs made of palm-tree leaves, whereof they have only a petticoat.

F. *Michael Angelo* one day told me he found himſelf much ſpent, and preſently after he fell into a fever; which troubled me very much, and the more, becauſe in that country there are neither phyſicians nor medicines, but all muſt be left to nature. Bleeding is the only remedy uſed, and to that purpoſe I ſent to the great duke's ſurgeon: he was a *Black*, who had learned that profeſſion at *Loanda*; for being uſed to bleed the *Blacks*, it was eaſier for him to practiſe upon the *Whites*, whoſe veins are more viſible. During his ſickneſs, F. *Philip* our ſuperior came to *Bamba*, which was a great relief to me, becauſe he ſpoke the language of the country, and knew the manner of curing ſick perſons in thoſe parts. I was ſenſible I ſhould ſoon have need of his aſſiſtance, not being very well myſelf. Our ſick man let me underſtand that diſeaſe would be his laſt, becauſe he found it prevailed upon him. I ſpoke ſome words of comfort to him, ſignifying that his diſeaſe being but a double tertian, he might hope to recover; but however adviſed him to leave all to GOD, and reſign himſelf up to his holy will. Soon after he complained of a pain in his left ear, which ſpread over his neck. I miſtruſted it might be an ulceration in the almonds of his ears, and acquainted the ſuperior with my thoughts, who was of the ſame opinion. We anointed him with oil of *Angelico* made at *Rome*, which ſeemed to work a wonderful effect, taking away the pain; but it removed to the other ſide, and the ſwelling increaſed, which made us forbear uſing our oil, for fear it might do more harm than good; and to ſay the truth, hearing him complain with ſo ſlight a fever, I concluded he was worſe inwardly than appeared outwardly. In ſhort notwithſtanding all the care we took of him, I had the mortification to ſee him die the fifteenth day, having received all the ſacraments, and expreſſed a ſaint-like reſignation; hoping that the Lord, who does not forget to reward his ſervants, lets him now enjoy the recompence of all his labours.

F. Angelo dies.

My

My heart was more ſenſible of my trouble for this loſs than my pen can expreſs; and without doubt, had not our ſuperior been there, ſent by God's ſpecial direction in ſo ſorrowful a conjuncture, and giving us all worldly and ſpiritual aſſiſtance, I had died too, having already loſt half my life, in that of the dear companion of my travels ſnatched away by death. He had been blooded fifteen times; and being apprehenſive it was too much, I gave an account at my return of his diſtemper to the phyſician at *Angola*. He told me it had been better to have bled him thirty times; but his hour was come, and it was the will of God.

F. Carli *ſick.*

The ſuperior finding me in a fever, which increaſed, thought Providence had ſent him to bury us both, and would not go away till he had ſeen the end of it: however he reſolved to try means to cure me, cauſing me to be blooded twice a day, which I ſuffered to be done without ſpeaking one word: but in truth that uſage in a few days brought me into a deſperate condition, having been forty times blooded, and the fever never decreaſing. I confeſſed, and received the holy *viaticum*, being nothing but ſkin and bones. The father, but for whoſe charity I believe I had died like a beaſt, perceiving the diſeaſe was like to be tedious, the fury of the fever abating, gave me to underſtand, that for the good of the miſſion he muſt of neceſſity be gone. I had ſcarce ſtrength, bowing myſelf, to tell him, that ſince he could not ſtay longer, he ſhould inform my *Blacks* how they ought to manage me; and that he would pleaſe to ſend F. *Michael de Orvietto* to me, with whom I had travelled, and who knew how to look to the ſick. He promiſed to do ſo, but his orders miſcarrying, he came not. I was left in my bed, not able to turn my ſelf; and the worſt was, that ſo much bleeding had almoſt blinded me. In that condition, half alive and half dead, I was left to the mercy of thoſe *Blacks*, who ſtole what they could, and brought me, when they thought of it, a porringer of broth; I being able to ſwallow nothing of ſubſtance, and loathing all ſuſtenance.

One day when I was more caſt down with melancholy and ſadneſs than the diſtemper itſelf, I received a viſit from a *Portugueſe* jeſuit, who came from S. *Salvador*. and was returning to the college at *Loanda*. When he ſaw me in that miſerable condition, How now, father, ſaid he, are you ſo ſick, and yet ſtay in this deſert? I came, ſaid I, very well in health into this country, but after loſing my companion, I fell ſick, and have been now ſome months ſtruggling with death; but I perceive it is not God's will it ſhould have the upper hand, though it was one of my wiſhes. Two days he ſtaid comforting me, and preſented me with ſome pullets, which were more acceptable for coming from his hand, than for their own rarity. We confeſs'd to one another, he declaring it was a ſatisfaction to him to be thus provided, being to paſs through many places, where the firing of the dry herbage made the wild beaſts run about the country. He aſſured me that as he came, he was forced to get up a tree, tho' there were ſixty *Blacks* with him, to avoid death threatned them by two tigers. Therefore we are not to believe what ſome authors have writ, that the tigers do not aſſault *Whites*, but only *Blacks*. CARLI.

After his departure I remained with my continual diſtemper; but what comforted me was, that every day I baptized ten or twelve children; and not being able to ſit up alone in my bed, was held up by two *Blacks*, another holding the book, and another the baſon, receiving what alms they gave me; not for my own ſake, for I could eat nothing, but for my family, who would all of them have forſaken me had they wanted meat. I married ſeveral of the chief people; one of them gave me a ſhe-goat, whoſe milk I drank every day, which indeed was little in quantity, but counted a great dainty in that country. This happineſs I had in my indiſpoſition, that I ſlept all night, which is twelve hours long, never varying half an hour all the year round. I would willingly have eaten an egg, but ſick people there are forbid eggs, they being looked upon as unwholſom for thoſe that are ill, being too hot in thoſe parts. Whilſt I lay thus in bed, ſeveral cripples came to beg of me, and I gave them ſome of thoſe ſhells that ſerve inſtead of money, of which three thouſand five hundred make the value of a piſtole; ſo many are given for a pullet, for at *Liſbon* a pullet is worth a crown, in *Braſil* a piece of eight, at *Angola* ten ſhillings, and at *Congo* a piſtole, which ſeems to me cheaper than a crown at *Liſbon*.

My bed was againſt the wall, which was of fat clay ill put together, and might well be called a neſt of rats; for there were ſo many of them and ſo large, that they troubled me very much, running over me every night, and biting my toes, which broke my reſt very much. To prevent this I cauſed my bed to be laid in the middle of the room, but to no purpoſe, for thoſe curſed creatures knew where to find me. I cauſed mats to be laid all about my bed for my *Blacks* to lie on, and defend me not only againſt the rats, but any other wild creatures that might come. This precaution ſtood me in no ſtead, for there was no nights but the rats diſturbed me. Another

CARLI. conſideration mov'd me to keep thoſe *Blacks* in my chamber, which was, that they might ſee how I lived, and be witneſſes of my behaviour, that country being no more free from detraction than others.

I took the freedom to acquaint the great duke with the trouble I had from the rats, and the ſtink of my *Blacks*, who had always ſome wild and diſagreeable ſmell. He ſaid he would give me an infallible remedy againſt thoſe two inconveniences, and that had he known it ſooner, he would not have failed of ſending it: This was a little monkey that would ſecure me againſt the rats by blowing on them when he ſpyed them, and would expel the ill ſcent by that of his ſkin, which ſmelt of muſk. I gave him a thouſand thanks for his charity towards me, and ſaid I ſhould expect that favour from him. He ſent me the tame monkey, whom I laid at the feet of my bed, and who performed his duty exactly; for when the rats came as they were wont, the monkey blew hard at them two or three times, and made them run away; and the ſcent of muſk with which he perfumed the chamber, corrected the ill ſmell of the *Blacks*. Theſe monkeys are not the ſame creatures as the civet cats, for I have ſeen ſeveral of thoſe cats at *Loanda*, where they keep them ſhut up in a wooden cage, and faſtened with an iron or ſilver chain, and the owner of them once a week with a ſpoon takes off the civet, which they call *angeglia*, and which is found in a purſe between the hind legs. In ſhort, the little monkey did me extraordinary ſervice, not only for thoſe uſes already mentioned, but to keep my head and beard clean and comb'd, better than any of the *Blacks* would have done: and to ſay the truth, it is eaſier to teach thoſe monkeys than the *Blacks*; for theſe have enough to do to learn one thing well, but the others do every thing they are put to dexterouſly.

A uſeful monkey.

I juſt began to mend, tho' the fever had not left me, when one night as I lay aſleep, I felt the monkey had leaped upon my head; I thought the rats had frighted him, and made much of him to ſtill him, but at the ſame time the *Blacks* aroſe crying, Out, out father. Being thoroughly awake. I aſked them what was the matter? The ants, ſaid they, are broke out, and there is no time to be loſt. There being no poſſibility for me to ſtir, I bid them carry me into the garden, which they did, four of them lifting me upon my ſtraw bed: Their nimbleneſs ſtood me in good ſtead, for the ants already began to run upon my legs, and get to my body. After ſhaking them off, they took ſtraw, and fired it on the floor of four rooms, where the ants were already above half a foot thick; and there muſt needs be a wonderful quantity, for beſides the chambers, the porch and walking place were full. They being deſtroy'd by fire, as I ſaid, I was carried back to my chamber, where the ſtink was ſo great that I was forced to hold the monkey cloſe to my face. Having cauſed the mats to be ſhaken, we had ſcarce ſlept half an hour before I was awaked by the light of a flame of fire at the chamber-door: I called my people to ſee what it was, they found the fire had taken hold of the thatch of the houſe; and fearing the fire might encreaſe with the wind, I cauſed my ſelf to be carried again into the garden. The fire being put out, we endeavour'd to go to ſleep again, but all this hurry had diſcompoſed me too much; and before the troubleſome night was quite over, I heard a great noiſe near us: I waked my *Blacks* that they might be in readineſs, in caſe there was ſome other army of beaſts to engage. One of them laid hold of one of the halberds F. *Michael Angelo* had cauſed to be made, and went out to ſee who made all that hurly-burly: He came back again to tell us, that the piſmires having again broke into a neighbouring cottage, they had burnt them as we did; but the hut being all of ſtraw, it was conſumed as well as the ants, which made the *Blacks* get out of their houſes for fear the wind ſhould carry about the flame and burn all that quarter. I got off, cauſing my ſelf to be once more carry'd into the garden, giving GOD thanks that he had delivered me from the piſmires; for had I been alone faſt in my bed, and unable to ſtir, as I then was, it is certain they had eaten me up alive. This often happens in the kingdom of *Angola*, where in the morning there are cows found devoured in the night by ants, and nothing left of them but the bones. It is no ſmall deliverance to eſcape them, for there are ſome that fly, and are hard to be removed from the place where they lay hold: but GOD be praiſed that my body was not devoured by them alive.

Strange multitude of piſmires.

I had a young tiger given me, which I did not care to keep, eſpecially becauſe the monkey would not lie upon the bed with him: I gave it goat's milk to preſerve it, but it did not live long, and I was not ſorry for it, it being no ſatisfaction to me to ſee that fine beaſt, tho' little, and as yet unfit to do like the old ones. The great duke's viſits were a great comfort to me, and whem he could not come himſelf, he ſent ſome of his chief men, who would ſtay three or four hours ſitting about me upon mats; but they always having their pipes in their mouths, and the ſmoke offended my head, I was forc'd to tell them, they would oblige me in coming,

but

but that I beg'd for God's ſake not to take tobacco in our houſe, and that the rather becauſe their pipes which are an ell long have great bowls like a little pot, which are never out. They were ſo obliging as to comply with me, and when they came left their pipes in the garden.

The author returns to Loanda.

I found no other remedy for my diſtemper but to recommend my ſelf to God, through the interceſſion of the glorious S. *Antony* of *Padua*. In ſhort, after long continuing irreſolute, I reſolved to cauſe my ſelf to be carried to *Loanda*, notwithſtanding I was ſenſible of the fatigue of the journey, and could find no *Black* that would go along to be my interpreter. I ſpoke to the great duke, who promiſed me a great many *Blacks*, but he found not enough to carry my baggage, part whereof was therefore left behind to be ſtolen. I took another way different from that we came, and did not paſs thro' *Dante*: All the poor *Blacks* flocking about me at my departure, came to expreſs their concern for loſing me, and I comforted them with the hopes of my return, if it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore my health.

I went as far as the next *libatte* without an interpreter, but could ſpeak enough to be underſtood. I endur'd all that can be imagin'd in ſuch a condition, for my conſcience check'd me for putting my ſelf into ſuch danger, as if I would have tempted God; but I had ſuch confidence in S. *Antony*, whom I had taken for my advocate, that I fancied I ſaw him before my hammock. During all this journey, which laſted twenty five days, I could not open my mouth till night, ſo that the *Blacks* often came to ſee whether I was not dead. One day being to paſs through a river, they diſcover'd about twenty five elephants that were gone to drink, which troubled them very much, and made them ſtay till they were gone another way from us. Having croſs'd the river with ſome danger, the two *Blacks* who carried me going up a hill, did not hold the ſtaff faſt, and let me fall plum on the ground, which put me quite beſide my ſelf, the ſtaff having hit me on the head and almoſt broke it: They took me up again, and I bound my head with a handkerchief without ſpeaking one word, fearing if I complain'd of being hurt, they might leave me there, and fly unto the woods; therefore I thought it better to hold my tongue, than talk to people that have no compaſſion.

Being come to a *libatte*, they left me alone in a cottage upon a little ſtraw, and carry'd away my ſtaff I had brought out of *Italy*, but I was reſolv'd to be concern'd at nothing. I look'd whether any body would come in, being very weak for want of ſuſtenance; but no body appeared all day till ſun-ſetting, when the women return'd with their children from their labour in the fields; I deſir'd them to boil me a pullet I had brought with me: They having dreſs'd it very well, I took the broth, and gave them the fowl, which made a great feaſt among them. All my ſuſtenance during the journey was a porringer of broth a day. They gave me two *niceſtas*, which are ſo refreſhing and dainty, that I could not forbear eating of them, tho' cautiouſly, for fear of cauſing my diſtemper to increaſe upon me. CARLI.

Next day they carried me to a *libatte*, where I found all the people made ſtaffs of palm-tree leaves, and therefore would not leave their buſineſs to carry me. Finding them poſitive, and not knowing what other way to take, I bethought my ſelf of a bag of thoſe ſhells they call *zimbi*, I had along with me, and began to call them, but they were deaf to me, tho' ſitting in the next cottages on the ground about their fire: That is their uſual poſture. After night-fall, that the women are return'd out of the fields with their children, they light a fire in the middle of their cottage, ſit round it on the ground, and eat of what they have brought; then they talk till ſleep makes them fall backwards, and ſo they ſpend the night without any further ceremony. Finding it was to no purpoſe to call and ſpend my breath, I dragg'd out of the bed where they had laid me, which was about a foot from the ground, and crawling upon all four to the cottage door, called a *muleche*, or young lad, who was playing with his companions, and getting him to help me, open'd my portmantua, whence I drew the bag of *zimbis*, and ſhaking the bag that they might ſound, drew thoſe hard-hearted *Blacks* to me, and told them I would pay them in *zimbis* if they would carry me to the next *libatte:* they agreed to it, but being too few to carry all my goods, part of them was left to their diſcretion. There was no remedy but patience, and at length by the help of *zimbis*, beads and medals, I came to *Bamba*, the firſt place belonging to the *Portugueſes*.

There I was met by a *Portugueſe* who liv'd in the place, with a prieſt of *Portugueſe* extraction, but born in *Africk*; they carried me to their houſe, and ſeeing my countenance as yellow as ſaffron, ſaid to me, father, how came you to travel through theſe deſerts in ſuch a condition? I could not anſwer them, nor open my eyes. They underſtanding by my carriers that I had eaten but one porringer of broth a day, and never ſpoke all the way, endeavoured to bring me to my ſelf with malmſey and new-laid

CARLI. new-laid eggs. Being a little recovered, I found all their people weeping about me. I told them nothing had befallen me but what I had foreſeen when I left *Italy*, and that I had concluded I ſhould not return out of that country, as is the common fate of the miſſioners ſent thither. I continued there two days, and having thank'd them for their civility and charity they had uſed towards me, went away to *Loanda*. The *Portugueſe* gentleman would needs bear me company thither. I was kindly received by the chief men of my acquaintance, who wondered to ſee me alive ſtill with that dead countenance. They ſent me ſome refreſhment, which I did not taſte for want of appetite: There I continued ſix months without being able to ſtir out of my bed, and never quit of the fever: I loath'd fleſh, and could eat nothing but a little fiſh. After that I bled at noſe, and loſt three or four pounds a day, as if I had not been blooded during my ſickneſs; the heat I endur'd going on the hammock contributed much towards it: It was ſurprizing to me that there ſhould be ſo much blood in a man's body. The phyſician told me that all the water I drank turn'd to blood, and I drank five or ſix bottles a day, for they allow the ſick to drink as much as they will. The phyſician had me blooded twenty four times by way of revulſion; for I kept account how often I was blooded during my three years ſickneſs, which was ninety ſeven times, without reckoning the blood that ran in great quantities at my noſe, mouth, and ears, which to me ſeems prodigious.

During my ſtay at *Loanda*, the *R. F. John Chryſoſtome*, ſuperior of *Loanda*, came thither with two or three *Capuchins* of our miſſion, who had much ado to know me, and were yet more ſurprized to hear that moſt of our fellows were dead in that country. The father ſuperior reſolving to provide the province of *Meſſangrano*, one of the chiefeſt in the kingdom, with miſſioners, ſent thither F. *Peter de Barchi*, and F. *Joſeph Mary de Buſſette:* and within a few days news was brought that one of them was dead, and the other at the point of death, which much troubled the ſuperior, who had taken a great deal of pains to bring them from *Italy*, which ſhews how little that climate agrees with our bodies. I deſired the father ſuperior to ſend me to *Colombo*, two days journey from *Loanda*, to try to recover my health. I went thither with F. *John Baptiſt de Sallizan* to a houſe of our father's near the river *Coawza*, where there are abundance of crocodiles. We have there a very fine garden, in which are orange and lemon trees, and other ſort of fruit. There is a ſort of fruit in *Africk* like our S. *John* apple, at the end of which is a cheſnut little differing from ours: The apple is not eaten becauſe it is full of fibres, but they ſuck the juice which has a muſcadine taſte. The cheſnut is boil'd, and taſtes like our almonds, is very hot, but the apple cold, it is call'd *beſou*.

Near that place live ſeveral *Portugueſe* farmers, who keep a number of ſwine, cows and ſheep, but know not how to make cheeſe, it being very difficult there to bring the milk to curd. We ſometimes took the cool air under a fine row of trees ten paces diſtant, reaching from the church to the river. Theſe trees bear a certain ſort of fruit like great plums, but very harſh; they hold their leaves all the year round. One day as we were walking under thoſe trees, we diſcovered a great ſerpent croſſing the river to our ſide: We would have made it go back by ſhouting, and throwing clods of earth for want of ſtones, which are not to be found, but in ſpite of us it came over, and went to take up its poſt in a little thicket of reeds near the houſe. There are ſome of them there twenty five foot long, and as thick as a good colt, that make but a mouthful of a ſheep: when they have ſwallow'd one, they go into the ſun to digeſt it: the *Blacks* who know the manner of it watch and kill them, to make a good meal of them, for they are as fat as pork; and having flead them, they throw away nothing but the head, the tail and the entrails.

Of the country of Caſſangi.

F. *John Baptiſt* gave me an account of his travels in thoſe parts of *Africk*, and among the reſt of his being at *Caſſangi*, where a black prince reſides who rules a large country, and is call'd great lord: That he came there at a time when that prince's birth-day was celebrated after an odd manner: he makes all the people of his country that can travel come into a great plain; they leave only one place empty, in which there are ſeveral trees, on which there are huts built for the great lord and principal men of his kingdom, who go up thither with ſeveral muſical inſtruments ſounding. One of the moſt furious lions in the country is faſtened to a tree ſtanding at ſome diſtance from the reſt. The ſignal being given, the ſtring that holds him is cut, and then after ſome roaring he falls upon the firſt he meets: They inſtead of flying run together from all parts to kill him, being obliged to do it without any weapon, and thinking themſelves happy in flying before their prince. The lion before he is tir'd kills ſeveral of them, and revenges his own death ſufficiently, being at laſt born down by the multitude. After that the ſurvivors eat the dead, and accompany their king with abun-

dance of joyful acclamations to his palace, making all parts reſound, *Long live the great lord of* Caſſangi. Thus they ſolemnize this feſtival, which the father aſſured me he had been an eye-witneſs of. A helliſh invention, and fit for thoſe barbarous people!

Of the place call'd Colombo.

He alſo told me he would go to the kingdom of *Malemba* or *Mattemba*, where of late years queen *Singa* had reigned, who dy'd a catholick; but that after her death the people forſook the chriſtian religion, and returned to their ancient ſuperſtitions. I agreed with him to go thither, if he could gain admittance into the country, provided he ſent for me; but when he was gone, I heard no more from him, and was left alone with two *Blacks* at *Colombo*. I baptiz'd but very few there, the country about being poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſes*, but ſometimes there came boats full of ſlaves who were baptiz'd; they brought me ſalt to uſe in the baptiſmal water, dug out of the mountains, which when pounded is very white. Whilſt I was there, the fiſhermen took a great fiſh as round as a coach-wheel, in the middle it had two tets, and upon it ſeveral holes through which it ſees, hears, and eats, the mouth being a ſpan long: The fiſh is delicious, and the fleſh of it like fine veal. Of the ribs of it they make beeds to ſtop bleeding; but having try'd them upon my ſelf, they did no good; this diſtemper growing upon me, inſomuch that they once thought I was dead, which obliged the father ſuperior to make me return to *Loanda*. The dread of going to ſea again, made me unwilling to go from *Colombo*, tho' in other reſpects the place was ſcarce to be endured, being tormented day and night with infinite numbers of gnats and flies, which almoſt darken the air; beſides the continual fear of ſerpents, crocodiles, and lions, who ſeldom fail'd a night of devouring ſome cow, calf, or ſheep.

At that time a veſſel was loading at *Loanda* for *Braſil*. Having obtained leave to return to *Italy*, I ſpoke with the captain, who was very willing to receive me, thinking himſelf happy in having a prieſt, and eſpecially a *Capuchin*, with him; for not only the *Portugueſes* but the *Blacks* themſelves, cannot ſufficiently admire to ſee us take progreſſes into thoſe barbarous countries, without propoſing to our ſelves any other intereſt but the ſpiritual good of our neighbour, and the propagation of the catholick faith. I remember the great duke of *Bamba* one day ſent me ſeveral *Blacks* to be my ſlaves; which I would not accept of, but ſent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make ſlaves, but rather to deliver thoſe from the ſlavery of the devil whom he kept in miſerable thraldom. CARLI.

The ſhip I went aboard of, when it was ready to ſail, was loaded with elephants teeth and ſlaves, to the number of ſix hundred and eighty men, women, and children. It was a pitiful ſight to behold, how all thoſe people were beſtowed. The men were ſtanding in the hold, faſtned one to another with ſtakes, for fear they ſhould riſe and kill the *Whites*. The women were between the decks, and thoſe that were with child in the great cabbin, the children in the ſteeradge preſs'd together like herrings in a barrel, which caus'd an intolerable heat and ſtench. The captain had made me a bed upon the quarter-deck, with mats to keep me from the rain and dew.

This voyage is generally performed in thirty or thirty five days at furtheſt; becauſe there is no occaſion for going to the cape of *Good Hope* for a wind; but they ſail in a line: However we were fifty days, being many of them becalmed, during which time we endured great heat under the line. Being we made no way, the captain deſired me to baptize ſome *Blacks* that came laſt aboard, it being forbid under pain of excommunication, to carry any *Blacks* to *Braſil* that are not baptiz'd; which I did, inſtructing them in the principles of Chriſtianity.

The *Portugueſes*, who knew there was danger in that calm we were in, either in regard of the great heat of the ſun, or becauſe among ſo many mouths the proviſions grew ſhort, one day took the image of S. *Antony*, which they ſet againſt one of the maſts, ſaying theſe words on their knees, S. Antony, *our countryman, you ſhall be pleas'd to ſtand there, till you have given us a fair wind to continue our voyage.* This done, and ſome prayers ſaid, ſome little wind came up, which ſet us forward, and made us rejoice. We paſs'd very cloſe by the iſland called the *Aſſumption of our Lady*; where we did not touch, thinking we had no need of any thing. Nevertheleſs the voyage holding longer than we had imagined, a few days after we began to want proviſions, the proveditor not having rightly conſidered how great a number of mouths there was to feed.

A dangerous calm.

The captain came to be full of affliction, and ſaid, Father, we are all dead men, there is no remedy for it. My uſual fever being upon me, and a diſh of blood before me, I told him that was no ſurpriſing news to me, and that having loſt ſo much blood, I did not expect to live long. He made me ſenſible he ſpoke of all the ſhip in general, and that they

CARLI. wanted proviſions, being ſtill far out at ſea without diſcovering any land. To comfort him in ſome meaſure, I bid him look into the ſtern-lockers, for I remember'd my friends had given me ſome proviſions, which might keep the *Whites* aboard alive ſome time; and as for the *Blacks*, he muſt have patience if they died, ſince there was no poſſibility of relieving them; but that nevertheleſs ſince there were ſtill forty buts of water, they ſhould give them as much as was neceſſary; and the climate being hot, they might live two days at leaſt upon water only: That yet GOD might relieve us, and we ought to confide in him, and not give way to deſpair.

I would have ſpoke ſome words of comfort to the ſhips-crew, and ſilenced them; but the diſmal news I thought to acquaint them with being already come to their knowledge, the children began to cry for mercy; the women hearing them, ſet up the ſame cry, and the men made up the diſmal harmony; which would have daunted the boldeſt heart. In fine, when they were a little pacified, I began in *Portugueſe* to exhort them to confide in the mercy of GOD, who never forſakes thoſe who ſincerely rely on him; adding, that GOD ſent us that affliction to puniſh our ſins, and for the blaſphemies wherewith they diſhonoured his holy name, and perhaps becauſe ſome of them were come aboard without confeſſing. Then turning to the *Whites*, I told them, that the ill example they gave theſe new Chriſtians, making themſelves drunk every day with brandy, had drawn that puniſhment upon them: That the bleſſed Virgin was alſo offended at them, becauſe they had given her name, to which all reſpect was due, to a rope's-end with which they beat the *Blacks*, which was not the way to perſuade them that we believ'd her to be the mother of GOD. This diſcourſe made them again cry, *Mercy*, but with a more ſincere intention than at firſt. After the hymns of the holy Virgin, which I cauſed them to repeat, they made a vow to cauſe eighty maſſes to be ſaid, forty for the ſouls in purgatory, and forty in honour of S. *Antony*.

Their minds being a little ſettled, the captain ordered every *Black* a porringer of water; but thoſe poor wretches, eſpecially the children, began to cry for hunger. The compaſſion their cries moved in me, without any means of relieving them, made me retire to my cabbin of mats. I continued ſo a day without eating, for fear of ſharpening their hunger if they ſaw me eat. It was likely that unleſs GOD wrought ſome miracle, we were all loſt.

As I lay full of theſe thoughts, I heard ſome begin to talk of living upon man's fleſh, ſo far had deſpair diſorder'd them; for which I reproved them ſeverely, proteſting that rather than ſuffer any one to be killed to maintain another, I would ſacrifice my own life if it might any way contribute to prolong theirs. Notwithſtanding all this affliction, there were thoſe abroad who did not forbear doing ſome vile actions. The maſter being drunk, mortally wounded a ſailor; but he being the ableſt and moſt experienc'd ſeaman in the ſhip, it was requiſite to pardon him, and wink at it. At length GOD taking compaſſion on us, we diſcovered land; three days we continued without eating, and the water was ſpent before we got to the ſhore. Who can expreſs the joy which ſucceeded the former ſorrow! To hear all their diſcourſe, one would have thought all the people in the ſhip had been out of their right ſenſes. I obſerved the ſhip lay much more to one ſide than the other, and obliged the captain to redreſs it, the burden of men being greater on that ſide which inclin'd. He did it by filling four caſks with ſea-water, and faſtening them to the other ſide.

Baya de todos os Santos.

We diſcovered cape St. *Auguſtin*, well known to the *Portugueſes*, and on ſunday enter'd the port of *Baya de todos os Santos*, or the bay of all ſaints, the capital town of all *Braſil*, where the viceroy reſides. There we found ſeveral veſſels of all nations. Next morning ſeveral boats came to us with merchants and others who had ſlaves aboard. Underſtanding we had been fifty days at ſea, they concluded that moſt of the *Blacks* were dead, and were pleaſingly ſurpriſed when they were told there wanted but thirty three of the number, it often happening, that half of them die in that paſſage. They thank'd GOD for that miracle wrought in their behalf, for it would have been a very conſiderable loſs, if all the ſlaves had been dead.

I went aſhore as well as the reſt, but my weakneſs was ſuch, I had no uſe of my legs. A good woman into whoſe ſhop I went, had compaſſion on me, and lent me her hammock to carry me into the *Franciſcans*, who received me very courteouſly. A *Genoeſe* captain of my acquaintance would have carried me to his houſe, but I excuſed my ſelf on account of the obliging reception I had met with in the convent; declaring that unleſs I found I was a burden to them, I would not leave it till my departure out of the country. The governor of the iſland of St. *Thomas*, which is under the line, ſent his ſteward to make me a viſit, and to deſire me to come to his palace to ſee a *Capuchin* that kept his bed, and had been ſixteen years in *Africk*, either in the aforeſaid iſland, or the kingdom

of

of *Benin* and *Overola*. I could not go immediately, but went afterwards ſeveral times to ſee that father, being carried in a hammock. He wondered to hear I was ſo obedient to my phyſician, who was the ſame that had him in hand; but the phyſician told me, that according to his way he could not live long; and ſo it proved, for he died ſoon after at *Liſbon*.

A proceſſion. In this convent there is a chapel of the third order of S. *Francis*. On *Maunday-Thurſday* the fathers made a proceſſion, in which all the images of ſaints of the third order were carried. Then followed three hundred *Blacks*, carrying whole trees for mortification; others had their arms bound to a great beam in the nature of a croſs, and others after other manners. I was told their fathers confeſſors had enjoin'd them that penance for robbing their maſters, and committing other ſins. It is not the cuſtom there to make ſepulchers that week, but they expoſe the bleſſed ſacrament with an infinite number of white wax-lights, whereof there is great plenty there, as well as of honey.

The *Genoeſe* captain, who was to ſail for *Liſbon*, had given me my paſſage aboard his ſhip. Being ready to ſail, the viceroy ſent to deſire the captain, that ſince he had a good fighting ſhip, he would, for the king's ſake, convoy the merchants ſhips that were ready to ſail, for fear they might fall into the hands of the *Turks* when they came near the coaſt of *Portugal*; that kept us till *Holy Saturday*. Leave to depart being obtain'd of the viceroy, the captain ſent me word to come aboard; which I did, againſt my will, not liking to begin ſo long and dangerous a voyage upon a holy ſaturday; but he carrying me out of charity, I will ſubmit to his will. We ſail'd, firing all the canon, and all the bells in the town clattering.

Voyage to Lisbon. The ſhip was like *Noah*'s ark, for there were aboard it ſo many ſeveral ſorts of beaſts, that what with the noiſe, and the talk of ſo many people as were aboard, we could not hear one another ſpeak. The loading was a thouſand cheſts of ſugar, three thouſand rolls of tobacco, abundance of rich wood for dying, and making of cabinets, elephants teeth; beſides the proviſion of wood, coals, water, wine, brandy, ſheep, hogs, and turkeys: beſides all this, abundance of monkeys of ſeveral ſorts, apes, baboons, parrots, and ſome of thoſe birds of *Braſil*, which they call *arracas*. The ſhip carried fifty guns, four and twenty patareroes, and other neceſſaries. The people aboard were of ſeveral nations, as *Italians*, *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, and *Indian* ſlaves who followed their maſters. The great cabbin was hired by a rich *Portugueſe* merchant, whoſe name was *Amaro*, and who was returning to *Liſbon* with all his family, that is, wife and four children; gave a thouſand crowns for his paſſage, and had laid out two thouſand upon proviſions and neceſſaries for ſo long a voyage. That honeſt man ſeeing me ſo ſick, freely offered me a place in his cabbin, which was large, painted and gilt. I accepted of his offer, his wife giving her conſent, who being a virtuous lady, was glad to have a religious man's company. He would have allowed me his table, but I told him I was engaged to the captain, but that I might breakfaſt with him ſometimes after maſs, which I ſaid every day in the great cabbin during the voyage, which laſted three months, excepting only three days of ſtormy weather; and not only he, but all the *Portugueſes* aboard were at it. The chaplain of the ſhip ſaid upon deck to the ſeamen and officers of the ſhip. CARLI.

The ſhip aground. As we were under ſail, having ſcarce run two leagues, and being buſy placing the trunks and goods aboard us, it pleaſed GOD to mortify us, who thought our ſelves the ſafeſt of the five ſhips, that we might learn to honour holidays better; for we ſtruck five times furiouſly upon a bank, which threw both the men and goods not yet laſh'd to, from ſide to ſide, and put all into a great conſternation, the veſſel ſticking faſt upon the flat. The officers and pilots in a fright thought to ſave themſelves from imminent danger of death which threaten'd, and leapt haſtily into the boat to get to land, which was not far off, for we were ſtill in the harbour, it being four leagues in length. The ſailors and paſſengers ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to cry aloud, *We are all dead, we are all dead.* And who can be able to deſcribe what a ſad ſpectacle that ſhip was, which but juſt before look'd like a caſtle on the ſea? This confuſion made me riſe from a mat on which I lay ſtruggling with the fever; and being upon deck, perceived we made no way, though the ſails were all looſe, and a plank floating upon the ſea, which made it appear the ſhip was faſt.

Nothing could be heard but cries and complaints. Some caſt a barrel into the ſea, others a roll of tobacco, others a cheſt of ſugar to lighten the ſhip, and every one did ſomething to ſave his life; only the captain ſat ſtill like a ſtatue, without being able to ſpeak or ſtir, though he had fought ſix *Turks* in that ſame ſhip. They would have fir'd a canon for the others to come to our aſſiſtance, but in that hurry they could neither find gunner, powder, nor match. The ſeveral ſorts of animals hearing ſuch a noiſe, began to play their

CARLI. part and increaſe the confuſion. In this general conſternation both *Whites* and *Blacks* came to caſt themſelves at my feet, crying, *Father, father, confeſſion, abſolution.* Having caus'd them to make an act of contrition, I gave them abſolution, wanting time to hear them ſingly. I met the chaplain of the ſhip in his ſhirt, his countenance altered and looking ghaſtly, though he was one of the braveſt men aboard, as he had often made it appear, fighting with the *Turks* upon ſeveral occaſions. After hearing his confeſſion according to his deſire, I aſk'd him, What he intended to do in that caſe? O GOD, ſaid he, *I had no mind to come aboard, but I ſuffer'd my ſelf to be deluded.* I would have encouraged, and made him conceive, that GOD had not altogether forſaken us, but we might yet eſcape that danger. *Suppoſe it does ſo fall out*, reply'd he, *I am reſolved to ſwim for it, and get aſhore.* The others hearing his reſolution, renewed their complaints and exclamations. I went into the great cabbin, and found the *Portugueſe* lady ſitting on a carpet, and leaning upon two cuſhions, with her four children on their knees, their hands claſp'd together in a fright, and crying, *mercy*; the huſband ſitting on a chair, rather dead than alive. I comforted them both the beſt I could, and heard their confeſſions.

In the mean while there came aboard us a captain, who was a friend to *Senhor Amaro*, to carry him and his family away to his ſhip. He ſeeing the horrid confuſion we were in, began to encourage all the people, and ſent two of his men to the pump, and into the hold, to ſee what harm was done. They neither found water, nor any thing broken, and perceived that the plank we had ſeen on the water, was only ſome of the ſheathing which had given way. Our captain taking heart, ordered to caſt the lead, and found but little water for ſo great a ſhip. Then he cauſed the ſhip's head to be brought about, which made the veſſel move; and it was well for us there happen'd to be but little wind, for had it blown hard we muſt have been beaten to pieces. They that were aſhore ſeeing us make way, came back with the boat; and we continu'd our voyage towards *Fernambuco*, a hundred leagues diſtant from *Baga de Todos* of *Santos*. There we came to an anchor five miles from the town, the harbour being unfit for great ſhips.

The governor kept us there five days before he diſpatch'd us. As we were weighing anchor, when it was already above water, it broke off ſo ſuddenly, that all the men who work'd at hoiſting it, being forty of them, fell down and hurt themſelves, ſome on the head, ſome the ſides, and others in other places. They would have recover'd it, but there was no doing of it, becauſe it dropt in a place that was very foul and full of ſmall rocks.

It was pleaſant to ſee our ſhip, where every tradeſman work'd at his trade, as if he had been in his ſhop; there were gunſmiths, armourers, butchers, ſhoemakers, tailors, coopers and cooks. Others mended the colours, there being an hundred of ſeveral ſorts very fine upon great days, and particularly the pendant at the main topmaſt head, eight ells long, and all of carnation taffety. When the weather would permit, the other veſſels bore up to us, and gave us a conſort of drums and trumpets, ſaluting us with three huzza's all the ſailors gave, taking the ſignal from the boatſwain's whiſtle. The captain exercis'd his men in firing volleys. Theſe diverſions were one day interrupted by this accident. Eleven *Engliſhmen* came together to complain to the captain that they were not allowed water enough to drink, which put him into ſuch a paſſion that he went to lay hold of a ſword, and had done them ſome miſchief had not care been taken to appeaſe him. He cauſed one to be put into the bilboes with two men to ſtand centinel over him, till we came to *Liſbon*, for fear he ſhould raiſe ſome mutiny among his comrades; for that *Engliſhman* was wonderful ſtrong, would manage a canon as another man would a muſket, and had formerly blown up ſome ſhips, ſetting fire to the powder. He puniſhed him after this manner to teach the reſt, not to come in a body like mutineers to make their complaints to him, whereas one alone ſhould come when they wanted any thing. There was another *Engliſhman* whom they called *Kill Turk*, whom he alſo put into the bilboes, becauſe he had made himſelf drunk with two bottles of brandy, and was not ſober again in three days. He was ſo ſtrong, that they ſaid he had cleft a man with his cutlaſs, and therefore it was feared he might do ſome miſchief in the ſhip, being in that condition.

One morning before ſun-riſing, being near the coaſt of *Portugal*, we heard a canon fire, and the ſhot fell not far from us. I turned out to ſee what was the matter, and obſerved that captain *Joſeph*, brother to our captain, had put up the red antient, which was a ſignal of battle. Our captain took a proſpective glaſs to diſcover what it was that had occaſioned it, and a moment after told us his brother was miſtaken, and that thoſe ſails we diſcovered to the number of five hundred were fiſhing boats that ſail with any wind. The ſun riſing, it appeared he was in the right, and we per-

perceived without the help of a glaſs a prodigious number of boats covering all the coaſt. It is not to be admired that there is ſo much fiſhing, for moſt of the people in *Liſbon* eat fiſh at night, even upon fleſh days, which cauſes an infinite conſumption, and it is not ſold by weight, but by the barrel.

The author arrives at Lisbon. We arrived at *Caſcais*, a little town without the bar, and ſail'd on to fort S. *Julian*, where we fired ſo many guns that the report reached the city. Being come to the mouth of the river *Tagus*, we ſaw abundance of boats coming towards us, as well *Italians* as *Portugueſes*, that ſeemed to cover all the harbour; they were merchants and others who had ſome concern aboard us. I knew ſeveral who did not know me. They were ſurpriz'd to ſee me alive, after they had received an account that I was dead, and expreſſed much joy that the news had proved falſe. Having taken in pilots belonging to the port, as is the cuſtom, we came to an anchor juſt before his highneſs prince *Peter* then regent of *Portugal*'s palace, the king being ſent away to the iſlands *Terceras*. All that came aboard the ſhip had put on ſuch fine clothes, that I ſcarce knew them again. This they do at every port, being but meanly apparel'd, as long as they are at ſea. After my compliments to all thoſe who had been kind to me during the voyage, and particularly to our captain, I went aſhore to our convent, to expect ſome ſhip bound for *Spain*.

Imbarks again. It was not long before an opportunity offer'd: captain *Dominick*, a native of *Corſica*, who was deſirous to have a prieſt aboard him, came to offer me my paſſage in his ſhip, which was to ſail in company of two other, the *Loretto* and the *Princeſs*. His ſhip was called the *Paradiſe*, and it was too good an omen to refuſe to be chaplain to the *Paradiſe*. Several *Dominicans*, *Benedictines*, and other religious men went aboard with me, inſomuch that one ſaid, We were afraid we ſhould want a chaplain, but here are enough to keep a choir. However thoſe good religious men, who were very much afraid of death, were no ſooner under ſail, but they kept themſelves ſo cloſe under deck, that not one was to be ſeen. They admired that I being indiſpoſed, the ſea did me no more harm than if I had been aſhore: but I ſaid to them, Fathers, you need but go to the *Indies*, and then you will be no more afraid of the ſea than I am.

During this voyage I fell into diſcourſe with an *Iriſhman*, tho' he was a heretick, becauſe I found ſome diſpoſition towards gaining that ſoul to JESUS CHRIST, and the more becauſe he was of an inoffenſive nature. He obſerv'd what I did, eſpecially when I ſaid maſs, and was pleaſed to hear the truth; ſo that in a few days, with GOD's aſſiſtance, without which the endeavours of the ableſt men are uſeleſs, I brought him to waver in his opinion. He told me, he would have abjured in publick immediately, but that he would firſt go viſit a brother of his at *Cadiz* to receive abſolution. In fine, I was informed by him in that very town, that he was become a catholick, which nevertheleſs I would not publiſh, tho' I ſaw him more pleaſant than he uſed to be, fearing he might do this like many others, who ſometimes appear very zealous, and yet afterwards forſake the good way they were in. CARLI.

Though our ſhip was the biggeſt of the three our convoy conſiſted of, yet our captain had conſented that the captain of the *Loretto*, as being the elder, ſhould be commodore. One day we diſcovered a ſhip, and it being our captain's duty to know what ſhe was, he made all the ſail he could. We fetched her up in a quarter of an hour, and fired a gun without ball to make her ſtrike, as the ſtrongeſt uſually do. They inſtead of anſwering our expectation, crouded up all the ſail they could, as if they would fly, their veſſel being much leſs than ours; that made our captain ſuſpect they might be *Turks*, ſince they had put out no antient. He fired at them with ball, and put up the red antient, which made them anſwer with one gun but without bullet. Being very near, the captain made a trumpeter, who ſpoke ſeveral languages, hail them. He ſpoke to them in *French*, becauſe they had put up white colours, but we ſuſpecting it was a cheat, bid them ſend ſomebody on board. They launcht their pinnace, and the maſter came aboard, by whom we were informed that the imagined *Turk* was a veſſel laden with ſalt-fiſh from *Nantes*, and bound for the iſlands *Maderas*. They drank the healths of the moſt Chriſtian king, and the republick of *Genoa*, and every one made the beſt of his way.

Arrives at Cadiz. At laſt we came to an anchor in that great and noble port of *Cadiz*, one of the famouſeſt in *Europe*, full of an infinite number of ſhips, galleys, barks, caravels, tartans, and other veſſels, which I was aſſured at that time amounted to an hundred ſail. Juſt at the entrance of the harbour we ſaw twenty five ſhips of an extraordinary bulk. There is a continual reſort of ſhips from all parts of the world, even from the *Indies*; and it is uſual there to ſee thirty or forty ſail come in or go out in a day, as if they were but little boats. I went aſhore with an *Italian* gentleman, and ſome *Spaniſh* merchants, and we were all of us preſently ſtopt by the cuſtom-

CARLI. cuſtom-houſe officers: I gave an account of my ſelf, and ſo did the gentleman; but he added he was a ſoldier in the king's ſervice, and they let him paſs: the *Spaniards* ſaid ſo too, and we cauſed our goods to be loaded to go to our ſeveral homes. No ſooner were we in the town, but the chief officer of the cuſtom-houſe with his followers ſtopt the porters, and bid them carry the goods to the cuſtom-houſe. The *Spaniards* ſaid they were all cleared, and there was no need of further ſearch. The cuſtomer gave a ſurly anſwer; one word drew on another, ſo they came to ill language, and from ill language to blows. An hundred ſwords were drawn in a moment, but they were throng'd ſo cloſe together, that they fought with the points of their ſwords up, ſtriking one another with the pummels, and making ſuch a noiſe, that one would have thought they were going to cut one another in pieces. The duſt flew ſo thick there was no ſeeing one another, and the field of battel being near the harbour, the people ran thither in crouds, fearing there were many killed and wounded. There was much crouding to part the combatants, hearing their cries, and the clattering of their ſwords; but what abundance of rational ſober people could not do, was done in a moment by four drunken *Engliſhmen*, who, to make way to go to their ſhips, began to throw ſtones ſo furiouſly, that every man thought himſelf happy enough that his legs were ſound to run away. Thoſe who were fighting, not thinking it ſafe to ſtand that ſhower of ſtones, made their eſcape in an inſtant, ſome one way, and ſome another.

Sails again for Porto.

I repaired to our monaſtry, where my fever which had granted me no reſpite increas'd, and kept me in bed a month, being forced in that time to be ſix times blooded again, and that while our ſhips were gone. Before I could continue my journey into *Italy*, I took the opportunity of going to the ſhrine of S. *James* the apoſtle in *Galicia*, and to that purpoſe aſſociated my ſelf with a *Milaneſe* religious man of the third order of St. *Francis*, with whom I imbarked for *Porto*. A ſtormy ſort of gale carried us thither in a few hours, from thence we went by ſea to *Birona*, and from *Birona* with much difficulty afoot to *Compoſtella*, where we viſited the famous church of S. *James* the apoſtle. The canons of this church are all clad in ſcarlet, and called cardinals. They told us that none muſt ſay maſs at the ſaints altar, but prelates and grandees of *Spain*, for which reaſon the ſacriſtan would not permit us to ſay at the altar. The ſaint's ſhrine is placed on the altar, with his image upon it, ſo that the pilgrims who go thither for their devotion, aſcend four or five ſteps, and put their hat on the head of that effigies, which is clad like a pilgrim. There are abundance of ſilver lamps about it, but they are all black, as if they were of wood. Having ſaid a *Pater* and *Ave*, we went away; and the father told me, that if he had thought it was as he found it, he would never have come into the country. I lodg'd at a goldſmith's, who treated us at table with *Florence* wine, *Bolonia* ſauſages, and *Parmeſan* cheeſe; which made me admire that *Italian* wines and proviſions ſhould be found in ſo diſtant a country, and we may well ſay, it is the garden of the world.

Account of Compoſtella.

Takes ſhip at Corunna *for* Cadiz.

We had received information that at cape *Finiſterre*, there was a ſhip ready to ſail for *Cadiz*, which made us haſten our departure. Juſt as the captain was going into his boat to imbark, we got thither; and though I knew he was a heretick, I begged of him to give me my paſſage to *Cadiz* aboard his ſhip for GOD's ſake. He without anſwering made me a ſign to go into the boat, which when I had done, ſeeing he had not anſwered me, and perhaps becauſe he did not underſtand *Spaniſh*, I ſpoke to him in *Portugueſe*, then he anſwered I was welcome, and that he would not only carry me to *Cadiz*, but to *Sevil* if I would. I thanked him for his charitable offer: but my companion, who would have been glad to be in ſuch a habit as mine, was forced to pay for his paſſage. It was a great *Engliſh* man of war of ſeventy guns, and three hundred men, loaden with anchors, and other naval ſtores. It was bound by order of his *Britannick* majeſty to all the ports of *Spain*, to find out twenty four frigats belonging to that crown, ſent againſt the *Turks*, and was to furniſh them with what they wanted.

When we were out at ſea, I ſaw the captain with a proſpective glaſs endeavoured to diſcover ſome ſails that appeared at a great diſtance; after which he went into his cabbin, and talked to his officers in *Engliſh*, who went to give out orders, and preſently after the drums began to beat, and the ſoldiers to take their poſts. My companion and I gueſt they were making ready to fight, tho' we ſaw no ſhips, but they had ſeen them. We directed our courſe towards them, ſailing with a ſide-wind, and adding two ſmall ſails on the ſides of the main ſheet; ſo that having fourteen ſails abroad, we flew like the wind it ſelf, and cut the water in a moſt violent manner.

Within an hour we came up with the two ſhips the captain had deſcry'd, and they having put out no colours, he gave them a gun to bring them in; but they

A ſea-fight.

ſeeing they were two to one, and doubtleſs never imagining our ſhip was ſo well mann'd, anſwer'd with a bullet, and at the ſame time we heard from one of thoſe ſhips a confuſed noiſe of voices as it were of people that complain'd. Our captain ſaid he did not queſtion but one was a *Turkiſh* veſſel that had taken the other which was a Chriſtian, and it prov'd ſo. At the ſame time he furl'd his ſails, and gave them a broad ſide of twenty guns, which made ſuch a thundering as would daunt the braveſt heart. It was happy for us we had the wind, which carried all our ſmoke upon the *Turks*. Yet they fir'd like madmen from both ſhips, for the prize was mann'd with *Turkiſh* ſailors and ſoldiers, and the poor Chriſtians were forced againſt their will to help at the guns, the chief of them being put into irons. The cannonading continued an hour and a half, and not knowing what the event might be, the father of the third order and I confeſs'd to one another. He was vex'd at heart to be in that buſineſs, but I arm'd myſelf with patience againſt whatever might happen, whilſt no ball reached me.

Our captain perceiving the fight was like to hold, cauſed one of the enemies to be boarded, grapling with them to come to handy ſtrokes. Then it was we began to hear the groans and cries of the poor wounded men lying about the deck one upon another, and ſerving to ſhelter thoſe that fought. The attack was furious, and the reſiſtance vigorous; but the enemy being inferior in number, began to give way and yield. Our men without loſing time leap'd aboard, put the *Turks* in irons and ſet the Chriſtians at liberty, who took up arms to be revenged of the infidels, and to ſecure the liberty they had newly obtained. The other veſſel being left alone fled for it, but our brave captain ſoon had all things in order, and put men aboard the prize, which being leſs than his ſhip, could better purſue the other that fled, which being loaded with goods taken from Chriſtians was ſoon fetch'd up by the other we had taken, that had nothing aboard but proviſions and ammunition. They fir'd ſome guns, but perceiving our great ſhip came up and was within cannon-ſhot, yielded. The lieutenant, who had the command of the firſt given him, went to take poſſeſſion of the other, putting the *Turks* in irons, and releaſing the Chriſtians, who were in number fourſcore in all, ſailors, merchants and paſſengers, beſides twelve that were killed: of the *Turks* there were a hundred and thirty, the reſt being either killed or dangerouſly wounded.

The three ſhips drew cloſe together, and our captain ordered all the Chriſtians to be brought before him, who all knelt down to thank him for their deliverance out of the hands of thoſe barbarians: he aſked who was their captain; and a luſty man half ſtript told him in *Spaniſh* it was he; and afterwards in *Portugueſe*, which our captain underſtood better, gave an account how they had been taken: that ſailing from *Malaga* laden with wine, and being out of the ſtraits near cape S. *Vincent*, that *Turkiſh* ſhip, which carried no goods, but was well man'd with about two hundred and twenty five ſoldiers and ſailors, had attack'd him, and being much the ſtronger made themſelves maſters of his veſſel after ſome reſiſtance. The captain bid them go dreſs themſelves, and take poſſeſſion of his ſhip again, making the *Engliſh* come out. They return'd him abundance of thanks, and beg'd of him to convoy them to *Cadiz*, ſince he was bound thither as well as they, which our captain granted them. The *Engliſh* divided themſelves, ſome aboard our ſhip, and ſome aboard the *Turk*, put all things in order, and held on their courſe rejoicing that they had kill'd two birds with one ſtone, having taken the *Turk*, and delivered the *Spaniard*, among whom there were ſome *Neapolitans*, *Milaneſes* and *Flemings*.

CARLI.

As we proceeded on our voyage, making all the ſail we could, the ſky began to grow dark on a ſudden; and fearing ſome ſtorm was gathering, we lowered our ſails, which indeed was done juſt in time, for but a moment after the wind blew ſo outragiouſly that there was no keeping the ſhip to her courſe, but ſhe was left to the mercy of the wind. Then were there heard throughout the veſſel ſuch hollowing and calling as increaſed the terror of approaching death; yet the captain bid us fear nothing, for that the ſhip being new would certainly bring us off: however we did not ceaſe to offer up our fervent prayers. The father ſeeing we were every moment in danger of periſhing, told me we had done ill in going aboard thoſe hereticks, who are always under excommunication; but I anſwered, Thoſe who travel about the world muſt make a virtue of neceſſity. In the mean while the man at the topmaſt-head cried, land, land. The captain ran up, and perceived we were on the coaſt of *Barbary*, the ſtorm having carried us a great way up the *Mediterranean*; for which reaſon before any *Turks* might diſcover us, he gave orders to ſteer towards *Oran*, a ſtrong place belonging to the king of *Spain*. We got thither in leſs than an hour, the wind blowing ſo hard, and gave GOD thanks for delivering us from the *Turks*, the wind if we had not minded it carrying us directly to *Algier*.

Our

CARLI. *Arrives at* Oran *on the coaſt of* Africk.

Our captain went aſhore next morning with ſome of his officers and the *Spaniſh* captain; they went to the governor, and gave him an account of our fight, and he in the name of his Catholick majeſty thanked the *Engliſh*. This fortreſs ſeems to be of great conſequence, and in a manner impregnable: it is well provided with cannon, and very ſerviceable to Chriſtians when they are drove by ſtorms upon the coaſt of *Barbary*, there being no other place where Chriſtians can put in. Next morning the wind being fair, we weighed anchor, and ſoon arrived at *Cadiz*. I had thoughts of going aſhore to our monaſtery, but the captain told me, that he having ſome buſineſs at *Sevil* had hired a bark to go thither, and that if I pleaſed he would carry me in it for GOD's ſake, which made me not neglect ſo good an opportunity. I ſtaid about a day till he had diſpatched ſome buſineſs he had at *Cadiz*, and then we ſet out, carrying thirty men with us to row in caſe the wind failed us. We touched at S. *Lucar*, ſtaid there ſome hours, and having kept going all night, arrived at *Sevil*. I thanked him for ſo many favours I had received of him, declaring I was ſo much the more ſenſible of their greatneſs, becauſe I could not have received more from a catholick. He made me ſuch an anſwer, as implied that *Capuchins* were in good eſteem among them.

Comes to Sevil.

I went to our monaſtery, which is great conſidering our poverty, and has a conſiderable number of religious men. There I continued eight days, as well to reſt myſelf, as to ſee the town, which would not be unlike *Milan* were the ſtreets handſome and wide: The *dome* is nothing inferior to that at *Milan*, only that it is not of marble, but of a ſtone ſomewhat like, yet ſofter and eaſier to work. It is the cuſtom throughout all *Spain* to make their choir and high altar in the middle of the church, particularly in cathedrals, which is very inconvenient where there is a great reſort of people, tho' otherwiſe they are great and ſtately ſtructures. The ſteeple is ſo large and well built, that a man may go up to it a horſeback, or in a litter: Going up to it, I was ſurpriz'd to ſee ſo many bells, for there are no leſs than three and thirty. Whilſt we were there they came to ring them, and all being to ring but two or three that belong to the clock, we made haſte down for fear of being ſtunn'd with the terrible noiſe of their clattering: As ſoon as we were in the ſtreet, they began to ring with ſuch a noiſe, that it ſounded as if all the bells in the town had been rung.

I went to ſee the king's garden, which is fine enough, and has abundance of waterworks, orange and lemon trees, yet there is nothing in it but what we have in *Italy* in greater plenty. I viſited the convent of the *Recolets*, which is very large, but of an ancient ſtructure; there are in it above one hundred and fifty religious men, beſides thoſe in the infirmary. The bell they ring to call to the refectory is twice as big as that which ſerves our church. The canons of this city are very rich, and always go in coaches drawn by four mules: They then expected monſeigneur *Spinola* an *Italian*, who had the archbiſhoprick of that city conferred on him.

I ſet out from thence afoot for *Cordova*, paſſing through *Carmona*, and other ſmall places, of which I will give no account for fear of tiring the reader; yet I cannot forget the wretched road, where there is neither houſe nor tree, nor ſo much as water to cool ones mouth to be found. This made me provide a bottle of wine, which I had through the aſſiſtance of a gentleman I met on the road, who bought it for me, there being no hopes of having it given me for GOD's ſake by the inn-keeper. And were it not for people of quality that relieve us, it would be impoſſible for *Capuchins* to live upon charity according to their ways, the people being wholly ſtrangers to giving of alms. Being in a town where we have no convent, I beg'd ſome bread for GOD's ſake of a baker, which was ſo ſurprizing to him, that he ſtood in amaze like a man beſides himſelf: I left him and his bread, for fear if I ſhould beg any longer of him, he would be quite beſide himſelf. I continued my journey, begging of GOD that he would ſoon let me get out of a country where there was ſo little charity.

At Cordova.

Being come to *Cordova* I went to our monaſtry, where I was forced to be ſatisfy'd with the *Spaniſh* diſh they call *olla podrida*, ſignifying a rotten pot; which name is not improper, for it is an extravagant medly of ſeveral things, as onions, garlick, pumkin, cucumber, white beets, a bit of pork and two of mutton, which being boiled with the reſt are almoſt loſt. The fathers aſk'd me whether I liked it: I told them it was very fit to kill me, being as I was almoſt ſick, and ſo weak that I had need of ſome better reſtorative than that *podrida*, to which I was not us'd. They put ſo much ſaffron into it, that had I not been yellow enough already with my diſtemper, that alone might have been enough to dye my ſkin of that colour. It is a great dainty for *Spaniards*, but a ſcurvy meſs for thoſe that are not us'd to it.

A vaſt church.

The cathedral on the outſide look'd to me bigger than all the town, and I was not deceiv'd, for being in it, I was amaz'd

to

to behold a church ſo large, that from one ſide of it a man can ſcarce ſee the wall on the other; and were it proportionable in height, it would be one of the wonders of the world: There are on the inſide ten rows of pillars, and fifteen pillars in each row: The middle iſle is very ſpacious after the modern manner, and gilt about the high altar and choir. A canon told me there were in it three hundred and ſixty ſix altars; on the chief of them is a very large tabernacle all of precious ſtones, which has a revenue of three thouſand livres appropriated to it. In a large chapel there is a great ſilver *ciborium* that weighs ninety ſix ounces. I obſerved upon a pillar ſtanding by it ſelf, a man painted kneeling: They told me it was the picture of a Chriſtian who had been many years a ſlave in that town when it was in the poſſeſſion of the *Moors*, and had with his nails carved a croſs upon that pillar: It was ſhewed me, and a man would have thought it had been done with a penknife. I believe he was very long about it, for the pillar is very fine marble. This city is ſeated in a great vale, a river running by the walls; formerly it ran through the midſt of the city, which was then very large, but at preſent indifferent, and has in it nothing elſe remarkable that I know of.

Alcala. I ſet out for *Alcala la Real*, and met with ſome *Spaniards* who told me, that *Andaluſia* was the garden of *Spain*: Whereupon I ſaid to my ſelf, God keep me from the reſt of *Spain* if this be the garden, I had better return to ſea. That town ſtands upon a hill, and I ſaw nothing remarka-

Granada. ble in it. *Granada*, whither I went next, is a beautiful and very large city, but yet inferior to *Sevil*. Our fathers have two monaſtries there, one for a novitiate, the other to ſtudy: The palace of the *Mooriſh* kings, called the *Alhambra* ſtands upon a hill, which though very high has plenty of water. There are ſuch abundance of rooms in this palace, that a man may loſe himſelf, as if he were in a labyrinth. There are two baths where the *Moors* us'd to waſh themſelves, one of hot water, the other of cold: The cielings of the rooms are very curious, being made of a colour'd plaiſter that ſtill looks new. There is another hill on which the infidels did put holy martyrs to death, and where abundance of relicks are kept.

Lerenna. From *Granada* I went to *Lerenna*, the wine of which place is look'd upon to be the beſt in *Spain*, but the people ſpeak ſuch ill *Spaniſh*, that they are hardly to be underſtood: They call them *Biſcalins*. I held

Antequera. on my journey to *Antequera*, a town as big as a city. I reſted there eight days in one of our monaſtries, and the guardian who did me a thouſand good turns would have kept me there as long again. Thence I went to *Malaga*, which is an indifferent good ſea-port town, very populous, and full of trade. The archbiſhop is a dominican, brother to *Don John* of *Auſtria*: I was told his revenue was worth eighty thouſand ducats a year. CARLI.

I lay there waiting ſome opportunity of ſhipping, and finding my ſelf ſtill very ill, my bleeding at the noſe, ears and mouth not yet being over, I put myſelf into the hands of an *Engliſh* phyſician, who had ſo much ſucceſs as to mend my condition, for I bled only at the noſe: For eight days I was pretty well, and then relaps'd as bad as ever. After waitting ſome weeks, a very good opportunity offered: Six *Spaniſh* gallies returning from the ſtraits of *Gibralter*, came to an anchor in the port, to take in proviſions, and go winter at *Carthagena*: I apply'd my ſelf to the marqueſs of *Bayona* who commanded them, he was then called marqueſs *de Santa Cruz*, having reſigned the title of *Bayona* to his ſon, who is now general of the gallies of *Sicily*. That noble lord underſtanding I was an *Italian*, did not only grant me my paſſage, but would have me aboard his galley; and though I could ſpeak *Spaniſh*, would have me converſe with him in my mother tongue, becauſe he ſpoke *Italian* to perfection, having been formerly general of the gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The prieſt belonging to thoſe gallies having been left ſick at *Carthagena*, during our paſſage I had the poſt of chaplain, and confeſſor to his excellency. Spaniſh gallies.

Our voyage laſted fifteen days, and in that ſhort time I found what it was to be at ſea in gallies: I envy'd their happineſs who were aboard great ſhips, which are more commodious and expeditious than gallies. The bad weather made us put back three times; a calm enſuing, we made way with our oars; diſcovering a ſail by the moon-light, the oars were hard ply'd to fetch it up: when we were near, ſhe ſet up *Engliſh* colours, yet we hemm'd her in, and gave her a gun. She anſwered, and the captain launching his boat, came aboard his excellency. That veſſel appeared like a mountain to us that were aboard the gallies, the ſtern was all gilt; they were cruzing upon the *Turks*, whom they mortally hate: and did all princes follow their example, I believe thoſe wicked pirates would ſcarce ſhew their heads at ſea.

We held on our courſe to *Almeria*, Almeria.
where we continued two days laying in water and other freſh proviſions: The town is neither large nor populous, but ſeems to have been conſiderable in the

CARLI. time of the *Moors*, being encompaſs'd by mountains, and defended by a good fort: It is adorn'd with abundance of fountains of very pure water. As I was there quenching my thirſt proceeding from the fever and effuſion of blood, I heard the warning piece for ſailing, and returned aboard the gallies. We ſet out about night-fall, being ſaluted by the fort, and in our way took three *Turkiſh* brigantines; the men were diſtributed among the gallies, and the veſſels man'd with Chriſtians and *Turkiſh* ſlaves. At laſt we arrived at *Carthagena*, where is an excellent port formed by nature, ſhut in with mountains and very ſafe, eſpecially for gallies. The town ſeems to have been formerly conſiderable, but is at preſent the moſt wretched place in *Spain*; for after the inhabitants had ſtoned their biſhop, they were ſeven years without rain, but it ſeems GOD took compaſſion on them after that, for now it rains twice or thrice a year: However the country is barren, and they carry biſket thither out of *Italy* to maintain the people belonging to the gallies that winter there. Thence I went to *Caravaca*, where I ſaw the holy croſs brought by an angel from heaven, and ſet on an altar where a prieſt was saying maſs without a croſs. I went on to *Valencia*, a very fine city, delightful for its gardens, the pleaſanteſt of which is the archbiſhop's. Thence to *Murcia*, and *Alicant* a little town, but of good trade, the houſes high and well built: Having ſtaid there five days, I continu'd my journey through *Tortoſa* and *Tarragona*, where there is a beautiful dome, and then came to *Monſerratte*: This place inſpires reſpect, and draws tears from the eyes of thoſe who go thither with a ſpirit of devotion. There are as many chapels as myſteries of the holy roſary. One would think all the way to it was hew'd out, it being all through a rock. There is a very great number of ſilver and gold lamps, and ſome of amber, the ornaments of the altars being anſwerable to that grandeur. There are continually pilgrims on the road going thither, or returning from thence.

Carthagena.

Caravaca.

Valencia.

Murcia.

Alicant.

Tortoſa.

Tarragona.

Monſerratte.

From our lord of *Monſerrate*, I went to *Barcelona*, the capital city of *Catalonia*, and a biſhoprick: I reſided there ſix weeks, becauſe of a pain I felt, which made me unfit even to ride a horſeback. Three monaſteries we have there, are out of the town: That of *S. Matrona* is upon the ſide of a hill under the fort, and in the church is the body of that ſaint. The ſecond is that of *S. Eubalia*, where that ſaint's houſe ſtood, among the mountains two miles from the city, and that is the novitiate. The third is that of mount *Calvary*, not that it is ſeated on a mountain, but it is ſo call'd becauſe of three croſſes there are in it: To this it was I betook my ſelf, becauſe it is the greateſt, and has an infirmary. Thoſe *Catalonian* fathers receiv'd me with extraordinary civility, eſpecially when they underſtood I came from ſo far a country. The city is large and beautiful, abounding in all things neceſſary for human life, and would be the moſt conſiderable place in thoſe parts, had it a ſafe harbour for great ſhips. I took notice of the muſick they uſe upon rejoicings, for inſtead of violins at weddings they have fifes and trumpets, which make the church ſhake.

Barcelona.

During my ſtay at *Barcelona* there came thither one of our lay-brothers, whoſe name was *Peter de Seſſari*, from *Argier*, where he had been ranſom'd among other ſlaves by the catholick king: He had been taken ſix months before with *F. Luis* of *Palermo* in their way from *Clagiari* to *Saſſari*. Thoſe two *Capuchins* being carried to *Argier*, *F. Luis* found no difficulty to get his living by preaching, maſſes, and hearing confeſſions, and could beſides pay his maſter to whoſe ſhare he fell, ſo much a month as they agreed upon; for which reaſon he was not put to the oar, but was allow'd to go about the town freely: So when they were about ranſoming of him, his maſter ſet him at three thouſand ducats, whereas the brother was ſold for three hundred, being only fit for the oar; and it being eaſier to raiſe that ſum, he was firſt ranſom'd. I propos'd to him to go into *Italy*, and his head was ſo poſſeſs'd with his late misfortune, that he gave me to underſtand that his only deſign was to return home as ſoon as he could. We reſolved therefore to lay hold of the opportunity of a bark bound for *Sardinia*, the captain whereof, *D. Carlos de Piſa*, a very devout *Catalonian*, received us very courteouſly: we were two hundred and fifty ſouls aboard that bark, which ſet ſail with a fair gale. The wind being very briſk, we had made much way, and were entring the gulph of *Lions*, when the weather becoming boiſterous, it grew to one of the moſt terrible ſtorms imaginable, the waves toſſing our bark like a nut-ſhell, and mountains of water covering of it every foot. The diſorder, confuſion, and eſpecially the cries of the women terrify'd thoſe that were moſt inured to ſuch tempeſts. The worſt of it was, that the ſeamen could not hear one another with the noiſe of the ſea and of the paſſengers, which oblig'd the captain to draw his ſword to drive all thoſe under deck who could not help, but only ſerv'd to hinder the ſailors: All upon the deck and in the cabbin were wet; the veſſel ſeemed to be ready to overſet with the beating of the ſea, which drove

He ſails for Sardinia.

all

all the people to that ſide which inclined, when a wave ſtruck againſt it with ſuch violence that it broke the laſhings of one of the guns. The cannon being looſe ran down to the lower ſide with ſuch fury, and gave ſuch a ſhock, that it was a wonder the bark was not ſtaved: The noiſe it made increaſed the terror, which the darkneſs of the night ſpread. The ſailors wet and ſpent, reſolv'd to let the bark run before the wind, provided ſhe did not run aground. I thought with my ſelf, how comes it about that I who have twice croſſed the ocean, ſhould come now to be drowned in a puddle of water; for to ſay the truth, I never thought my ſelf ſo near being caſt away as that time, ſeeing one of the maſts ſpent, the ſails half rent, the bark battered, and the ſeamen all caſt down. This ſtorm laſted all night, ſo that we knew not whither we were going. About day-break the ſea ſeem'd to grow ſomewhat ſtiller, and the ſky clearing by the riſing of the ſun, we diſcovered mountains, which were not above a league from us, and found we were on the coaſt of *Spain* near cape *Gata*. So that perceiving I was drove back, and had in ſix hours ſpace loſt near as much ground as I made in ſix months, I reſolv'd to go no more to ſea. However we ſoon took heart, for whilſt we were making to ſhore, there ſtarted up ſuch a freſh gale from the north, that the pilot thought it would not be amiſs in ſome meaſure to regain the time and ground we had loſt. We bent our courſe for *Catalonia*, and in a few hours arrived at *Mattalona*, our pilot's native country.

Being come to an anchor, I landed with my companion whom I had not ſeen during the ſtorm, and went to reſt us at our convent, which ſtands on a hill without the town. I deſigned to have ſtaid there ſome time, but underſtanding the pilot would ſail up to *Ablana*, which is a better harbour, I ſuffered myſelf to be tempted to make uſe of that conveniency, being willing to put to ſea again, as ſoon as I was aſhore, becauſe of the diſtemper I ſtill laboured under. In a few hours we got to *Ablana*, and went to our monaſtery ſeated on a rock in a peninſula joined to the town by a ſmall neck of land; ſo that the ſea ſerves for an incloſure to the monaſtery and garden, which I thought the fineſt ſituation of any convent of our order, the air being very temperate. I acquainted my companion that I intended to ſtay there ſome time, in order to return home through *France*, a more worthy object for my curioſity than *Sardinia*. The crew of our veſſel, and particularly the officers, who were all *Italians*, hearing of it, came to confeſſion to me, expreſſing how much they were concerned that I ſhould leave them. They ſailing again for *Sardinia*, I reſted eight days in that delicious place, and then ſet out with two companions for *Girona*; ſo that I ſaw almoſt all *Catalonia*, which is a very fruitful country, and the people extraordinary well tempered. From *Girona* I went to *Higueras* on the borders of *Spain*; whence croſſing ſome mountains, I entered upon the earldom of *Rouſſillon*, and the firſt town of it called *Cerat*. CARLI.

From *Cerat* I went to *Touy* in the vale of *Perpignan*, and I remember I there paſs'd over a river upon a bridge, that has but one arch, the feet whereof reſt upon two hills, ſo that the middle of it is a prodigious height, and frightful to look down. They ſay there is not ſo high an arch in all *France*, and for my part I muſt own I have not ſeen any like it in all thoſe parts of the world where I have been. I ſaw all the country about full of ſoldiers; and aſking what might be the reaſon, was told, That country had once belonged to the crown of *Spain*; but being ſince under the dominion of *France*, and the price of ſalt being raiſed, the people had revolted; for which reaſon troops had been ſent thither from *Languedoc* to quell them. Rouſillon.

Perpignan, which I ſaw next, is a fort royal ſeated on a high rock, encompaſs'd by three lofty walls with good ditches, and well ſtored with cannon. To appearance it looks impregnable, yet the moſt Chriſtian king took it after a ſiege of eight months; which was the eaſier for him to do, becauſe there is a very populous town adjoining to the fort; for had it been a fort alone without a town, eight months had not been enough to ſtarve the place, where they might have laid up three years proviſion. Our monaſtery there is without the town. Perpignan

Having paſs'd the mountains, I came to *Narbonne*, through the midſt of which there runs a river that falls into the ſea a league off. The city is not large, but very populous, as are all the cities and towns in *France*. The churches are not beautiful, but there is ſuch a reſort of people to them, eſpecially upon holidays, that there is ſcarce room for the prieſt to turn himſelf at the altar. The prieſts of the church of S. *Juſtus* are habited like monks. The two ſteeples have a notable eccho, which is pleaſant to hear. Narbonne.

Next I ſaw the towns of *Languedoc* and *Provence* that lay in my road, whereof I ſhall ſay but little. *Beziers* ſtands on a hill in a delightful country, and well water'd, I went to the cathedral to ſee the archbiſhop *Monſignieur de Bonzy* a *Florentine*, but he was then abſent. He has been Beziers.

CARLI. ſince made archbiſhop of *Toloufe.* and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's ambaſſador at *Madrid.* Yet the king allows him the revenue of his biſhoprick, till it is beſtowed on another. In this church I took notice of a very large organ over the great gate, where there are only thoſe pipes that appear outward in ſight, the others being diſtributed by three and three among the pillars, which makes the church ſhake when they play, tho' it is extraordinary great, which is a notable piece of curioſity.

Toloufe. *Toloufe* is a city worth ſeeing, for the great number of relicks kept there, as alſo for its greatneſs, and the number of its inhabitants; which made me take care not to go by the churches when maſs or veſpers were ending, the throng being ſo great that it would have forced me back.

Agde. *Agde*, an antient town, where was held the council called *Agatenſe.* In our monaſtry, which is on the ſtrand, there is a miraculous image of our *Lady*; for the ſea having three times ſwelled up to the town, has never incroached ſince the image was placed there, but rather gone back, for which reaſon it is called *Noſtre Dame de Gué.*

Arles. *Arles*, an archbiſhoprick, and populous enough.

Martegues. *Martegues*, a place curious to behold, for it is divided into four hamlets built upon the ſea, with bridges from one to the other. We have two monaſtries, one at each end of the town; in one of which there are fourteen religious men, and twelve in the other; and there being none of any other order, they hear confeſſions there, as they do in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and ſome parts of *Italy.* The only ſupport of this town almoſt, is fiſhing, there being eight hundred tartans for this purpoſe, beſides a vaſt number of little boats that cover a great part of the ſea.

Aix. Marſeilles. Thence I went to *Aix* the capital city of *Provence*, and to *Marſeilles*, a conſiderable town, and of great trade, yet not ſo large as I had fancied it. The harbour is very handſome and ſafe, more eſpecially for barks and galleys, becauſe great ſhips cannot go in loaden. There I ſaw twenty five galleys laid up cloſe by one another, and in the midſt of them the royal galley, which all veſſels that come into that port ſalute with a gun. Her ſtern is finely carved, and gilt. True it is, ſhe is not ſo big as the royal galley of *Spain* I ſaw at *Carthagena*, which carried the empreſs: This town has three forts, of which the new one at the mouth of the harbour has three walls, and four on one ſide. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty has caus'd the wall that had encloſed the ſide next to the hill to be thrown down to enlarge its compaſs, which has brought our monaſtery into the town, and will make it much more conſiderable, being fill'd with a vaſt multitude of people of all nations: Several bodies of ſaints, and abundance of relicks are to be ſeen there, particularly S. *Andrew*'s croſs. I went to ſee the churches of S. *Maximin* and S. *Beaume*; they are places that inſpire devotion, and draw tears from the hardeſt hearts.

I took ſhip for *Ciotat* and *Toulon.* This Toulon. is an indifferent town, but the port very conſiderable, and capable of receiving any number of the biggeſt veſſels: I ſaw the royal *Luis*, which muſt be finiſhed by this time, and carries a hundred and twenty guns; it has three galleries, and the ſtern all gilt, as are the ſides, head, and cabbins. The gilder that was about it told me they had already laid out three thouſand crowns in leaf-gold. I took the opportunity of a veſſel bound for *Savoya:* The firſt day we ſail'd right afore the wind, and at night put into S. *Trompes*; but the next day the bad weather forced us into a place where there were but two houſes, at a great diſtance from the city *Graſſe*, which ſtands Graſſe. on a hill encompaſſed by other hills, ſo that we could ſcarce ſee it at ſea, and therefore we muſt either go thither, or ſtarve. Finding myſelf ſomewhat hot of that which the phyſicians at *Marſeilles* called a *Hectick Fever*, making me unfit to travel, I lay down to ſleep under a tree, but hunger would not ſuffer me to cloſe my eyes. Being thus weary of my ſelf, and not able to go to *Graſſe* as the others did, I knew not what courſe to take, when GOD, who has always reliev'd me in diſtreſs, as I have often found by experience in my travels, ordained that I ſhould meet a perſon that to me ſeem'd of ſome note, and ſaid to me, father, what do you here all alone? My diſtemper, ſaid I, which you may diſcern by my looks, has made me ſtay here; but at preſent hunger torments me more than my fever. He anſwer'd, I am come in that cover'd felucca you ſee near that rock, and it is mine; I have caught ſome pilchers, if you pleaſe we will ſup together. The offer was very pleaſing to me, as any man may imagine, and ſo I follow'd him very readily. We went into the felucca, where two ſeamen had made all ready. How ſhall we do, ſaid he, for we have no bread but biſket? Any thing is good in a time of need, ſaid I, and I have been often without either bread or biſket. That good man talk'd to me in *Portugueſe*, which I admir'd, being ſo far from that country, and therefore I aſk'd him whether he was a *Portugueſe.* He told me he was not, but that he had been there ſometimes.

A ſtrange ſtory.

We

We began to eat and drink, without regarding that the ſun ſhined violent hot in our faces, hunger making me lay about me, and giving an excellent reliſh to any ſort of meat. Having eaten, and given thanks to Almighty GOD, we walk'd along the ſhore diſcourſing together: I ſtep'd forwards alone to ſee a dolphin that made a noiſe in the water, as if he had been fighting with another fiſh, and was buſy throwing ſome ſtones at him. When I had done, I look'd about and found that good man did not follow me, which made me turn back for fear he ſhould be gone before I could return him thanks; but I ſought him in vain, nor could I diſcover the felucca. I went back to the place where it lay, and ſaw nothing, which put me almoſt beſide my ſelf. And indeed when I reflect upon it, I cannot tell what to think. One thing I know, which is, that having carefully examin'd thoſe that were left aboard our brigantine, whether they had ſeen that felucca that came to the ſhore with three men in it; they anſwer'd, they had ſeen no creature, tho' they had been all the while aſhore fiſhing in that little creek. I held my peace, and in my heart thank'd GOD, the ſource of all that is good, for that he had been pleas'd, without any deſert of mine, to relieve me in that diſtreſs, into which I was fallen for his ſake. Whether it was by the hands of a man, or of an angel, I could not tell, but I felt an unſpeakable comfort; and ſuch it was, that had my health permitted, I ſhould have certainly returned to *Congo*, ſince I could ſtill make uſe of my miſſioner's patent which was not yet expired.

Next day we went aboard, and ſailing before the wind, arriv'd near to *Nice*; but the port not being ſafe, went on to *Villafranca*, where I went to our monaſtery, which looks like a paradiſe amidſt ſo many high mountains, and ſo many uncouth rocks. Three days after I ſet out aboard a *Genoeſe* galley, which carried me ſafe to *Monaco:* This is a place of conſiderable ſtrength, very pleaſant and delightful. Thence I took the opportunity of a brigantine bound for *Savona*; but we had like to have periſh'd in a ſtorm, and were forced back. I would not truſt the ſea again, after finding it ſo mercileſs and uncertain, for fear, leſt after ſo many dangers as I had gone through, I ſhould at laſt be ſhipwrack'd in the very harbour. I thought the land would me more favourable to me, and making ſhort journeys, took my way through *Menton S. Remy*, which is as it were the paradiſe of *Italy*, *Savona*, *Seſtri di Ponente*, and *Genoa*. In the monaſtery call'd the *Conception*, which is without that city, I expected my ſuperior's orders having ſent them an account of my return. A violent fever which held me forty days, had like to have done the work, a hectick fever could not perform in three years. It was a comfort for me to be among my acquaintance, who did me abundance of favours. CARLI.

During that time brother *Michael de Orvietto* came to *Genoa* from *Congo*, being ſent to *Rome* by the ſuperior, to repreſent to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, to what a low condition that miſſion was reduced, moſt of the miſſioners dying in a ſhort time, and only three remaining in the whole kingdom. He brought us news of the death of *D. Alvaro* king of *Congo*, and the election of another as devout as he. Beſides, he told us that the *Blacks* had eaten F. *Philip de Galeſia*, a miſſioner of the province of *Rome*, which happen'd in this manner: The great men having obtain'd leave of the king to burn ſuch ſorcerers as they could find, went to a place where they knew they were got together, and ſet fire to their cottages. As ſoon as the flame began to riſe, and meeting with F. *Philip* in their way, fell upon, kill'd, and eat him; which the *Blacks* who purſued them ſaw by the light of the flames, and carried the news to S. *Salvador*. This happen'd in the province of *Sonde*, where a duke who is the king's ſubject reſides. *A* Capuchin *eaten by the* Blacks.

Contrary to all expectation I recovered, and paſſing through *Piacenza*, came to *Bononia*, where, GOD be praiſed, I am at this time with ſome relicks of my diſtemper, left me by the great fatigues of my travels, thinking my time well enough ſpent, if but one of two thouſand ſeven hundred children and youths I baptized, obtains ſalvation through my miniſtry. F. *Michael Angelo*, before he departed this life, told me he had baptized three hundred and ſixteen; and it is no wonder we ſhould baptize ſo many in ſo ſhort a time, the people being innumerable. A *Black* told me, that a *Macolonte* had got fifty two children upon ſeveral women. GOD of his mercy preſerve thoſe that for the future ſhall be appointed for this miſſion, for fear if they fail, all thoſe people ſhould turn *Pagans*. Be it all to the glory of GOD, whoſe judgments are incomprehenſible, and the means he uſes for our ſalvation various and wonderful in all reſpects. I deſire the readers to pray for thoſe poor converted *Ethiopians*, that they may perſevere in the faith of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and that we may all together attain to our deſired port of the kingdom of heaven. *Amen.*

A

VOYAGE

TO

CONGO,

AND SEVERAL OTHER

COUNTRIES

CHIEFLY IN

SOUTHERN-AFRICK.

By Father *Jerom Merolla da Sorrento*, a *Capuchin* and Apoſtolick Miſſioner, in the Year 1682.

Made Engliſh *from the* Italian.

The Author's Preface.

THE author of our ſalvation *Chriſt Jeſus*, the only begotten Son of God, deſcending from the boſom of his Father to viſit our tottering manſions here on earth, never had greater deſires than to teach us by his word and works the ſecure and infallible way to heaven, and thereby to deliver us from the horrid and deplorable ſlavery deſigned us by the devil and his miniſters; and wherein we were all miſerably involved by the ſin of our firſt parents. Hence it is, that after his moſt glorious aſcenſion he commanded his diſciples to go preaching his moſt holy word thro' all the habitable parts of the earth; and that in defence thereof, if neceſſity ſo require, they ſhould be ready to ſhed their deareſt blood, which all the apoſtles and martyrs have accordingly done in obedience to his moſt holy commands, and for the good and propagation of the only true catholick church. Now, becauſe the preaching of this word of God to a people that were wholly ignorant thereof before, was one of the greateſt of ſpiritual undertakings, father *Francis da Montelione*, a *Capuchin* frier and native of the province of *Sardinia*, determined to go to *Congo*, and other neighbouring kingdoms, to expoſe his life for that purpoſe; and the rather by reaſon that thoſe people, eſpecially the *Giaghi*, were ſo far from paying any adoration to the true God, that they ſacrificed directly to the devil; and what is yet worſe, their oblations were not ſheep and oxen, but men and women. Being thus earneſtly reſolved, this *frier*, enflamed ſolely by fervent charity, requeſted of the ſacred college *de propaganda fide*, permiſſion for himſelf and his companions to effect what he had thus propoſed; and to the end he might not be thought to have any regard to ſelf-intereſt, he profered to go *gratis*, thereby depriving himſelf of what had always been accuſtomed to be given by that college to *miſſioners*, and truſting entirely to Divine Providence for ſupport. Having obtained leave for himſelf, he further begged of the ſaid college that I might go as his companion, which being likewiſe granted, I accepted the honour and great favour done me, tho' I was but little capable of ſo difficult an undertaking, either in reſpect of my health or ability. What follows is the product of ſome few years obſervations in thoſe parts, which, tho' ſhort and imperfect, yet I aſſure my readers is wholly true, and that eſpecially which I have affirmed myſelf to have been an eye-witneſs of.

Authori pro Argumento Operis.

QUISQUIS amat Congi *fines peragrare nigrantes,*
Africæ & Æthiopum *cernere regna, domus;*
Æthram flammantem, multiplex clima locorum,
Diverſum tegmen corporis, atque togas;
Quadrupedum variam ſobolem, variumque ferarum
Ortum, ſerpentum lethiferumque genus;
Nubivagas acium turbas, volucreſque loquaces,
Fluminis, & ponti ſquamigerumque pecus;
Obliquos amnes, jucundo murmure rivos
Currentes, vaſtos æquoreoſque ſinus;
Arboreos fœtus, ridentes gramine ripas,
Plantarum ſylvas, fructiferumqne nemus;
Multiplices fructus, epulas, eſcaſque, ciboſque,
Quas humus Europæ *fundere noſtra nequit;*
Affectus, mores, naturas, prælia, ritus,
Facta, gubernaculum, jus muliebre ſimul;
Eventus, caſus, præſtantia mira ſtuporem,
Auribus ac menti, luminibuſque ſuis.
Perlegat hunc librum, quæ dixi namque videbit,
Ut propriâ ſpectans luce MEROLLA *refert.*

Fr. Angelus de Neap. Piccardus.

A Voyage to CONGO, *&c.*

PART I.

The author ſets out, 1682.

ON the fifth of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1682. and under the pontificat of his holineſs pope *Innocent* XI. we ſet ſail from *Naples* in a felucca for *Corſicá* and *Sardinia*, and arrived at *Baſtia* the capital city of the former, on *Whitſunday*; where meeting with a *Genoeſe* ſhip ready to go for the ſalt-pits, the wind being favourable, we immediately went on board her, and ſoon came up with a large *Genoeſe* ſloop with only three men on board. We haled her, and begged of the maſter to tranſport us miſſioners to the bay of *Algheri* in *Sardinia*, whither we were bound in queſt of ſome of our companions. Our requeſt being readily granted, we exchanged our veſſel, and coaſted along the iſland, often endeavouring to enter the bay; but the wind proving contrary, were as often forced back to ſea. We had recourſe to our prayers, becauſe in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions: however the Divine Providence, that orders all things for the beſt, ſaw it not convenient that we ſhould be ſo heard as to land where we deſired; and therefore inſtead of ſuffering us to proceed on our voyage, we were driven back to a ſmall port near the point. Here my companion being well acquainted with the country, would needs go aſhore and climb a ſmall mountain, intending to beg a lamb for charity of any ſhepherd he could meet: as ſoon as he had reached the top, he began to call out to us below with great earneſtneſs, requiring us ſpeedily to come up to him; where when we came, we plainly perceived that had we turned the point, we had infallibly fallen into the clutches of a *Turkiſh* corſair that lay there upon the catch. To be the better convinced of this, we took our glaſſes, and found what he ſhewed us to be real; beſides that, ſome coral barks he had chaſed aſſured us of the truth of it. Then began our maſter to lift up his hands to heaven, and to offer up acknowledgments with a flood of tears to St. *Francis* for having delivered both him and his companions from ſo imminent a danger on our account.

A great Providence.

Stay at Corſica.

The night following the pirate being wholly out of ſight, and we probably out of danger, we went again on board our MEROLLA
ſloop to proſecute our interrupted voyage. In few hours after arriving at *Algheri*, we ſaw near an hundred *Genoeſe* barks fiſhing for coral, which it ſeems greatly abounds in thoſe ſeas; as alſo for tunny-fiſh, and ſeveral other ſorts, whereof there is great plenty. At our landing in the bay, we immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the father guardian of our monaſtery, to acquaint him that we were come aſhore, and to deſire of him to ſend us a horſe to carry our baggage to the convent. Inſtead of a horſe he ſent an ox, that being the beaſt of burden commonly made uſe of in this country. This ſeemed very ſtrange to me, eſpecially when I underſtood that he was likewiſe a pad upon occaſion, and all this by reaſon of the extreme ſmallneſs of their horſes. Which I was the more eaſily induced to believe, when ſome *Portugueſe* gentlemen told me, that the ſame was done in the iſland of *Cabo Verde*, ſubject to them, where there was a breed between oxen and ſhe-aſſes, which they compaſſed by binding a freſh cow's hide upon the ſhe-aſs, and this to the end that the cattle bred of them might be expeditious. The conſideration whereof I refer to philoſophers.

Civility of a biſhop.

In this city I ſtaid about a month waiting for my companion, who was gone about the iſland in ſearch of the other miſſioners, who were to go with us to the kingdom of *Congo*. During my ſtay, the biſhop of the dioceſs made a ſolemn entry into the city, and ſhewed himſelf to be much devoted, and well affected to our order; for the next day after his arrival at his palace, he came to our convent to viſit us. Moreover on the feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, the patron of our church, he aſſiſted with us at maſs. Likewiſe as a farther inſtance of his favour, having been informed by ſome of our brothers, that I was going on a miſſion to the *Southern Africk*, without any extraordinary proviſion of neceſſaries: he gave me a letter of recommendation to ſeveral of his friends in *Spain* to ſupply me with what I wanted. Which kindneſs of his, as it happened, was of no uſe to us, becauſe we touched at no port in *Spain*.

My

MEROLLA *Departure*

My companion returning, brought along with him only one frier, named father *Francis da Bitti* a preacher, the reſt having been detained by ſome buſineſs. All things being now diſpatched here, and finding a ſhip of *Provence* ready in the harbour, we immediately imbarked and ſailed towards that country. The captain being nephew and brother to two of our order, uſed us very courteouſly, not only while we were on board him, but after our landing, inviting us to his houſe, where we ſtaid for ſome time. And to complete his civility towards us, underſtanding that the king of *Portugal*'s fleet waited at *Villafranca* to carry his royal highneſs the duke of *Savoy* to *Portugal* (whither he was going to ſolemnize his nuptials with the *infanta* of that kingdom) he would needs take a felucca at his own charge to conduct us to that port, where we ſoon after arrived, and were received with great joy and civilities by the *Portugueſe* commanders, telling us, that if we could not find conveniences elſewhere in their ſhips, we might oblige them in accepting of their own cabbins.

Land at Villafranca.

Our ſuperior father *John da Romano* coming from *Genoa*, with father *Amedeo da Vienna*, and a ſecular prieſt of *Piedmont*, we all ſix went aſhore to a convent of our order, where we remained three months, and had every week a charitable ſubſiſtence of two weathers, a ſmall caſk of wine, and ſufficient bread ſent us by thoſe gentlemen, beſides other preſents made to the monaſtery on our account.

The delay the fleet made to ſet ſail laſted in all ſix months, and which was occaſioned by the duke of *Savoy*'s falling ſick, and growing worſe every time he reſolved upon his departure; which politicians tell us happened through the Providence of God, and for the benefit of *Italy*.

Voyage continued.

Not before the 4th of *October*, being the feaſt of our glorious patron St. *Francis*, did the fleet put to ſea, the wind north. For our better accommodation our ſuperior had ordered our company to go but two in a ſhip. Himſelf and his *Piedmonteſe* companion went on board the admiral, the count of St. *Vincent* commander. I and father *Amedeo* were in the ſhip called the *Fiſcal*, commanded by ſignior *Gonſalo de Caſta*; and the other two in *Don Lewis Lobo*'s ſhip, named the St. *Benedict*. This laſt perſon had been vice-roy of the kingdom of *Angola* in *Ethiopia*. His ſingular piety and kindneſs to us was ſo remarkable, that I cannot omit giving one particular inſtance of it. The firſt of *November* being come, when we were to bid a farewel to fleſh, and the land of *Portugal* being in view, but which we could not reach that day, he ſent a boat aſhore on purpoſe to fetch us refreſhment, to the end we might paſs the laſt day of our carnival with the greater ſatisfaction.

Arrival at Lisbon.

On the ſecond of *November*, being *All-Souls* day, we entered the port of *Liſbon* about ſun-ſet. The waters here are a proportionable mixture of ſalt and ſweet; the latter being plentifully poured out by the river *Tagus*, ſo famous for its golden ſands, and not unlike the *Lydian Pactolus*, according to *Juvenal* and others.

Quod Tagus, *& rutilâ* Pactolus *volvit arenâ.* Juvenal.
Hîc certant Pactole *tibi* Duriuſque Taguſque. Sil. Ital.
Quod ſuo Tagus *amne vehit, fluit ignibus aurum.* Ovid.

Landing.

Here we were obliged to make uſe of a pilot (this port being near as dangerous as the *Fare* of *Meſſina*) and that by the king's orders, to prevent any more wrecks, too many having happened here already. This kindneſs is uſed towards friends, but as for enemies they are left to the mercy of many ſharp rocks, and of ſeveral well fortified caſtles and forts.

Our veſſel coming to an anchor, we entered our boats and landed, not at the uſual place *Belem*, or *Bethlehem*, by reaſon of the too ſwift eddy that ran there, but at the palace royal between the hours of one and two at night. Not knowing the way to our monaſtery, we endeavoured to get a guide, but there was none to be had, tho' a religious man that came with us, and was well provided, offer'd a conſiderable reward to any that would ſhew us the way. At laſt a *Negro* native of *Congo* conducted us *gratis*, proteſting the many favours and civilities his countrymen had received from the religious men of our nation moved him to it. As ſoon as we came to the monaſtery, after ringing the bell our guide was ready to be gone: we entreated him to accept of ſome reward, or at leaſt of a glaſs or two of wine for a refreſhment; but tho' the people of that nation are immoderate lovers thereof, yet could he not be prevailed upon to accept of a drop, which made me have a more than ordinary affection for the people of *Congo*.

Short deſcription of the city.

Whilſt I was at *Liſbon* I viſited the houſe where St. *Anthony* of *Padua* was born: it is now converted into a church, and though rich in reſpect of its ornaments, is good in regard of its ſtructure, being both low, and built in the angle of a ſtreet. I viſited likewiſe the parochial church and font of baptiſm of the ſame ſaint: the church is now called St. *Engraca*, which after it had been many years building with a vaſt expence, fell down, and was at this time erecting again. I likewiſe paid my devotion

tion to the convent of the *Canoni Regulari*, amongſt whom St. *Anthony* lived for ſome time, and whoſe ſtatue in the habit of this *order*, is placed over their high altar. Their church is alſo the chapel royal, and the burying-place of the kings, and of ſeveral heroes of *Portugal*.

Trade. I ſhall not buſy myſelf in any farther deſcription of this famous city of *Liſbon*, its worth being already ſufficiently known, and its ſituation admired. I ſhall only add, that its port is ſo large that it runs out thirty miles in length, though the bay before the city is but ſix miles over, and that its cuſtom-houſe is conſiderably employed with entries of pearl, incenſe, and ebony, from *Arabia*, of rubies and emeralds from *Bengala*, of caſſia and amber-greaſe from *Ethiopia*, of cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs from the *Moluccoes*, of ſlaves, ivory and civet from *Congo* and *Angola*, of great varieties of ſilk and linen from *India*, of ſugars, tobacco, and ſeveral ſorts of wood from *Braſil*, and of divers commodities from other places, which I have neither room nor leiſure to enumerate here.

Uneaſineſs to be gone. Not having ſpent above a month in this city, I looked out every day for a ſhip to proceed onward on my voyage: for this purpoſe, I addreſt myſelf to a captain of a ſhip, and deſired of him to let me go as his chaplain to *Braſil:* he told me he could not accept of me as a chaplain, having one aboard him already, but go with him I might if I pleaſed as a paſſenger. I thanked him kindly for his proffer, but withal acquainted him, that my *ſuperior* had commanded me to go in no other capacity; and ſo I took my leave of him.

Accept a profer. It happened a little after that another ſhip bound for *Braſil*, having paid off her chaplain and left him aſhore, ſet ſail with all imaginable expedition; but ſhe had not been many days at ſea before ſhe was toſſed with ſo violent a tempeſt, and threatened ſo many ways with deſtruction, that ſhe was glad of a turn of wind to drive her back again to *Liſbon:* the captain vowing never to ſail again without his ſpiritual guide at whatever rate. Upon his landing therefore, being acquainted that ſome of us had a mind to go for *Braſil*, he courteouſly received and promiſed me all the accommodation his veſſel could afford, my companions being already provided. This coming to the firſt captain's ear whom I before had applied myſelf to, he began, with what reaſon I know not, to be in a great paſſion, affirming that I ought not to have promiſed another, ſince he had firſt profered to carry me. The cauſe of this ſtickling about us I gueſſed to be by reaſon that we were to do our office at eaſier rates, for *Capuchins* are to have only their table free: when by the laws of *Portugal*, a prieſt or other religious perſon is to have not only his diet, but likewiſe a ſtipend of ſo much a month, and when he comes to land muſt have moreover a houſe hired for him, and three *carlino's* a day allowed him. This put the captain into ſuch a paſſion, that he threatened to challenge him that had taken me aboard, and would have done it had not all the reſt blamed and condemned his proceeding. MERULLA

Goes on board. The firſt of *December* we went on board, but for want of a wind could not ſail till the eighth, being the feaſt of the *immaculate conception:* we were in all five ſhips, in two of which went our other two companions, father *Amedeo da Vienna*, and father *Francis da Bitti*. Having left *Liſbon*, I wafted a farewel ſigh towards the beautiful and happy *Europe*, and immediately after we fell into the gulph of *Mares*, ſo called from the furious agitation of its waves. We had now over againſt us the iſland of *Madera*, which before its being inhabited was all over woody, and thence had its name *Madera*, in *Spaniſh* ſignifying wood, but after being diſcovered it was by fire rendered exceeding fertile. Its preſent inhabitants have a more than ordinary deſire to a convent of our *order* among them; but for want of religious men thoſe pious inclinations have been laid aſide. I am very ſure that a gentleman of that iſland came once to *Liſbon* on purpoſe to ſolicite that affair with the king of *Portugal*, at the requeſt of the devout inhabitants.

Courſe of ſailing. From *Madera* to the iſland of *Palma* are threeſcore and ten leagues: this *Palma* is one of the *Canaries*, and whither we muſt go from *Madera* with a ſtrong convoy to prevent pirates: from thence we may ſail forward unguarded without any fear of danger. Thoſe that are bound for *Braſil* ſteer towards the height of *Cape Verd*, ſituate in fourteen degrees of north latitude, and diſtant from *Palma* about two hundred and ſixteen leagues. Sailing near three hundred leagues more, you come into the torrid zone, and have the ſun perpendicularly over your head. Hence the latitude of either *pole* is reckoned by degrees, each of which is generally computed at ſixty leagues; but becauſe the degrees may differ in many reſpects, I ſhall leave their number of leagues undetermined.

Great heat. Our voyage now was ſo proſperous, that every ſhort ſpace of time we found ourſelves conſiderably advanced: but notwithſtanding the many briſk gales of wind we had, the heat, by reaſon of the propinquity of the ſun, was ſtill prevalent; and though we were in the midſt of winter, made us conſiderably ſweat and languiſh. At length by the grace of GOD we paſſed the

MEROLLA the *equinoctial*, when it has often happened that others have been kept under it for ſome time with no ſmall prejudice to their health, and frequent danger of their lives.

Ceremony among mariners. I think I ſhall not much interrupt the thread of my relation, if I mention here a certain ceremony uſed by the mariners the day they cut the *line*. A ſort of court is erected among them, and by conſent of the commanders: then two judges dreſſed accordingly ſit at a table, where they take full cognizance of all ſuch as have not yet paſt the *line*; thoſe they find, they upbraid with having lived ſo many years, and not having yet cut the *line*; and then, as if it were a great crime, they mulct them according to their quality: ſuch as are not ready to pay their fines, or at leaſt willing to offer ſomething, are ſeized in a trice, and by a rope about their middles hauled up to the main-yard-arm, whence they are let thrice ſucceſſively into the ſea. From this puniſhment or a fine none are exempt, and 'tis ſaid that with the latter they maintain a church.

Devotion. Whilſt the winds gently played their parts, we now began to devote ourſelves to ſpiritual exerciſes, continually celebrating maſs; morning and night we ſung the *Roſary*, and in the evening the *Litany*. On holidays we had always a ſermon preached by one or other of us. Our ſhip was dedicated to our Saviour, the bleſſed Virgin, and St. *Joſeph*, which made us to celebrate the Holy Nativity with more than ordinary ſolemnity. Thoſe merchants that were on board us not only adorned the altar with the richeſt things they had, but likewiſe hung the outſides of our ſhip with ſeveral carpets and rich clothes, the air being at that time ſerene, and the ſea calm. Having juſt then finiſhed my *lent*, and it happening to to fall out on a friday, when we were obliged to faſt by the rules of our *order*, Providence ſo ordered it, that that very night a flying fiſh of a conſiderable bigneſs darted againſt our ſails, and dropt down into our ſhip: this fiſh with a great deal of pleaſure our captain preſented me, and which was received with no ſmall thanks by me; for GOD knows how much I had ſuffered during that whole courſe of my abſtinence, fleſh being the only proviſion of our ſhip, and my conſtant diet boiled lentiles, biſket, and ſtinking water. The difficulty of getting fiſh I believe was partly contrived by the ſeamen on purpoſe to make me break my *lent*, they having often told me, that in ſuch long voyages as this, there was no obligation to abſtain from fleſh; but I thank GOD, notwithſtanding their opinion, I ſtill perſevered in my duty.

A Providence.

A wonderful ſtar. On twelfth-day about two in the morning, we diſcovered a ſtar ſo large and luminous, as is almoſt incredible to believe: the captain declared he had never ſeen the like, though he had ſailed thoſe ſeas forty times. This, ſaid others, may probably be that guide which on this day conducted the *magi* to *Bethlehem*. But for my part, I am of opinion it was no other than the planet *Jupiter*.

Fiſhing. During all this time we had but only one calm half day, and that the captain propoſed to ſpend in fiſhing. Here it is moſt wonderful, that having caſt the lead in that vaſt ocean, and ten degrees from the line, we found but ninety foot water. Among other fiſh we took one called the *dorado* or *gilt-fiſh*, and truly not without reaſon, having perfect rays of gold on his back, and being moreover excellent meat. This ſeems to me to be the fiſh *Martial* ſpeaks of in his thirteenth book, where he ſays,

Non omnis pretium laudemque aurata meretur.

The prey this fiſh moſt delights in is the flying fiſh, with which theſe ſeas greatly abound, and which is like to our ſea-ſwallows, and unlike them only in that it has a blue back: the flying fiſh has this particular unhappineſs, that it is neither ſafe in the air nor in the ſea, being perſecuted by the birds in the former, and by the golden fiſh in the latter.

Arrival in America. On the ſeventeenth of *January* we arrived at *Baia*, or the city of *San Salvador* in *Braſil*, ſituate in thirteen degrees of ſouth latitude. The port of this city is not a little remarkable, whether it be for its capaciouſneſs, or its ſecurity for ſhipping, the latter being occaſioned by two mountains on either ſide the entrance of it, as likewiſe by its diſtance from the ſea.

Landing in Braſil. At our landing we met a widow carried in a net with a pole through it on the ſhoulders of two black ſlaves, with mourning clothes wrapped about them, and the net covered with a quilt, at the four corners whereof marched four women ſlaves. This at firſt ſight being a thing new to me, I took to be a corps going to be buried, and upon enquiry found it to be a *Portugueſe* widow. I thereupon demanded, *Why being a Chriſtian ſhe had not a croſs carried before her*; and immediately out of pure charity and devotion fell to ſaying the *de profundis* for her ſoul. This occaſioned an immoderate laughter in the ſtanders-by, who began to gather about me, whilſt I hanging down my head, and perceiving my miſtake of a living woman for a dead, was glad to ſteal off as faſt as I could.

Way of travelling The ordinary ſort of theſe nets I ſpoke of have only one pillow or cuſhion in them whereon either to lie or ſit: thoſe for the women have a carpet under to ſit on, and another

another over; and the women ſlaves, whom they call *Mocommas*, being the ſame that wait on them in their chambers, walk by their ſides. The richer ſort of people have theſe coverings like to the tops of coaches, with curtains on each ſide, but then the nets change their names to *palangas*, and are much in uſe, not only in *Braſil*, but likewiſe all over *Ethiopia*.

Deſcription of the chief-town. This city of *Baia* or *San Salvador* is the metropolis of all *Braſil*, and has both a governor equal in power to a viceroy, and an archbiſhop. The ſhores of this kingdom are chiefly inhabited by *Portugueſes*, beginning at the river *della Plata*, and extending to that of the *Amazons*, as likewiſe up as far as poſſible into the country. Beyond the natives have their reſidence.

Traffick. The principal traffick here is for tobacco and ſugars, of which every year great quantities are fetch'd away by the *Portugueſe* ſhips, and that not only from this city, but likewiſe down the rivers of *San Franciſco* and *Janciro*.

Sugar-works. To uphold the ſugar-works a vaſt number of ſlaves is required as well to plant and cultivate the canes, as to provide ſufficient fuel for the prodigious furnaces that are employed both night and day: Some there are who have no leſs than five hundred ſlaves for this purpoſe, and whoſe labour is ſo hard, and their ſuſtenance ſo ſmall, that they are reckoned to live long if they hold out ſeven years.

So great is the application of the *Braſilians* to this traffick of tobacco and ſugars, that few or none take care to till the ground, or ſow corn. Hence it is that all manner of proviſions are exceſſive dear in theſe parts. Their bread is generally made of the root of the herb *mandioca*: The way they have to propagate it is by tearing off a branch of it, and burying it in the earth, when in a ſhort time it will caſt forth a root, and ſhoot up a ſtalk and leaves like to our *lupins*. At certain ſeaſons of the year they preſs the juice out of the ſtalks and leaves by a ſort of hand-mill, and that ſerves them either for drink or broth. The ſame cuſtom is uſed likewiſe in the kingdom of *Angola*, and other places.

Fiſh dear in theſe parts. Fiſh is extreme dear in this country, there being but very few that apply themſelves to catch it. Fleſh likewiſe is at a great rate, and that by reaſon of the great diſtance of paſtures, inſomuch that cattel often either die by the way in bringing, or elſe are haraſſed to ſkin and bone by their journey.

Water ſcarce. Water alſo, that neceſſary element, is ſcarce, and what they have is for the moſt part brackiſh; ſo that a traveller in theſe parts muſt of neceſſity provide himſelf as well with this as with victuals.

Fruit they have here of many excellent kinds, and which, tho' different from ours of *Europe*, yet is no leſs palatable and nouriſhing. Amongſt others, there is a ſort of palm called *coco*, whoſe nuts ſhoot out with a ſtalk in a cluſter to the number of twenty, more or leſs, at the bottom of a thick croud of long ſharp and bending leaves, not unlike ſcythes: each of theſe nuts is of the bigneſs of a flaſk with its ſtraw clothing, with two rinds, whereof the latter being ſaw'd aſunder, ſerves for cups to drink out of. Its fruit is of an excellent ſavour, and white as milk, but very ſubſtantial; in the midſt of it there is about an ordinary glaſs full of liquor, which while the fruit is green, is in greater quantity, though not ſo pleaſant, but, as they ſay, cooling; yet when ripe, they ſay it becomes hot. This ſort of palm is to be found in *Æthiopia* and in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and in time of year by tapping, affords a great deal of wine. Here is another kind of fruit called *mamao*, which grows on a tree moſtly without branches, and whoſe trunk is like to a beam adorned with leaves and fruit; each leaf produces its fruit like to melons or pumkins in ſhew as well as taſte: the ſeed is like pepper, and has ſomething of the taſte of it: the ſtalks on which the leaves grow, are long like the ſhoots of our vines in *Europe*, bowing with the weight of the large leaves, and four or five ſpans long. MEROLLA *Fruit.*

Another ſort of fruit-tree is the *banana*, but which may rather be termed an aſſemblage of leaves interwoven and twiſted together ſo neatly, that they form a plant about fifteen ſpans high: at the top it throws out one cluſter of fruit like to a bunch of thoſe grapes which we in *Italian* call *corniole*, and which is of it ſelf a ſufficient burden for one man: every berry of this cluſter is about a ſpan long, and as thick as ones wriſt, with a rind like to an *orange*. When the fruit is once gathered, you cut down the tree to make it ſprout anew, inſomuch that being once planted, and thus ordered, it will often be ready to offer a grateful return to its planter. This fruit the natives called *cacchio*, and which even while green, they gather and hang up in their houſes, where by degrees it ripens, and grows as yellow as gold: when dry, they cut it acroſs the middle, and it taſtes much like to a dried fig of *Calabria*. The leaves of this plant are ſo neatly ſtreak'd and ſleek'd, that one would think they were rather the work of art than nature: they are generally about ten ſpans long, and about three in breadth. Many are of opinion, and argue that theſe were the leaves our firſt parents cover'd their nakedneſs with, after tranſgreſſing the

MEROLLA the Divine precept in *Paradiſe*; which is not unlikely, becauſe of their length and breadth before mentioned, and becauſe in ſome countries this ſort of fruit is called a fig; and the ſcripture tells us they made them aprons of fig-leaves; unleſs it were that fig in *India*, which the *Arabs* and *Perſians* call *mouz*, and the *Portugueſes* the *Indian* fig, one leaf whereof ſerves for a table-cloth at a feaſt.

More fruit. The fruit *niceſi* are much of the ſame kind with the former, being produced by a like plant, and diſagreeing only in that theſe are ſomewhat leſs. This fruit being cut in the middle, or any ways except in length, ſhews a ſort of a ſketch or rough draught of a crucifix, and which I take to be more wonderful than that of the fruit of the plant *baruth*, vulgarly called the *Paradiſe* fig, wherein when cut is to be plainly ſeen the impreſſion of the *Greek* letter *tau*, when in this our fruit is as eaſy to be diſcovered the figure of our Saviour upon the croſs.

For want of a conveniency to carry me farther up into the country, I was fain ſometimes to rely upon the relations of others, but then I always took care to take them from perſons of credit, and natives of the place. I was told that up higher there were vaſt woods of large citron-trees, which ſeems not improbable, if we conſider *Candied citron.* the great quantity of candied citron-peel preſerved, and brought yearly from thence. To ripen them, they bend down the tendereſt branches of the tree, and cover the citrons with earth, whereby they ſoon become ſoft and yellow, and are pleaſant to eat. I forbear to mention the many fruits that are to be found in theſe woods, and will confine my ſelf to ſpeak briefly of the trees.

Trees, and their vertues. The trees in the foreſt are ſome of them ſo vaſtly great, that large boats called *canoos*, are made out of them all of a piece. One of theſe I ſaw in the port of *Baia*, higher than one of our *felucca's*, as broad, and of length ſufficient for ten or eleven men to row with long oars, having only the rudder added to it from another tree. This I muſt tell you was ſomething extraordinary, for commonly they row theſe boats with oars like ſhovels, and that ſtanding more or leſs on a ſide as occaſion ſerves. The *Indian* fiſhers have other ſorts of boats made of reeds raddled together, and which ſerve their turn well enough, for they value not the waters coming in, having no clothes to ſpoil. In this country there is great quantity of the wood called *brazile* wood, ſome red of the colour of *porphyry*, and another ſort quite black like *ebony*. Here are alſo ſome trees that diſtil the true balm, others that produce a kind of oil called by the natives *coppaiua*, and which is an abſolute cure for green wounds, as likewiſe a remedy againſt old aches, and good to comfort the ſtomach. A third ſort called *almeſega*, which diſtils a liquor like to frankincenſe, and ſerves to heal contuſions and bruiſes in any part of the body, and moreover comforts the ſtomach if taken inwardly. There are alſo ſome plants to be met with here named *bicoiua*, or nutmeg, whoſe juice is a great relief againſt, if not an abſolute cure for fluxes and gripes.

Cinnamon, when firſt planted here. Not many years ſince cinnamon was firſt ordered to be brought hither by the king of *Portugal* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, with expreſs command to the captains of ſhips, that they ſhould deliver it to the reverend fathers of the ſociety of JESUS, who about four miles from the city of *Baia*, have a marſh belonging to them, where it has thrived to a miracle. The birds likewiſe, by picking the ſeed and dropping it about the country, have mightily contributed towards its encreaſe; for when I was there I ſaw many little trees of it in ſeveral places, and which could not have come thither by any other means. Alſo at my being there, the trees that were firſt planted were begun to be flawed, and about fourtten pound of the bark ready to be ſent as the firſt fruits to the king.

The natives. I imagine I ſhall not much ſtray from my ſubject, if I give ſome light here into the origin of the natives of this country from a certain *Franciſcan* writer, who writ in the *Portugueſe* tongue, and had his information from the *Hollanders*. He ſays, that theſe people came from the iſlands of *Swedeland*, either becauſe of the great colds that reign there, or being thrown on theſe coaſts by a tempeſt. The *Indian* natives of *Braſil* have the name of *Tabareos*, and thoſe born of a *Portugueſe* and a native are called *Cabollos*. The former ſort are of a browniſh complexion, have long ſtrait hair, with little round eyes, and thick well ſet bodies of a middle ſize: their clothing is no more than they came into the world with: they maintain themſelves with hunting and fruit, which is the reaſon that they ſeldom continue long in one place, but wander about according to the ſeaſons proper for their purpoſe. Sometimes they feed upon man's fleſh, and that upon the following occaſion: when any one of their relations or friends falls deſperately ſick, before he grows worſe they knock him on the head, and cutting his body to pieces, diſtribute it amongſt the reſt to eat; alledging, *that it is much more honourable for him to be devoured by them, than to be prey'd upon by worms and inſects.* And thus as they have lived like beaſts, ſo like beaſts they die.

I was

Very docible. I was told by one father *Martin* a *Capuchin*, who had lived fourteen years in thoſe parts, and was then ſuperior, that theſe ſort of people are very apprehenſive and docible, and that though they could not read, yet they would ſing and aſſiſt at maſs, and veſpers. This father told me likewiſe, that he had brought over great numbers of them to the true faith, and that they were in appearance ſo good Chriſtians, that when they were at church (I ſpeak this to our confuſion and ſhame) they might be ſeen kneeling on both knees like ſtatues, without the leaſt motion; and tho' they heard any noiſe, not one of them would offer to look behind him, or ſpeak the leaſt word, thinking it a ſacrilege. He added further, that at firſt he found great difficulties in learning their language, but that at length in the ſpace of four years he made himſelf an abſolute maſter of it.

Reduced to government. And becauſe that theſe people lived without a ruler and government, when he came among them, the ſame father choſe out the beſt among them for their governor, and whom the reſt readily obey'd. He then reduced them to our way of living, and brought them to eat their meat at due times of the day, whereas before the pot was always ready, and they did little elſe but eat and drink. He taught them alſo to plant their *mandioca* ſpoken of before, and inſtructed them in the art of ſpinning and weaving their cotton, to the end that they might conceal thoſe parts which decency requires ſhould be hid. He told me likewiſe that before that time he had met with but one among a great number that had any thing to cover his nakedneſs, and that was given him by a miſſioner.

Converſion and trade. This father in proceſs of time becoming perfectly ſkilled in their language, and being moreover well-beloved by them, had a more than ordinary opportunity to inculcate religion into them; and which undertaking of his was likewiſe faciliated by their having no idols or worſhip among them at the time of his attempting it. Their notions of a Deity are, that there are two great perſons much in favour with God, and they pray for them continually; but who theſe perſons are they can't tell yet, which may be eaſily excuſed in regard that ſome of them believe nothing at all. How zealous they are for their new religion may be ſeen by the following inſtance: A certain wizard, inſtructed perhaps in his helliſh ſcience by ſome *Blacks* that had run from their maſters, was on a time ſeized by them, and carried before father *Martin*, by whom being ſharply reproved for his wicked practices, he was let go on condition that he ſhould forſake his horrid profeſſion. But this readineſs of his to promiſe, rather proceeded from want of liberty, than from any inclination to recant; inſomuch that in a very ſhort time he relapſed into his former error, and was ſeized a ſecond time by ſuch as did not think fit to releaſe him any more without the loſs of his head. This done, they drag'd his body before father *Martin*, to whom they addreſſed themſelves in theſe words; *O dear father, you are too forward in forgiving. Theſe ſort of people may prove a great check to the growth of our new religion, and therefore we have lop'd off the head of this wicked wizard, to prevent his doing any more miſchief among us. Here are his head and body to diſpoſe of as you ſhall beſt think fit.* And to give them their due, they are more than ordinarily careful to protect the ſacred truths eſtabliſhed among them. MEROLLA

The fleſh they eat is generally that of wild creatures, killed by them in great abundance with their bows; and eſpecially of a ſort of ſerpent called *bomma*, which they love inordinately. This ſerpent after he has well filled his belly, falls aſleep; and being ſo found by the hunters, they dart their arrows into him, and kill him. They ſay his fleſh is exceeding white, and well reliſhed, and in fatneſs much like a hog. After they have cut off his head, and torn away the bowels, they devour the reſt of it greedily. At a certain feaſt in *Baia*, I obſerved the windows, inſtead of tapeſtry and arras, adorned with the ſkins of theſe ſerpents, as wide as that of a large ox, and long in proportion.

Trade. Father *Martin* having taken care that the *Indian* governor elected by him ſhould pay obedience to the *Portugueſe*, it ſoon happen'd that a mutual commerce was eſtabliſhed between both nations; and tho' the merchandiſe of the former was but of ſmall returns, yet it nevertheleſs ſerved them to clothe their nakedneſs, and to furniſh them with iron for their uſes. The things they traded in were chiefly *Braſil* wood, ſkins of beaſts, divers ſorts of monkies, parrots of all kinds, and the like. Of theſe laſt, the hens are called in the *Indian* language *coricas*, and are obſerved to be far more loquacious than the cocks. *Araras* are another ſort, theſe are about the bigneſs of our capons, and have long tails of divers colours. The parokets are equal to our thruſhes in bigneſs, and generally green, whereas the others for the moſt part are grey and crimſon. They all imitate the human voice when taught.

Apes and monkies. Apes and monkies likewiſe they have of all kinds, but none without tails. One of theſe ſorts is very much eſteemed; but no leſs difficult to tranſport into any part

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of *Europe*, becauſe of the cold; they are called *ſagoris*, or *ſagorini*, are no bigger than dormice, and are kept in cotton in muffs. Thoſe few monkies that are brought to *Portugal*, are bought by the ladies there for about a piſtole apiece; and if they be of both ſexes, the price is much greater, and they ſerve for a conſiderable preſent. Theſe, and many other things no leſs curious than gallant, are brought by theſe people to ſell to the *Portugueſes* all along the coaſts of *Braſil*. Such among them as have no genius to trading, voluntarily liſt themſelves in the *Portugueſe* ſervice for ſo much a month or a year.

The oſtridge.

Becauſe I have before begun to ſpeak of birds, I will here give ſome ſhort account of the oſtridge, if I may have leave to call that a bird, which is more beholden to its legs than its wings. In this country the oſtridge is called *hiema*, and is of that largeneſs as may be gueſſed at by the dimenſions of its egg; I have ſeen both young and old, little and great of them: their feathers are of a light brown, and their wings ſtrengthened by a double joint. They eat all ſorts of food, and will digeſt wood and iron, both which they greedily devour. Their eggs they lay in the ſand, wherewith they cover them, I know not whether out of deſign that it ſhould ſerve them for a tomb or a cradle; for it often happens that not remembering where they have laid them, they by miſtake hatch thoſe of another, and the chicken is no ſooner out of the ſhell but it ſhifts for it ſelf. When they run from you, they only raiſe one wing, and for the reſt truſt to their feet, whereon they have but two claws on each. They are ſo ſwift, that provided they have the wind for them (which they always take a great deal of care to procure) they will out-run a horſe in his full career. When the hunters have a mind to take them, they always follow them full ſpeed, and with a long hook ſtretch'd forth catch them, if they can, by the neck; which, if accompliſhed, they ſoon conquer, and have enough to boaſt of all the remainder of their lives.

Vermin.

Before I leave *Braſil* to proceed on my voyage, I muſt take notice of another ſort of hunting there, and that not of animals by men, but on the contrary of men by animals, and thoſe of the ſmalleſt ſize. You muſt know then that here is a ſort of worms almoſt inviſible, which are called in the country language *nigua*, which hopping upon mens toes for ſome time like fleas, afterwards penetrate the ſkin, and hide themſelves between the fleſh and nails of the toes. This at firſt gives a pleaſant tickling, but at length they grow to the bigneſs of a vetch, and occaſion a great deal of pain, reducing the patient, if not timely prevented, to a manifeſt danger of either loſing his toe or foot. When they are thus enter'd the ſkin, the only way to get rid of them, and reſtore the part, is by paring away the fleſh ſo far at leaſt as is infected; for they are of a ſort of venomous nature, and will rot and corrupt whatever they lie long upon. For my part I have experienced both the pain and the danger of them. But a certain *French* friar of our order was more particularly plagued with them, for had he not had ſpeedy recourſe to a ſkilful ſurgeon, he had infallibly loſt all his toes.

Conjecture

Some will needs have theſe worms to be one of the ten plagues of *Egypt*, ſent by GOD to humble *Pharaoh*; and father *Michael Angelo de Guattini*, a *Capuchin* miſſioner to the kingdom of *Congo*, hints as much in a letter to his father from *Fernambuco*.

Other vermin.

In the iſlands of *Cape Verde* there are another ſort of worms that penetrate the heel, and thence creep up under the ſkin like a horſe-hair. The way to extirpate theſe, is either to ſcarify the fleſh as before, and ſo ſtop their progreſs; or elſe to ſeize them by one end, and by little and little to draw them out whole. Of this ſort *Della Vale* ſpeaks in his travels; but his, it ſeems, were of a more contagious kind, and of a much longer ſize.

Purſuit of the voyage.

During my ſtay at *Baia*, however diverted, my mind ſtill ran on purſuing my voyage, and conſequently my chiefeſt buſineſs was to enquire for ſhips bound for *Africa*. We were but three of us, and heard of one, but that was not to part in four months; therefore ſo great delay could not at all ſuit with our deſires to be gone. At laſt we lighted on a ſmack or brigantine, which was to ſet ſail the firſt fair wind, and whoſe captain proffer'd to carry us to *Angola*. His kindneſs we readily accepted: but whilſt we thought our ſelves ſecure of a paſſage, the governor of *Braſil* commanded him to tranſport nine priſoners in chains to *Angola*; amongſt whom was his own ſecretary, diſgraced for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of his maſter; and for his greater puniſhment, chain'd by the leg and arm with a *Black* ſlave. The captain having received theſe orders, excuſed himſelf of his promiſe to us, alledging that he had not room in his ſhip for us all, and therefore deſired we would provide our ſelves elſewhere. This however did not diſcourage us, for we immediately applied our ſelves to the governor, and begged of him to let part at leaſt of the priſoners be left aſhore, that we might proceed on our miſſion. He was ſo far from yielding to our requeſt, that he commanded

manded that we likewiſe ſhould be gone on board, not caring whether there were any accommodations for us in the ſhip or no. He was obey'd, but ſcarce were we got out of the port, before the captain (whether moved by zeal or gold, I won't determine) called me to his crew, and aſk'd them, *Where we poor* Capuchins *ſhould lie, alledging that it was both his and their duty to take care of us.* And ſo hoiſting out the long-boat, he put the ſecretary and two other priſoners into it, and ſent them aſhore, and I believe he had done as much for the reſt had they preſented him, by which means we got ſome accommodation. We afterwards heard that this ſecretary proved ſo great a thorn in his maſter's ſide, and ſecretly raiſed ſo powerful a faction againſt him, that in a ſhort time he occaſioned him to be ſeized and ſent to *Liſbon*. This it ſeems has been a common practice in the *Portugueſe* colonies at ſo great diſtance from court; for whenever they do not like a governor, they forthwith embark and ſend him home, and he ought to be thankful if he eſcapes ſo. The ſame has been ſometimes done in the kingdom of *Angola*, and elſewhere in the *Portugal* dominions. If the ſucceeding governor does not bring a general pardon for all delinquents, he is not admitted aſhore; and this becauſe of their having once been called to account and ſeverely puniſh'd for want of ſuch policy.

Sight of land. Seventy ſeven days were we coop'd up in this ſmack without diſcovering land; but what moſt griev'd us was, that we could not ſay in all that time that we had ſeen either ſky or ſea, being kept down in the hold continually to avoid the rain or waves. Towards the cape of *Good Hope*, we met a furious tempeſt, whoſe vehemence broke down part of our prow, and we ſaw our ſelves at death's door; but at length, through God's grace, and the diligence of the ſeamen, that danger was removed. All the while the pilot was extremely concerned that we ſaw no land, when by his computation it ſhould have appear'd at leaſt eight days before. Nevertheleſs, at length we had ſight of it, and found our ſelves much nearer to it than we thought we had been. Then began joy to ſhine out in each man's countenance, and a feaſt was ordered throughout the whole ſhip; and the pilot was ſo well pleaſed, that he gave the ſeaman a pair of ſilk-ſtockings who firſt brought him news of the land.

A providence. After this we put our boat to ſea, and ſome of the ſhip's company going in her a fiſhing, had ſo good luck in a very ſhort time, as almoſt to fill her with excellent fiſh. This ſight ſurprized me, and put me in mind of the ſea of *Geneſaretta*, where the apoſtles, through our Saviour's bleſſing, had the like good fortune. We left the boat at ſea all that night, faſtened only with a rope to our ſmack, and with two men in her. About five hours after night, a whale happening to paſs between the boat and the ſmack, broke the rope in two, and ſet the boat adrift; which was not all, for ſhe gave ſuch a ſhock to the veſſel, as put out the light at the bittake, and the ſteerſman being in the dark, we were in evident danger of being loſt, and muſt have inevitably periſhed, had ſhe taken us acroſs the middle of our keel. The night was exceeding dark, inſomuch that we could by no means diſcover which way the men and boat were driven; therefore we furl'd our ſails, and lay by, and at the ſame time threw up ſome fire-works in the air to ſerve for a guide to thoſe miſerable wretches to find us; who at length appeared, when we had given them over to be loſt. MEROLLA

Fiſh. Amongſt other fiſh obſerved by me in theſe dangerous ſeas, is the ſhark: his nature is to follow ſhips in hopes of prey. His head is like that of a dog, and his bigneſs more or leſs according to his age; but generally at full growth as thick as an ox. He has a very large mouth, and a treble row of exceeding ſharp teeth. When he eats, his upper jaw only moves; and man's fleſh is one of the greateſt of his dainties. Our mariners with a bait of ſalt-beef took one of them, but in hoiſting him up to the ſhip he eſcaped; yet throwing in the hook ſpeedily he was taken again. Having open'd his belly, we found therein a great many of the bones of meat which we had thrown for ſeveral days into the ſea; and whereby it appeared that he had followed us for ſome time. I obſerving that his heart beat long after it was torn from his entrails, took it up and kept it till the next day; when going to view it again, to my great wonder, it ſtill panted. This fiſh always ſwims attended by a great many little ones of divers colours, and which ſome will have to ſubſiſt upon the ſteam that flies from his mouth. Theſe little fiſh are called by the *Portugueſes*, *romeiros*, which ſignifies *pilgrims*. There are another ſort of about a ſpan long which ſtick to him, with their bellies upwards, and noſes like nutmeg-graters; theſe have the name of *pegadores*, that is, ſtickers, from this action. They are mentioned by F. *di Gennaro*, in his *ſacred oriental*, lib. I. c. 7.

The ſhark. That this ſhark-fiſh is more than ordinarily greedy of man's fleſh, may appear by the following inſtance. Our ſhip having a briſk gale of wind moſt of the way between

MEROLLA between *Liſbon* and *Braſil*, a poor mariner about break of day happen'd to drop off the yard-arm into the ſea. At this accident the centry immediately gave notice, which occaſioned us all to come ſpeedily running to the man's aſſiſtance: Some threw over-board to him whatever planks they could find, whilſt others endeavour'd to tack about the ſhip; but all in vain, for being under ſo full ſail we made too much way. At laſt finding all means to ſave him fruitleſs, I cauſed one to call out to him from the poop of the ſhip to give a ſign of confeſſion; which the unhappy wretch immediately did, by holding up his arm; which I perceiving, gave him abſolution, and then he ſoon ſunk. Not long after I ſpied a ſhark-fiſh, half above and half under-water, rather flying than ſwimming towards the body; which was a terrible ſight to all, but more particularly touch'd me to the heart.

Another ſort of fiſh we ſaw, whoſe name is *bonitto*, as large as the lanternfiſh, and of a yellow and green colour; but which the more pleaſing it was to our ſight, the more pernicious it would have proved to us had we eaten of it, for it cauſes ſudden death, which makes the fiſhermen as ſoon as taken to throw it away.

Birds. The birds that fly moſt about in theſe ſeas are *alcatraci*, a ſort of ſea-gulls as big as geeſe, of a browniſh colour, with long beaks, wherewith they take fiſh; and which they feed on, either upon the ſurface of the water, or after they are up in the air. At night when they are diſpoſed to ſleep, they dart themſelves aloft as high as poſſible, and putting their head under one wing, ſupport themſelves for ſome time with the other; but becauſe the weight of their bodies muſt needs force them down again at laſt, they no ſooner come to the water but they retake their flight, and both which being often repeated, they may in a manner be ſaid to ſleep waking. Oftentimes it happens that they fall into the ſhips as they ſail, and into ours there fell two one night, and one another: Thoſe that know the nature of them, farther ſay, that in time of year they always go on ſhore to build their neſts, and that in the higheſt places, whereby they facilitate their flight, having but ſhort feet, and thoſe large like unto a gooſe. Of this we made an experiment upon them that fell into our ſhip, and found that being left at liberty upon the plain deck, they could by no means raiſe themſelves.

Other ſorts. Before we had a ſight of the cape of *Good Hope*, we ſaw ſeveral other birds called *velvet-ſleeves*, as large as geeſe; exceeding white, and with long black bills. These, like the pigeons out of the ark, were as ſo many meſſengers to inform us that the land was at hand, their cuſtom being a days to flutter about upon the waves, and at night to return to the ſhore to reſt: The ſight of them make the ſeamen leap, and cry out for joy like madmen.

There are alſo other ſigns of land being near, as thoſe they call the *caravels of Britany*, being weeds, or rather reeds like the *Indian* canes; or rather like graſs, but as thick as ones finger, thrown out by the rivers, and which ſeem at a diſtance to be a ſmall iſland fixed in the ocean, being met ſometimes an hundred miles at ſea. Whilſt we ſailed along the coaſts, ſome of the ſeamen would needs ſhew me a great croſs cut in a mountain, and which they told me was made there long before thoſe countries were diſcovered by the *Europeans*. But notwithſtanding all the diligence I could uſe, with the help of a proſpective glaſs, I could not perceive it by reaſon of the great motion of the ſhip. I aſked them who was ſuppoſed to have introduced this ſign of our ſalvation amongſt theſe ignorant pagans? But they could give me no manner of ſatisfaction. *A ſign of land.*

Now we are coaſting along the ſhore of the cape of *Good Hope*, I imagine it will not ſeem any ways improper to diſcourſe of ſomething relating to the inhabitants of this country. By the relations of many, thoſe people are ſaid not to have the gift of humain voice, but to underſtand each other only by a ſort of hiſſing tone, and motion of the lips: Likewiſe that whatever pains have been taken with them, they could never hitherto be brought to ſpeak articulately. Inſtead of clothing in winter-time, they generally anoint their bodies all over with a certain liquor diſtill'd from a tree; and which the better to ſettle upon their ſkins, they bedawb themſelves ſufficiently with wild oxes dung, which when dryed and hardned, cannot be eaſily got off. When they would take off that cruſted coat, they do it with hot water, which leaves them naked as before, as they go in hot weather, and eat much fleſh. Which makes me ſay with *Ovid* in his *de Triſtibus*, lib. V. el. 7. *Natives of* Good-Hope.

Sive homines, non ſunt homines hoc nomine digni.

The *Portugueſes* call them *papagentes*, that is, men-eaters on account of ſome accidents that have happened there, one of which that was told me I will inſert.

In one of the ports formed by nature, where there are many on theſe coaſts capable of receiving two or three thouſand ſhips *Barbarous*

ſhips each, a certain veſſel came to an anchor; the captain with ſome of his crew came aſhore, well armed, and happening to ſtray a little further than ordinary from his companions, ſaw two women entirely black and naked carrying of wood. Theſe women at the ſight of a white man, began to ſtand ſtill; which he perceiving, and being willing to encourage them, threw them down ſeveral trifles, ſuch as fine knives, glaſs, coral, and the like. At this they immediately caſt away their burdens, and fell to gathering up the toys, leaping and dancing about the captain. This pleaſed him ſo well, that he was reſolved to have as much of it as he could, and for that end ſquat himſelf down on the graſs. They perceiving his ſecurity, continued their gambols for ſome time; but at length one of them ſeizing him behind acroſs the arms, and the other catching up his feet at the ſame time, flew away with him with ſuch dexterity and ſwiftneſs, that it was impoſſible for his companions, who both ſaw and heard him cry out, either to reſcue or come near him. Being deprived of all hopes of recovering him, they thought it adviſable to return to their ſhip, where they reflected on the barbarous banquet thoſe, rather beaſts than humain creatures, were to make that night.

To confirm the probability of this ſtory, father *Michael Angelo de Guattina*, relates in a letter to his father from *Loanda*, a city in this country, that whilſt he was ſailing along theſe coaſts, not above a muſket-ſhot from ſhore, the pilot of the ſhip went aſhore to eaſe himſelf; but ſcarce was he out of the long-boat before he leaped back again with great ſurprize and amazement, having it ſeems diſcovered behind a rock, abundance of fiſh drying at a great fire, by which he underſtood the *Papagentes* were not far off, and put him into ſuch a fright, that he never thought of the buſineſs he went about in three days after.

Miniſters. Another ſtory I have heard as follows. The captain of a certain ſhip having been in a great ſtorm, drove into one of theſe ports to repair his damage; his paſſengers going aſhore to look about them, diſcovered at a diſtance a ſort of ſea-monſters like unto men, and that not only in their figures, but likewiſe in their actions; for they ſaw them plainly gather a great quantity of a certain herb, with which they immediately plunged themſelves into the ſea. Having obſerved what ſort of herb this was, the paſſengers gathered ſeveral bundles of it likewiſe, and laid the ſame upon the ſhore; the ſea-monſters returning, and finding it ready gathered to their hands, took it up and plunged into the ſea as before. But O the great example of gratitude that reigns even in the deeps! Theſe creatures knowing themſelves to have been obliged, forthwith drew from the bottom of the ſea a great quantity of coral, and other ſea herbs, and carrying them aſhore, laid them in the ſame place where they had found the herbs. This being repeated ſeveral times, the paſſengers thought theſe creatures endeavoured to exceed them in benefits; and therefore as a great rarity, ſcarce to be parallel'd even in rational animals, they reſolved if poſſible to take them. For this purpoſe they procured a net from the ſhip, and pitched it in a proper place; but tho' their deſign ſucceeded ſo far as to take them, yet could not they hold them, they ſhewing them another human trick, which was by lifting up the net and making their eſcape, never appearing there after as long as the ſhip ſtaid. MEROLLA

Another relation I have had made me, which may not be improper to inſert here: The *Portugueſes*, for the conveniency of ſailing thoſe ſtormy ſeas, would needs ſome years ſince make a certain experiment on theſe parts. For this end they brought from *Liſbon* ſix or eight condemned perſons, and left them in one of the three points of the cape of *Good Hope*, with proviſions of all things ſufficient for a year. Theſe men they commanded to take ſtrict notice of all mutations of ſeaſons, of the climate, the land and the ſea; and withal enjoined them to let nothing paſs of any moment each day they were there; promiſing them withal, that if they obſerved theſe their commands, they would come the next year and fetch them away, and give them their liberty to boot. Theſe wretches being thus left, inſtead of eſcaping deſtruction, met a more than common fate by theſe means; for in a ſhort time through the exceſſive cold that reigns there, more than in any other of the points of the ſaid *Cape*, they were all frozen to death. At the return of the ſhips, the laſt of them that ſurvived having obſerved many particulars, and related the manner of his other companions deaths, was found frozen to a ſtone with his pen in his hand. The laſt thing remark'd by him was, *That the greateſt fire was ſcarce capable of overcoming the moſt intenſe cold of this country.* But all this I muſt ſubmit to the reader, having it only by hearſay, and not having experienced it my ſelf. *Exceſſive cold.*

After three or four days ſailing along theſe coaſts right afore the wind, we entered a port in the kingdom of *Banchella*, or *Banquella*, a conqueſt of the *Portugueſes*. Here the people through a bad temperature of the air, which infects their victuals,

MEROLLA have all the countenances of death, ſpeak with broken voices, and as one may ſay, can ſcarce keep their ſouls between their teeth. Our arrival being but juſt known, the vicar-general came to viſit us at one a clock in the morning, bringing along with him ſeveral refreſhments of fleſh, fruit, and herbs. At this unexpected charity and civility, we were at firſt ſurprized; but after we came to know that both he, and four of his brethren, had been bred in our monaſtries, that wonder ceas'd. This vicar may be ſaid to be general only over himſelf, there being no catholick prieſt in all this country but he.

Charity and civility.

Some years paſt there was another miſſion of our order into theſe parts; but becauſe the chief man gave no good example himſelf, few of the *Blacks* were converted, and thoſe that were gave but little attention to what was taught them, giving for reaſon, *That if the law of* GOD *was ſo negligently obſerved by* Whites, *how could they be expected to practiſe it more devoutly?* The two laſt of the friars employed at that time, dy'd martyrs to their lenity; for they chuſing rather to admoniſh than correct, to exhort than reprove a certain great man of a ſcandalous life, in about eight days time died of poiſon, thereby terminating both their miſſion and their lives: The truth of this ought not to be doubted of, becauſe it was the common talk when I was there. The other *Pagans* that live up higher in the country, lead the infamous life of the *Giaghi*, a people that ſhall be ſpoken of more at large hereafter.

Obſervations at landing.

As ſoon as day-light appeared we went on ſhore to return thanks to Almighty GOD for our ſafe arrival. Here the firſt thing I obſerved was, a great abundance of date-trees, which it ſeems of all lower *Æthiopia* flouriſh moſt in theſe parts, tho' in goodneſs they are far inferior to thoſe of the eaſt. I likewiſe took notice of many arbours and walks of vines, which by reaſon of the moiſtneſs of the earth, ſprings being every where near the ſurface, produce grapes twice a year in great plenty. Nevertheleſs no wine is made, becauſe the exceſſive heat that reigns here, would rather putrify than purge it. Every houſe hereabouts has ſpring-water, it lying not above two foot deep; and which is the greater wonder, by reaſon that it is ſo near the ſea.

Beaſts and their virtues.

If this country abounds with bad men, it is no leſs productive of good beaſts. Of elephants here are many, which with their ivory teeth bring great profit to thoſe that take them. The elk likewiſe, that ſo much deſired and ſalutiferous beaſt, is frequently to be met with in theſe parts; and which for the virtue of one of his feet, has deſervedly obtained, in the *Congolan* language, the name of *ncoco*, ſignifying *The excellent beaſt*. It is only called in *Spain la gran beſtia*, or the *great beaſt*. The way to find out in which foot the virtue lies, is by knocking him down; when to recover himſelf of the blow, he will immediately lift up that leg which is moſt efficacious, and ſcratch his ear. Then muſt you be ready with a ſharp ſcymitar to lop off the medicinal limb, and you ſhall find an infallible remedy againſt the falling-ſickneſs treaſured up in his claws. *Peter Cobero Sebaſtian* ſays, in his travels, that he has ſeen many of theſe beaſts in *Poland*. Thoſe ſeen by me were of about the bigneſs of little aſſes, of a browniſh colour, with long broad ears hanging down like to thoſe of *Engliſh* ſpaniels.

In theſe woods may alſo be found another creature, called by the natives *engalla*, and much like unto a wild boar: The two tuſks of which beaſt being reduced to powder, expel fevers, evacuating by way of ſweat the malignity of the diſtemper. This powder being likewiſe made up with the juice of a palm-tree, called *mateba*, compoſes an admirable antidote. Here is alſo the unicorn, called by the *Congolans*, *abada*, whoſe medicinal virtue being ſufficiently known, needs not to be taken notice of. Theſe unicorns are very different from thoſe commonly mentioned by authors; and if you will believe what I have heard ſay, there are none of that ſort now to be found. A *Theatine* miſſioner to the *Eaſt-Indies* told me, at his return from *Goa*, that he had endeavoured to get one of theſe laſt, but whatever diligence he us'd, he could by no means obtain it. He added moreover, that he had heard ſeveral of the *Eaſtern* people, eſpecially the *Chineſe* aſtrologers, ſay, that according to their computations thoſe unicorns all dy'd the ſame day that our Saviour dy'd. What alluſion theſe can have to our Saviour may probably be from their chaſtity, but I muſt leave all to my reader, who will condemn and approve as he thinks fit. The unicorn or *abada* of this country commonly arrives to the bigneſs of an ox, and the male only has a horn in his forehead: Theſe have the ſame virtue as the other ſort, if taken young, and before they have coupled; for the old ones loſe much of their virtue by coupling.

Theſe foreſts likewiſe breed another four-footed animal called *zerba*, not unlike a wild mule: The ſkin of this creature is ſo beautiful, that one would rather take it for a fine woven ſilk than a hide: Its beauty conſiſts in ſeveral equidiſtant ſtreaks four fingers broad of white and black,

black, bordered on both ſides with ruſſet. This animal is no leſs ſwift than beautiful, inſomuch that if the natives can but tame one of them, no price is thought too great to offer for it. Our ſuperior, father *da Romano*, amongſt other things ſent ſeveral ſkins of this beaſt as a preſent to the great duke of *Tuſcany*.

A ridiculous ſuperſtition.

Here are alſo abundance of another kind of beaſts call'd by the *Negroes impallanche*, of about the bigneſs of the foregoing, and in colour much like to what we call in horſes a *ſorrel:* Theſe have ſtrait twiſted horns, by the ſeveral degrees of which wreathing, their age comes to be known. They have in like manner ſome reſemblance of a mule, their fleſh is white, and would be more in eſteem were it not ſpongy and inſipid; but in rutting time, ſay the natives, it ought by no means to be eaten, for fear of doing harm. The ſame is reported of the wild goat, that if it be eaten when it is luſtful, it cauſes ſuch a rot in the feet that the toe-nails drop off. This is held to be ſo infallible, that it can never miſs. An inſtance whereof happen'd in my time in the following manner. Some hunters having taken one of theſe goats, ſuſpected of being in the aforeſaid condition, brought it to our monaſtery at *Sogno* to ſell: Our fathers not knowing the nature of it, eat part of it, reſerving the reſt for another time. This coming to the *count*'s ears, he came in mighty haſte to our convent with a numerous attendance, and going directly into the kitchen, he commanded all the fleſh to be thrown away, the veſſels that it had touch'd to be broken, and would moreover have ſet fire to the houſe as infectious, had not our father remonſtrated to him in an humble manner, *that they were ſenſible of no harm it had done them, and that they verily believed there was none to be feared upon that occaſion: As alſo that whatever miſchief had formerly happened, it was rather to be attributed to ſome other accident, than to any peſtilential quality in the goat.* With theſe and the like reaſons they at length prevailed upon the *count* to depart, without doing them any further damage. When theſe wild goats are old, there are certain ſtones to be found in their bellies not unlike to *Bezoa* ſtones, and whereof thoſe produced by the male are of the nobler kind, being experienc'd remedies in ſeveral caſes, eſpecially in that of poiſon. At the firſt taking them out they are ſoft and tender, but having been a while in the air they begin to harden, and in a ſhort time become perfect ſtone. They muſt be taken as ſoon as ever the beaſt is killed, otherwiſe they will ſoon diſſolve.

Another ſort of beaſts in this country are the *impanguezze*, ſo called by the natives: Theſe are a kind of wild cows, whereof ſome are red, others aſh-colour, and ſome quite black: They are all very ſwift-footed, and have a pair of exceeding long horns in their foreheads. When they are wounded in the chaſe, like wild bulls or *buffalo's*, they immediately face the aſſaulter, and if he does not inſtantly take care to ſave himſelf in ſome tree or other, inſtead of killing he will be in no common danger of being miſerably killed. The fleſh of this beaſt is very well reliſh'd and ſubſtantial; its marrow is an infallible remedy againſt cold humours and aches: Of its ſkin the *Negroes* make targets, which will reſiſt the ſwifteſt force of an arrow, ſo that if a man ſtands bowing behind it he is altogether ſafe. MEROLLA

A brutiſh cuſtom.

'Tis now high time to leave the wild beaſts to range in the woods, and to come to ſpeak of a certain brutiſh cuſtom theſe people have amongſt them in making of ſlaves, which I take not to be lawful for any perſon of a good conſcience to buy here. Every one of theſe *Negroes* takes to wife as many women, be they ſlaves or free 'tis no matter, as he can poſſibly get: Theſe women by his conſent make it their buſineſs to charm men to their embraces, which when they have done ſo as to make them commit the act, they preſently accuſe them to their *barracan*, ſo they call their ſuppoſed huſband, who feigning himſelf to be in a great rage, immediately runs and impriſons the lovers, afterwards in a ſhort time ſells them to ſtrangers, without being ſubject to any account for ſo doing: With the money he has thus unjuſtly got he buys other ſhe-ſlaves, which are permitted to do the ſame thing; ſo that from time to time he is ſuffered to go on in this wicked round without any manner of controul. Of theſe women I fancy *Tibullus* ſpeaks when he cries out,

Ah credule genus! Nec fidum femina nomen.
Ah pereat! didicit fallere ſiqua virum.

There are others who, not by means of women but of themſelves, going up into the country thro' pretence of juriſdiction, ſeize men upon any trifling offence, and ſell them for ſlaves.

Coin.

The current coin of this kingdom is little bits of glaſs coral brought hither by the *Portugueſes*, and which the natives call *miſangas:* This they make uſe of not only for money, but likewiſe for ornament, making of them both bracelets and necklaces.

Forts and houſes.

The forts and houſes of the *Whites* here are compoſed of wood and clay after this manner. Two rows of ſtrong poſts

are

MEROLLA are fixt in the earth about two ſpans aſunder, and joined together at top by ſeveral tranſverſe pieces of a ſmaller ſize. The ſpace between theſe rows is filled up with clay well beaten, and ſmoothed within ſide and without, and which being chequer'd with creaſes ſeem at firſt ſight to be a ſtone-wall. The roofs are made with reeds laid over rafters, as with us. This is all I could obſerve of this country, having been but one day in it, and that in a continual hurry in preparing for our farther voyage.

Arrival at Angola. After our departure hence, in four days ſail we reach'd the port of *Angola*, the utmoſt end of our deſires, on the 6th of *May*, in about a year from our leaving of *Naples*.

Its port. I reſerve the deſcription of this city of *Angola* for another place, intending at preſent to ſpeak only of its port: This is as ſecure as famous, being form'd neither by art nor nature, but only by chance, having a long ſlip of ſand thrown up by the ſea, and forming a plain iſland about ten leagues in length, about a mile from the city, behind which the ſhips ride: The entrance into it is by two narrow paſſages at the extremities of the ſlip. Here *Freſh water.* all the drinking water us'd in the city is taken up, and the greateſt wonder is, that it is freſheſt at the flood, and ſalteſt at the ebb. Here, and no where elſe on theſe coaſts, are caught crabs and lobſters, as *Shell-fiſh.* likewiſe *cuttle* fiſh, and thoſe little ſhell-fiſh called *zimbi*, which paſs for money. Heretofore the king of *Congo* reſerved the right of fiſhing for theſe only to himſelf, but now the *Portugueſes* uſurp that liberty *A pleaſant iſland.* upon him. In the aforeſaid pleaſant iſland the citizens of *Angola* delight themſelves as much as the *Neapolitans* do in their retirement to *Poſilippo:* For this purpoſe they have ſeveral little houſes there, which being intermix'd with verdant trees afford a very delightful proſpect. They likewiſe cultivate the earth in that iſland, which being well water'd proves not a little fertile.

Landings. Being got into port, and our arrival known, the governor immediately gave notice thereof to our father ſuperior, who forthwith ſent father *Joſeph da Seſtri*, and father *Francis da Pavia* to bring us aſhore. At our landing in the city I could perceive joy in every countenance on the occaſion, and which was ſeconded by the great civilities ſhewn us by the citizens; for as we paſs'd by their houſes, they not only ſent us *Umbrella's* to defend us from the ſcorching heat, but likewiſe to honour us. Being come to the church, our fathers ſang *Te Deum* for our ſafe arrival. For eight days together we received viſits and treats from the principal perſons of the city, in return whereof we preſented them with ſome ſmall relicks brought from *Italy*, which were nevertheleſs accepted with a great deal of devotion and thanks. The *Ceremony on that occaſion.* accuſtomed ceremony uſed at the arrival of miſſioners or a prefect, was not ſhewn for us, by reaſon that we were only three. The ceremony is this. No ſooner is the news ſpread abroad that there are ſeveral *Capuchin* miſſioners come into port, but our brethren accompanied by the nobility and gentry of the city go out to meet them: Having received them into a barge, they conduct them aſhore, where are poſted a great number of white ſinging-boys dreſs'd like *Capuchins*, who going before in proceſſion ſing all the way to the church, and afterwards perform *Te Deum* there: Then the governor, and all the clergy, and laity of the place come to pay them their reſpects.

In about a fortnight's time I was obliged *Departure on our miſſion.* to depart from hence with ſome of our fathers, who altho' they had been here above nine months, were not yet gone out on their miſſion, and that by reaſon of their expecting the heat ſhould abate, which it ſeems it is wont to do about this month of *May* juſt contrary to our country, where the cool weather begins with *September* rains. Father *Joſeph Maria da Baſſetto*, a man of great learning and experience, choſe me for his companion in his miſſion to *Sogno*, and aſk'd me of our prefect, father *Paul Francis da Portomauritio*. Tho' I found my ſelf not altogether recover'd of my laſt fatigue, yet conſidering the eaſieſt way of travelling was by ſea, as alſo that this miſſion of *Sogno* was not only the ancienteſt, but likewiſe the beſt we had, thro' the commodiouſneſs of its river, and the diſpoſition of its inhabitants, I readily conſented to accompany this father thither. Hereupon the day appointed for our departure being come we went on board a ſkiff, and in four days arrived at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, the port of *Sogno*. At our entring this river the wind blew ſo hard, and the waves roſe ſo high, that we were not a little afraid of being loſt. At length having weathered the firſt point, we ſpy'd ſome fiſhermen ready as we thought to aſſiſt us, but expected to be called; yet we taking them for heathens, and fearing that inſtead of helping they might rather hinder us by their ſorceries, gave them no ſign.

My companion conjur'd the winds and *Enter the Zaire.* ſeas, but I having ſaid my prayers betook myſelf to an oar, at which I tugg'd heartily for ſome time, till at length by the ſole mercy of GOD we were courteouſly received into the embraces of the river. After

ter having paſs'd the firſt reach, our ſouls began to revive, and we took pleaſure in caſting our eyes about towards both ſhores, which ſeem'd to be ſtrew'd with vegetable emeralds; or might be taken at firſt ſight rather for the induſtrious workmanſhip of *Pallas*, than the capricious product of nature. The water alſo appeared more like a cryſtal cauſway, than any part of the inconſtant element. As we row'd along the winding banks of this river, we were continually ſhrowded with trees called *mangas*, not unlike the royal laurels: Theſe trees at the joining of each branch ſprout forth a long hanging root, which at length reaching the mud, and taking root ſhoots up anew, and in a ſhort time of one tree forms a kind of a little wood, in a manner that you can hardly diſtinguiſh the ſuckers from the plant. I was ſhewn one of theſe trees wither'd and decay'd, and was informed that a certain biſhop of *Congo* having been ill treated by ſome of theſe people, made the ſign of the croſs upon it, whereupon it immediately dy'd like the fig-tree curſed by our Saviour.

Deſcription of it. Altho' my buſineſs ſhould be to write only what I obſerved in my voyage, and not to take notice of other matters, yet cannot I forbear ſpeaking of ſome particulars relating to this large and famous river: Its mouth then is about ten leagues wide, tho' ſome writers will needs have it to be thirty; but their miſtake I preſume ariſes from including the mouth of another branch of it, not far diſtant from the former. The waters of this river are ſomething yellowiſh, by which they are known above thirty leagues at ſea, and which was likewiſe the cauſe of this country's being firſt diſcover'd; for the king of *Portugal Don John* II. having ſent a fleet under the command of *Don Diego Cano* to make diſcoveries on this ſouthern coaſt of *Africa*, that admiral gueſs'd at the nearneſs of the land *Occaſion of its name.* by nothing ſo much as by the complexion of the waters of *Zaire*; and putting into it, he aſked of the *Negroes* what river and country that was; who not underſtanding him anſwer'd, *Zevoco*, which in the *Congolan* tongue is as much as to ſay, *I can't tell:* From whence tho' the word be corrupted, it has been ſince called *Zairo*. After this on one of the points of this river the *Portugueſes* firſt planted a croſs of fine marble, which ſome time after being found out by the *Hollanders*, they out of envy broke it to pieces; nevertheleſs ſo much remained of it when I was there, as to diſcover plainly the *Portugueſe* arms on the ruins of the *baſis*, with an inſcription under them in *Gothick* characters, tho' not eaſy to be read.

Congo diſcover'd 1485. The firſt diſcovery of this part of the world by the *Portugueſes* happen'd in the year, ſo fortunate for them, 1485. and becauſe they had been ſo courteouſly receiv'd by the *Negroes*, and admitted among them with ſo many tokens of love and affection, this kingdom of *Congo* has never yet been ſubjected by the *Whites*, when it far'd quite contrary with the queen of *Singa* and others. The firſt religious perſons that ſet *Firſt miſſion hither.* footing there, were three *Dominican* friars, as is teſtified by father *Maffeus* a jeſuit, in the firſt book of his hiſtory of the *Indies*. One of theſe was kill'd by the *Giaghi* at the time when they over-ran the kingdom of *Congo*, and routed the *Congolan* army under the conduct of their general *Zimbo*. This barbarian of a conqueror amongſt other ſpoils ſeiz'd upon the ſacred veſtments and utenſils of this unhappy friar, and not contented with the bare poſſeſſion of them, would needs ridicule and profane them by putting them on, as likewiſe by appearing at the head of his followers with the *chalice* in his hand. As for the other two miſſioners, they dy'd in a ſhort time after their arrival, through the exceſſive heat of the climate, which is often fatal to us *Europeans*.

To theſe ſucceeded twelve *Franciſcans* of *The ſecond.* the order of *Obſervants*, who were carry'd hither by the ſame *Don Diego Cano* in his third voyage into theſe parts. Some attribute the whole converſion of this country to theſe fathers, not allowing that the three that were there before through the ſhortneſs of their continuance, could have time to do any thing towards it. But for my part I am of opinion that it is next to impoſſible, thoſe who had been courteouſly received, and who found the people ſo eaſy to be wrought upon, ſhould not convert many of them before they dy'd. Likewiſe it is certain that the friar that was killed by the *Giaghi* had been chaplain to the *Congolan* army, and conſequently was in a poſt to do with them even what he pleaſed. Nevertheleſs not to carry the argument farther, let me be allow'd to ſay, that it is probable the firſt friars might ſow the ſeed, and that the laſt were thoſe that cultivated and cauſed it to flouriſh.

Several other evangelical labourers had *Other miſſions into theſe parts.* been ſent out from time to time into this vineyard, and at length at the requeſt of *Don Alvaro* ſixth king of *Congo* made to pope *Urban* the eighth, that his holineſs would be pleaſed to ſend ſome more *Capuchin* miſſioners into his kingdom, there were others ſent with letters patents from the ſaid pope in the year 1640. although through the many rubs and difficulties they met with, partly occaſioned by *Philip* the third king of *Spain*'s death, and the ſeizing of the crown of *Portugal* by the duke

MERELLA of *Braganza*, they did not arrive till the year 1645. which was under the pontificate of pope *Innocent* the tenth, and in the reign of *Con Garcia* the ſecond, ſucceſſor to the before-named *Don Alvaro*. Theſe fathers entring the river *Zaire*, the firſt place they landed at was the country of *Sogno*, where they were received with extraordinary demonſtrations of love and joy by the people, eſpecially by the count, who went out to meet them many miles from the place of his reſidence, and aſſiſted with them at maſs with great devotion in the church of *Pinda*, a town near the mouth of *Zaire*, adorning their altars moreover with the richeſt furniture in his wardrobe. Hither flocked an infinite number of people upon this occaſion, as well out of curioſity to ſee theſe new apoſtles (whoſe awful deportment filled them with wonder and amazement) as to vie with each other which ſhould ſhew moſt obedience to the goſpel. But this is no wonder, ſince the firſt converts made by the aforeſaid *Franciſcan* friars were the *Sogneſes*, and who ſtill ſeemed to have lively impreſſions left upon them of their former inſtructions. The firſt that were baptized among theſe *Negroes* were the count and one of his ſons, whereof the former had the name given him of *Don Emanuel*, and the other of *Don Antonio*. This *Emanuel* dying, beſides the funeral commonly made for other counts, he had a particular ceremony paid to his memory every year after, and which I my ſelf have more than once performed on his account. After the count of *Sogno*, the king and queen of *Congo*, together with their eldeſt ſon, were prevailed upon to be baptized, the two former taking the names of *Don John* and *Donna Eleonora*, the king and queen of *Portugal*, and the latter that of the king's ſon the *Infante*. Thus began the Chriſtian faith to be firſt eſtabliſhed in theſe parts, and which has been all along ſince maintained through the grace of GOD, and by the labours of ſeveral poor miſſioners ſucceſſively ſent in the ſervice of the goſpel.

Farther deſcription of Zaire.

But let us return to ſpeak farther of the river *Zaire*. This river is commonly ſaid to take its riſe in the kingdom of *Matamba*, ſubject to the queen of *Singa*, which kingdom being altogether governed by the female ſex, I may number it among thoſe nations deſcribed by *Claudian in Eutrop.* lib. I. ℣. 323.

——*Medis, levibuſque Sabæis*
Imperat hic ſexus, reginarumq; ſub armis
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

In this *Matamba* there is a vaſt collection of water, which dividing itſelf into two principal ſtreams, one runs through *Ethiopia*, and in this river *Zaire*, and the other flows towards *Egypt*, being the *Nile:* This laſt was formerly adored by the *Egyptians* as a god, and that becauſe of their being not able to find out its ſource, imagining that therefore it had none. I believe the cauſe why they could not diſcover its head, was by reaſon they could not go far up it, being hindered by the cataracts which fall in ſuch a dreadful manner, that they at the ſame time offend both the eye and the ear. In this vaſt lake before-mentioned, before it divides it ſelf into the aforeſaid rivers, are to be found ſeveral water-monſters, amongſt which there is one ſort which differs from human kind only in want of reaſon and ſpeech. Father *Francis da Pavia*, one of our miſſioners living in this country, would by no means believe that there were any ſuch monſters in this lake, affirming they were only illuſions devis'd by the *Negroes*; whereupon the queen of *Singa* being informed of his infidelity, invited him one day to go a fiſhing for them: Scarce had the fiſhermen thrown in their nets, but they diſcovered thirteen upon the ſurface of the water, whereof they could nevertheleſs take but one female, which was big with young. The colour of this fiſh was black, it had long black hair and large nails upon very long fingers, which perhaps were given it by nature to help its ſwimming: It lived not above twenty four hours out of the water, and during all that time would not taſte any the leaſt food that was offered it. *Monſters.*

The mermaid, and its virtues.

Throughout all the river *Zaire* there is to be found the *mermaid*, which from the middle upwards has ſome reſemblance of a woman, as in its breaſt, nipples, hands, and arms, but downwards it is altogether a fiſh, ending in a long tail forked: Its head is round, and face like to that of a calf: It has a large ugly mouth, little ears, and round full eyes: Upon its back it has a large hide tack'd, perforated in ſeveral places. This hide or ſkin ſeems to have been deſign'd by nature in a ſort of mantle to cover it, being contrived either to open or ſhut. The ribs of this fiſh are proper to ſtench blood, but the greateſt of its phyſical virtues lies in two little bones in its ears. I have eat of this fiſh divers times, and it ſeems to be well-reliſhed, and not unlike ſwines-fleſh, which its entrails likewiſe reſemble. For this reaſon the *Negroes* name it *ngullù à maſa* (the water-ſow) but the *Portugueſes* call'd it *piexe molker* (the woman-fiſh.) Altho' it feeds on the herbs that grow on the ſides of the river, yet does it not nevertheleſs ever go out of the water, but only hold its head out. For the moſt part it is to be taken only when

when it rains, for then the water being diſturbed it cannot ſo well diſcern the approach of fiſhermen. Thoſe that go to take them have a little boat for that purpoſe, in which they paddle up ſoftly till they come to the place where the fiſh lies, and which they know by the motion it cauſes in the water; then having a lance ready, they immediately dart it with all their force into her, and if through the ſmallneſs of their boat, or for want of ſtrength, they cannot hold her, they let go the lance and leave the fiſh at liberty, well knowing that being exceeding long the lance muſt neceſſarily diſcover where ſhe flies with it. But if on the other hand they can maintain their ſtroke with another lance, they dart a ſecond time, by which means at laſt they eaſily tire and take the fiſh. After the ſame manner, but with leſs trouble they take pilchards, which are fat, and as large as herrings, and they have no other way to take them but this. I ſhould have told you what ſort of faſhioned lances theſe were, becauſe they differ ſomething from ours of *Europe*; they have a very long round ſtaff made of wood, but as hard as iron, round, and ſo thick, that as many darts are made faſt to it a ſmall diſtance from one another, that they take up ſix or ſeven ſpans in compaſs.

The ſea-horſe and his virtues.

There is alſo in this river the water or ſea-horſe, as large as two land ones: he has ſhort thick legs, round feet, a large wide mouth, with a double row of hook teeth, and long tuſks beſides in the lower jaw like to thoſe of a large wild boar, with which when he is in fury he tears whatever comes near him. As I was once ſailing along this river, I ſaw one of theſe horſes floating near our boat, and neighing like a horſe, of which he has great reſemblance: a-nights he goes aſhore to feed, but in the day-time he keeps for the moſt part cloſe in the water; but whereſoever they are, the female is always at hand, in whoſe defence the male fights deſperately; and when the female is with young, or has lately dropt her colt (which ſhe generally does in the fens where there is but little water) the male is moſt furious, and being exceeding jealous will aſſault the barks as they paſs along the river, and ſometimes if they be ſmall overturn them with his heels: this makes thoſe that know his nature to avoid the marſhes at that time, not caring how far they go about, ſo they can but have their paſſage ſafe. The time to hunt them is a-nights, when they go to feed upon the land: then the hunters block up their way back to the river with boats, and afterwards wait for their return. Being returned, they let fly their arrows at them like hail; but woe be to him that happens to be in any one of their ways after being wounded, for he will then aſſuredly tear him to pieces, if they have not trees to ſave themſelves on, which they generally take care to procure. Sometimes theſe creatures will fly away after they are wounded, and not finding a paſſage open to the river, will run to the next precipice, and leap off from thence into the water, whereby they break their legs, and then are eaſily taken. The fleſh of theſe animals is little valued, being generally eſteemed food for the meaner ſort of people, allowed by divines to be fiſh becauſe they live and breed in the water, tho' they feed on land. The yard of the male, and the two ſtones found in his ears, as large as hen-eggs, are good to diſſolve the ſtone, as well in the kidneys as the bladder. This laſt is likewiſe a remedy againſt a ſtoppage of urine, being pulverized and diſſolved in fair water, and given about a ſpoonful at a time. As I was once going up this river, I obſerved in a low iſland hard by, ſeveral ſmall houſes ſet upon ſtakes, about ten foot from the ground, with a ladder at the door to draw up and let down. Having inquired what theſe meant, I was told that they were built in that manner to prevent the inhabitants from being injured by the ſea-horſes, that always feed thereabouts a-nights. The like ſort of houſes I have ſeen near the foreſts, to prevent the ravage of lions and tigers: but what makes me wonder moſt of all is, at the name of theſe ſea-horſes, it being their nature to keep always out of the ſalt-water, which they hate and cannot ſubſiſt in.

Other fiſh.

Here are no crocodiles as in other rivers, but there are nevertheleſs ſeveral kinds of excellent fiſh which are taken various ways, though never in any great number, by reaſon of the ſlothfulneſs of the inhabitants, who are naturally enemies to hard labour. The right of fiſhing with nets is wholly reſerved to the prince, who nevertheleſs is accuſtomed to give leave to do it to any that will aſk it of him; and when he wants fiſh, he ſends his ſervants with his own nets for it.

Progreſs up the river, and landing.

Having ſailed up this river, about midnight we arrived at the town of *Pinda*, twelve miles from the ſea. landing immediately, we retired to a church, the firſt built here by the *Portugueſes*, and dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* whoſe ſtatue of *Baſſo-relievo* is conſtantly worſhipped every ſunday by a vaſt number of *Negroes* who flock hither for that purpoſe. Here likewiſe was formerly a convent of our order, but by reaſon of the badneſs of the air, being too near the river, it was thought adviſable to remove it to the city of *Sogno* where the count reſides, about two miles off. Hither we went next morning with a great

MEROLLA great deal of willingneſs, though I could not ſay I had wanted for ſatisfaction all the way I came up this river. Being got to our convent, the count came immediately thither to congratulate and welcome our arrival, and that more eſpecially on account of my companion who had been there three years before. After his viſit he ordered us a preſent of ſeveral things of the product of the country. In this our convent we found only one prieſt named father *Paul da Vareſe*, and he returned to *Loanda* in a few days in the ſame ſkiff that brought us; there remaining then with us only a lay-brother, one *Leonard da Nardo*, an old man of a good life, and extraordinarily well verſed in the cuſtoms of the country, thro' the long ſtay he had made there.

Reception by the count.

Application to buſineſs.

We now began forthwith to apply our ſelves to the buſineſs of our miſſion, and it fell to my ſhare to celebrate the firſt maſs; but not knowing much of the language, I could not pretend to preach in publick. I therefore haſtily compoſed a ſhort ſermon, and preached it in the congregation adjoining to our church, which conſiſts of the better ſort of perſons, and who generally underſtand ſomething of *Portugueſe*. Out of ſome of this congregation 'tis that the counts are moſtly choſen, provided they are of the *Sangre de Cagera*, as they call it, which is an expreſſion borrowed from *Portugueſe*, and ſignifies, *The blood of the throne*. My companion always preached publickly every holiday; but we were fain to ſay maſs late, becauſe of the count and his followers, who never came till then. He always came in great pomp, being better attended than any prince of the lower *Æthiopia* is wont to be. The fifth ſunday after *Whitſuntide* it happened, that when I was juſt ready to come out to ſay maſs, the count came in. My companion, and ſuperior, preſently ſpied him, and turning to me, bid me preach that ſermon in publick, which I had prepared for the private congregation, that the count might not go without a ſermon on that day. I began to ſhrug up my ſhoulders, and to excuſe it, not thinking myſelf yet qualified to ſpeak in publick; till at length he bid me obey, and GOD would aſſiſt me. I began maſs; and after the goſpel, the uſual time of preaching, took for my text the words of the commandments, *Thou ſhalt not kill*. From this text I took occaſion to inveigh againſt wizards, who bear a mighty ſway in this country, proving, *That it was much worſe to kill the ſoul, by inclining it to diabolical illuſions, than to murder the body*. Now becauſe I often repeated the word *kill* in my ſermon, the people began to give a great hum. I nevertheleſs went on, and was rather encouraged thereby to exaggerate the heinouſneſs of the offence, than affrighted from ſpeaking againſt it. But the more I raiſed my voice, the greater was the murmur, I might have ſaid clamour; the count only all this while continued ſilent. At length the ſermon being ended, and the ſubſtance of it explained by the interpreter according to cuſtom, I and my ſuperior were in a thouſand doubts about this humming. We enquired of every one we met concerning it, yet none durſt ſatisfy us therein; but all went away ſmiling. When all the reſt were gone, we took one into the houſe, and treating him with *aqua vitæ* and roll tobacco, intreated him to tell us the cauſe of the diſturbance in the church, believing it could not be cauſed by the ſermon, in which nothing was to be condemned, either as to the ſubject or language.

The diſcourſe, ſaid he, *was moſt excellent, though not deſigned by the father; for the people, though not well ſkilled in the* Portugueſe *language, imagine that the fathers miſſioners know all that has happened, and that hum was a token of their approbation, they having taken his words in another ſenſe.* Pray tell me what has happened, ſaid F. *Joſeph: I will ſo*, replied he; *but take notice, there is no leſs penalty than death for him that diſcovers it to the miſſioners, and therefore your reverence muſt take care that you do not make me loſe my life.* Being aſſured we would keep his ſecret, he proceeded thus; *Your reverence muſt then know, that in the time of holy week, father* Paul da Vareſe *officiating in the church, great multitudes of this principality flocked hither from all parts to join with him in devotion. At the ſame time the devil, who is never wanting to promote his intereſt as often as he ſees occaſion, took the opportunity to put it in the count's and his relations head, that ſeveral of this congregation, under pretence of religion, were met together with a treacherous deſign. Hereupon a great number of the count's vaſſals and friends being aſſembled to wiſh him a merry* Eaſter, *that prince ordered them to ſee the oath taken* (what this oath is ſhall be explained hereafter) *by ſuch and ſuch as he then pointed out in three ſeveral places of his dominions, and whereby* (continued he) *there are many already dead, and more and more die thereof every day. Is it ſo?* (quoth father *Joſeph*) *for the future you ſhall have no reaſon to fear any more dying by theſe means. Neither ſhall you* (ſaid he to the *Negro*) *be in any danger for your diſcovery of theſe deviliſh practices.* The ſecond maſs after the ſame father preached, and reſuming the ſubject which I had been upon before, took occaſion from thence to hint ſomething againſt this ſcandal.

Towards night we both went to court, and deſired private audience of the count; which was readily granted us. The firſt

The author goes to court.

that

that began with him was my companion father *Joſeph*, who warmly repreſented to him, *That being a Chriſtian, he had behaved himſelf like a pagan, commanding thoſe people to make ſuch a deviliſh oath on a groundleſs ſuſpicion.* To this ſmart charge the count at firſt gave no anſwer, being no doubt ſurprized with ſo unexpected a reproof; but inſtead thereof, though a *Black*, became almoſt pale, and thereby convinced us at the ſame time both of his guilt and remorſe. This ſtrange and ſudden alteration put me in mind of what the poet ſaid of queen *Dido.*

Maculiſque trementes
Interfuſa genas, & pallida morte futurâ.
Virg. l. 4. Æneid.

I cannot believe, added the father, *that don* Antonio Bareto da Silva (ſo was this prince's name) *could do this of his own head, but rather imagine it to have been contrived by his counſellors or relations.* The poor count immediately fell on his knees, weeping and lamenting like another *David* before *Nathan* the prophet, and confeſſing his crime in the following words; *Truly* (ſaid he) *I have been exceedingly to blame, in ordering ſo barbarous a teſt of my ſubjects loyalty: but ſince I have ſinned like* David, *like him I alſo beg pardon.* To which father *Joſeph* replied in the words of St. *Ambroſe* ſpoken to *Theodoſius* the emperor, *Since you have imitated a king in his ſin, follow him in his repentance.* The effect of this was, that the count the ſame night countermanded his orders, and thereby all further miſchief was prevented.

Manner of giving an oath. The aforeſaid oath *bolungo* is adminiſtered to the ſuppoſed traitor, by a ſort of wizard called *Cangazumbo*, who making a certain compoſition out of herbs, ſerpents fleſh, pulp of fruit, and divers other things, gives it to the ſuppoſed delinquent to drink, who if guilty (as they tell you) will immediately fall down in a ſwoon, or trembling, to the ground, inſomuch that if they did not preſently give him an antidote, he would infalliby die away; but if not guilty, no harm would happen to him. A manifeſt and open cheat this, though not diſcovered through the blindneſs of this people; for the wizard in caſe he has a mind to acquit the accuſed, omits thoſe ingredients in the compoſition which he puts in where he deſigns to condemn him. This *A teſt of loyalty.* order from the count was an abſolutely new thing, and never practiſed before; for he had commanded every one of his ſubjects, not excepting any, to go to one of thoſe three places where theſe miniſters of the devil reſide, and there to undergo a teſt of their loyalty, after the following manner: the ſuppoſed traitor was made to look into a great vat of water, wherein if he fell he had immediately his head ſtruck off; but if he was innocent, he came away ſafe and ſound. Whence it proceeded that they did, or did not fall, time muſt diſcover; but they that performed this work being heathens, it is to be ſuppoſed that they poiſoned the water. MEROLLA

Now we are upon the ſubject of theſe oaths or teſts, give me leave to inform you of ſeveral other ſorts now in uſe among theſe wicked people: one of theſe is called *chilumbo*, and which might rather be ſaid to be applied than adminiſtered; for the perſon accuſed hath a red hot iron paſſed over his naked leg; which if it cauſes any bliſter, he is forthwith thought guilty; but if not, he is releaſed. The deceit of this is, that if the patient be determined to be acquitted, the ſubtil wizard has a certain preparation concealed in his hand, of an exceeding cold nature, with which ſtroaking gently over the part, the fire when applied there loſes its force; but if he be to be found guilty, that remedy is omitted, and then the iron is left to cauſe its effect. *Other ſorts of oaths.*

The following paſſage happened when I was in my miſſion at *Bengo* in the kingdom of *Angola*, on the account of my health: the ſon of a *Mulatto* being ſick, was ordered by a phyſician to be let blood; and a ſlave of his that had been a ſurgeon, undertaking to perform the operation, thro' an unſteady guidance of his lance, happened to prick an artery, whereby ſoon followed a gangreen, and in a ſhort time the patient died. The father of this youth ſuppoſing that the ſlave had done what he did on purpoſe, reſolved to have him undergo the trial of *chilumbo*, and thereupon immediately cauſed him to be ſeized and carried to one of thoſe three beforementioned places where the wizards live. This done, he was ſoon brought to the teſt, and had not only the red hot iron paſſed over his thigh, which burnt him miſerably; but the enraged father likewiſe not contented with what he had already ſuffered, would needs bind him hand and foot, and after that thruſt a flaming torch ſeveral times into his face. The knowledge of this coming to my ear the next day, by means of a courier belonging to the biſhop of *Loanda*, who likewiſe heightened the fact, alledging that the *Mulatto* had moreover burnt the ſlave alive, and afterwards thrown his aſhes into the river; I told the courier that I could give no credit to what he related, unleſs he would bring two witneſſes to vouch the truth thereof. Hereupon they were preſently produced, but could only affirm, that they ſaw the *Mulatto* thruſt the torch ſeveral times in the ſlave's face; and that they afterwards heard he was burnt and *A ſtrange relation.*

MEROLLA thrown into the river. Upon theſe depoſitions I uſed all the means I could to get the wizard into my power, that had performed this helliſh ceremony; but found it impoſſible, becauſe he had ſuſpected I ſhould be informed of it, and ſo fled away. The next thing I had to do was to catch the *Mulatto*, which I ſoon accompliſhed by the diligence of ſome ſpecial friends. Being brought before me, he accoſted me after this manner: *I would fain know* (quoth he) *for what reaſon I am brought before you? For having wickedly burnt your ſlave* (ſaid I.) *That's not ſo* (anſwered he) *for he is yet alive. Bring him then hither* (ſaid I) *that I may ſee whether he be or not.* Hereupon he immediately ordered ſome others of his ſlaves to bring him in; which they forthwith did, but bound after that barbarous manner, that it was impoſſible to looſe him without cutting the cords. Then I demanded of the *Mulatto*, *Why he uſed his ſlave ſo barbarouſly?* He anſwered, *For having murdered his only child. That was his misfortune, rather than his fault* (ſaid I) *and therefore you have not done what you can juſtify. I will juſtify it* (ſaid he) *before any magiſtrate whatſoever. Then you ſhall do it* (replied I) *to the biſhop of* Loanda. And accordingly I ordered both him and his ſlave to be ſent away to that city. I afterwards heard that the ſaid biſhop had diſcharged the ſlave, but ſhut up his maſter in priſon till he had ſatisfied for his offence.

Account of oaths continued. There are many other ſpecies of this teſt of *chilumbo*, but which I ſhall only hint at here, they having been more at large deſcribed already by father *Montecuccolo* in his *hiſtorical deſcriptions.*

The ſecond way of adminiſtring this *chilumbo* teſt is, by taking a tender and ſoft root of the tree *banana*, which is put into the mouth of the perſon accuſed. Now if this root ſtick to his mouth, and make him ſeem to be eating of ſomething clammy, then he is immediately thought guilty, and worthy of puniſhment; or if it happen otherwiſe, then is he forthwith diſcharged.

The third way is, by eating the fruit of a certain palm call'd *embà*, which yields oil: this being firſt taſted by the wizard, to ſhew that there is no danger in it to the innocent, is afterwards poiſoned and given to the perſon intended to be convicted; but if that perſon be wary, and has a mind to come off ſafe, he muſt greaſe the fiſts of the diſtributers, and by thoſe means may eſcape.

The fourth trial is, by a pot of boiling water, into which the wizard throws a ſtone, or any other thing of the like nature, and then takes it out himſelf with his naked hand, ordering the reſt to do the ſame; they that take it without being ſcalded, are ſuppoſed innocent, whereas the contrary declares their guilt.

The fifth, and which is chiefly practiſed in the kingdom of *Congo*, is to clap ſeveral ſnail-ſhells to the accuſed perſon's temples; where if they ſtick he is condemned, but if not, diſcharged. Let the reader judge if there may not be any fallacy in this way, or not.

The ſixth, moſt in uſe among the *Blacks*, is to light a torch made of a certain *bitumen* diſtilled from trees, and to quench the ſame in water; and afterwards to give that water to the ſuppoſed criminal to drink; which, if he be guilty, will do him harm; but if not, will cauſe no alteration in him.

The ſeventh is practiſed only by ſmiths, who are ſometimes wizards, and called by the natives *nole fianzumdu*. The manner of adminiſtring this *chilumbo*, is by heating an iron red hot, and afterwards quenching it in water as before; which water is immediately given to drink to thoſe that take the oath. Now if it is obſerved that they cannot eaſily get it down, as it ſometimes happens, through apprehenſion only, then are they pronounced guilty without any farther proof; or elſe, by their eaſy ſwallowing of it, diſcharged.

Others make this trial, by the water wherein their lord's feet have been waſhed, and which is called *nſy-a-maſa*. The reſt of the kinds I ſhall omit ſpeaking of, for the reaſons before mentioned.

There are other ways of diſcovering theft and ſorcery, as likewiſe for abſolving any that have taken the aforeſaid oaths.

As for the firſt, a ſubtil wizard is commiſſioned with the name of *nbaci*, who takes a long thread in his hand, either of linen or woollen, and holding one end himſelf, gives the other to hold to him that is the ſuppoſed thief. This done, he applies a red hot iron to the middle of the ſaid thread, and if it burns, the delinquent is fined to the value; or if the theft be great, he is made a ſlave; but if otherwiſe, abſolved. Whether the devil has any hand in this I cannot decide, not being thoroughly acquainted with the matter of fact.

Concerning the ſecond, to diſcover who has been dealing with the devil, they make the following experiment: the root of a certain tree called *ncaſſa*, is diſſolved in water; and after diſſolution that water is put up in veſſels, and given to the perſon accuſed to drink. Afterwards he is delivered into the hands of ſeveral ſtrong men to miſuſe, and ſhake about in a manner, that in a very ſhort time he falls down in a ſwoon; ſome imagine that this is rather occaſioned by poiſon given him inſtead of the ſaid root. This tree is pretty tall, and of a red colour, and has a wonderful

wonderful virtue for curing the tooth-ach and ſore gums. It is likewiſe extremely pernicious to birds who fly from it; for if they ſhould once ſettle on its boughs, they would immediately fall down dead to the ground.

As for the third, to abſolve from any ſort of oath, it is performed by a miniſter called *ganga*, or *nzi*, who rubs the tongue of the perſon to be abſolved with the fruit of the palm that produces oil, and after muttering ſome few words to himſelf he thereby frees him from his oath, and ſo ſends him home to his houſe.

Laſtly, there is another ſort of trial, which is performed not by the deceitful hand of a wizard, but by a perſon of ſome quality, after the following manner. Two obſtinate fellows being at law together, and the truth being hard to be got out of them, the judge ſummons them both to appear before him, where being come he fixes to each of their foreheads a ſea-ſhell, and at the ſame time commands them to bow down their heads; now he that the ſhell firſt drops from is taken for the liar, and the other acquitted.

A wizard condemn'd, but pardon'd.

Whilſt I was in *Bengo* above-mentioned, my companion father *Francis da Monte Leone*, having ſeized upon one of the aforeſaid wizards, ſent him to the *Portugueſe* governor to be puniſh'd, who immediately upon conviction condemn'd him to death: his time of ſuffering being come, he was exhorted by father *Francis* to confeſs his crime, but inſtead thereof, being an obſtinate fellow, he gave this anſwer; *What! would you have me to accuſe my ſelf where I have committed no crime? My practice has always hitherto been to do good to all men and not evil; for when the poor people of my country have ſowed, and the earth became afterwards dry for want of rain, if I out of mere charity have cauſed the clouds to diſſolve to ſupply that neceſſity, was this a crime? If I have converſed with tigers, ſerpents, lions, and other wild animals, and they have anſwered me, was there any harm in it? If at a time when there was no boat to be found in the river, I out of pure compaſſion called crocodiles to carry us over, muſt this be accounted a ſin?* After this and the like manner he juſtified his crime for ſome time, yet however at length thought fit to own himſelf guilty; but becauſe he had been proſecuted by a *miſſioner*, he was afterwards pardoned his life, and ſent bound to *Braſil*.

The count reprimanded.

We had not been many months in *Sogno* before the people, through remorſe of conſcience, diſcovered to us that the ſiſter of a certain nobleman of that country cured perſons publickly by the help of magick; and that moreover to make her ſelf the better known for a ſorcerer, ſhe went clothed like a witch, and wore long diſhevell'd hair, contrary to the cuſtom of theſe parts. They further informed us, that ſhe frequently had a drum beat before her to publiſh her profeſſion, and likewiſe that ſhe had a ſon who practiſed the ſame art, and lived with her in the houſe. This being heard by us with great abhorrence, we immediately drew up a charge againſt both mother and ſon, and at the ſame time made uſe of our utmoſt endeavours to get them apprehended: but the former being timely acquainted with our deſigns, eſcaped up in the country, while the latter fell into our ſnares, and was ſent by us bound to the count. This prince, notwithſtanding our diligence to ſeize the priſoner, gave him nevertheleſs ſo much liberty, that he ſoon found means, though bound, to get to his father's houſe, by whom he was inſtantly looſed, and ſent to an iſland in the *Zaire* to be protected. This was the firſt diſpleaſure we received from the count, whom we afterwards ſeverely upbraided with deſtroying the tender plants of Chriſtianity in his county, and putting a ſtop to all the good works we had begun there; telling him, he imitated but ill his predeceſſor count *Stephen*, who after having extirpated theſe wicked wizards almoſt totally out of his dominions, commanded his governors that wherever they were found at any time to have returned, they ſhould immediately be ſeized, and have their heads lopt off without any further ceremony; and in caſe any of his officers did not put this law in execution, he was liable to the ſame ſentence. After this manner were our miſſioners aſſiſted in their endeavours during count *Stephen*'s reign: nay, he was ſo zealous in his aſſiſtance, that he would travel about with them himſelf, and obſerve how things paſſed with his own eyes; and if he found any whoremonger, he would reprove him in the following words: *Either this woman pleaſes you, or not; if ſhe does pleaſe you, why don't you marry her? and if not, why does ſhe continue with you?*

MEROLLA

A cunning trick.

This reprimand we gave the count ſucceeded ſo well, that he ſeemed afterwards inclinable in ſome meaſure to comply with our deſires, alledging that he would willingly bring thoſe offenders to puniſhment, but that he could not catch them, by reaſon of their being removed too far up into the country. Notwithſtanding the father that had before releaſed his ſon without authority, being afraid of being impriſoned himſelf for ſo doing, thought it adviſeable to feign himſelf ſick to evade that danger, and conſequently ſent for me to confeſs him: I immediately complied with his deſires,

MEROLLA deſires, and confeſſed him, but ſoon found that what he had done was more out of hypocriſy than ſincerity; for it is a cuſtom in this country, that where any perſon has received abſolution, he forthwith becomes free from any crime, and may conſequently depart at liberty, though he were in hold before. The reaſon they give for this is, *That if* GOD *has pardoned them, how can man pretend to find them guilty?* The ſame was anſwered us by the count, when we requeſted him upon finding out the fellow's diſſimulation, to have him impriſoned again. *Have ye not abſolved him?* (quoth he) *Is he not free? How then can I pretend to lay hands upon him?* Nor would he hear any reaſon to the contrary, becauſe the offender was his kinſman.

A wizard eſcapes, but retaken.

A while after the count ſent us another of theſe wizards, with an aſſurance that for the future he would let none eſcape that came into his power. This perſon we immediately carried into a room to examine; but while my companion went into an adjoining apartment to fetch a paper, leaving the priſoner for me and the interpreter to keep, he, notwithſtanding our diligence, and the great number of people in the next room, got from us. A dog we had in the houſe being alarmed at the noiſe immediately run after him, while I by another way purſued him ſo luckily, that I ſoon met him and tript up his heels, and at the ſame inſtant follow'd his fall and leapt upon his back, belabouring him with all my might, notwithſtanding the fear the people have here of meddling with wizards, with the cord of my *order*, invoking all the while St. *Michael* and the reſt of the ſaints to my aſſiſtance. At the ſame interim my companion came in, and could not forbear laughing to obſerve how luſtily I laid him on. A little after the people that had brought him to us came up and bound him in ſuch a manner that he could not ſtir; for you muſt obſerve they were not afraid to touch him, by reaſon of the *agnus* and other preſervatives that we had furniſhed them with. Being thus in our power, we ſoon brought him to abjure his errors, and afterwards ſet him at liberty. The laws of this country as to theſe caſes are as follow: If the wizard that is taken be a freeman, and abjures, for the firſt offence he is only enjoin'd penance; for the ſecond he pays an *Indian* piece of about the value of a ſlave; but if he offends a third time, he is forthwith ſold for a ſlave, and the price of him diſtributed among the poor: If he be a ſlave himſelf that offends, although it be the firſt time, he is nevertheleſs preſently ſold, and ſent among the *Whites*, a thing ſo much abhor'd by them that they would almoſt purchaſe their redemption with the price of their lives. When any of theſe three laſt caſes happens, a perſon is deputed either to receive the money and diſtribute it as before, or elſe to take in exchange ſo much linen as amounts to the value, and this to wrap the dead poor in, after the cuſtom of the country. All which is done without our concerning our ſelves, leſt it ſhould occaſion ſome evil-ſpirited people to ſuggeſt that what we did was rather through a motive of covetouſneſs than any of charity or religion.

Treachery in a jailor.

So many caſes of this nature happen'd to me during my *miſſion*, that would ſuffice to make a volume apart; nevertheleſs, not to be too tireſome to my reader, I ſhall content my ſelf with relating only the moſt remarkable. Upon a time a certain wizard more famous than ordinary was brought before me, whom, not to truſt any more to the count, I committed to the cuſtody of the keeper of the church (an office of great gain and much honour, and which is not confer'd by us but upon perſons beſt qualified) to the end that he might impriſon him the ſafer in his own houſe. This good man, notwithſtanding my particular injunctions, not long after ſet his priſoner at liberty, and placed in his room and in chains a poor ſlave. At my coming a little while after to examine the offender, not finding him to be the ſame that I ſent, I began to demand of the keeper *what was become of him?* He anſwer'd me, *That was he.* Then I aſked the priſoner, *if he were the perſon?* To which he reply'd, *He was.* Hereupon I ſeemed to believe both, yet being certain that I was impoſed upon, I was reſolved to know the truth: For this end I called one of the ſlaves belonging to the church to me, and commanded him to go immediately and cut off the pretended wizard's head. Hereat the impriſoned ſlave being affrighted, eſpecially when he ſaw the ax brought, began to tremble, and cry out, *I am not he, I am not the wizard, but ſuch a one is* (naming him) *whom the keeper has ſet free, and put me in his ſtead.* Then turning to the keeper, I ſaid, *What ſay you to this?* He anſwered, *Father, the wizard is gone forth to ſeek a livelihood, and has left this perſon here as a pledge till he returns: but* (continu'd he) *I'll immediately go and look after him, and don't queſtion but to find him.* Hereupon I went along with him, but to no purpoſe, for the ſubtle conjurer had very prudently given us both the ſlip. For this offence I could do no leſs than deprive the keeper of his place, and he was not a little thankful that I left him his life. Moreover, priſoners eſcape many times here through the ſlightneſs of their

their priſons, for being moſt commonly built with reeds they can't be ſuppoſed to be very ſtrong. To remedy this, we generally took care at the arrival of any *European* veſſel to embark our priſoners on board, and to tranſport them to other countries.

Phyſicians, who, and their cunning. The infernal practice of ſorcery is even abhorred by the natives, and thoſe that make uſe of it are for the moſt part the meaneſt ſort of people, ſerving here either for phyſicians or ſurgeons, there being no others in the country. The remedies they have are generally the natural ones, and therefore they have recourſe to witchcraft to credit their art, and to make people believe that the virtues of their medicines are communicated to them by the devil. If their phyſick fails, they excuſe themſelves, and ſay, *A certain ominous bird flew over their heads, and hindered the operation of it:* or elſe they aſſert ſome other ridiculous lie. Theſe ſorts of incantations are always practiſed in the night-time. The firſt thing they ſay to the ſick perſon after he comes under their cure is, *If you have a mind to be cured, beſure not to ſend for any confeſſor, for his preſence will not only take away the virtue of the remedy, but likewiſe deprive you of your life.* When any one dies under their hands, they affirm that there were other occaſions for his death than thoſe of his diſtemper, which puts the parents upon divers curſed methods of finding out the ſuppoſed murderers, they being generally of opinion that nobody dies a natural death.

A ſtrange judgment. Dreadful to be remember'd, though not unworthy of memory, was a caſe that happen'd in our time, as follows: A certain child had languiſhed for ſome time under a deſperate diſeaſe, and which by being the only one its parents had, was their chiefeſt comfort and ſupport: the relations often ſollicited them to ſend for ſome wizard or other to recover his health, but they would by no means hear of ſuch a propoſal, alledging that they never yet had had recourſe to any ſuch people upon any occaſion whatever. To this the relations reply'd, and aſked them, *What they thought the world would ſay, that they who had but one only child, ſhould ſuffer it to die for want of being at the expence of a magician?* This they urged ſo home, and made uſe of ſo many other arguments of the like nature, that they at length prevailed upon the deluded parents to ſend for a wizard hard by: when he came into the houſe, the mother had her ſick child in her arms, which the magician ſtretching forth his arm to touch, in order to begin his charm, at the ſame time both the child and the wizard expired: this occaſioned ſo exceſſive an affliction in the father and the mother, that blaming themſelves for this impious credulity, and looking upon this accident as no better than parricide in them, before they would bury the body of their unhappy infant, they came to confeſſion at our convent. MEROLLA.

Another judgment. Not unlike this was another accident that happened in this country while I was there. A certain ſick perſon ſent to a magician to come and cure him: the magician came accordingly, but as he was ſtretching forth his hand, as in the foregoing caſe, he fell down dead to the ground, miſerably loſing his own life, at the ſame time that he endeavoured by wretched means to prolong that of another man.

A further account of oaths. But let us return to ſpeak a little more of the wicked oaths practis'd among theſe people. They have another ſort of oath which they call *orioncio:* the way of adminiſtring this is, by putting exceeding ſtrong poiſon into the fruit called *niceſi*, ſufficiently ſpoken of before, and afterwards giving that fruit to the ſuppoſed guilty perſon to eat: he has no ſooner taſted of it, but his tongue and throat begin to ſwell to that exceſs, that if the wizard did not ſpedily apply an antidote, he muſt inevitably ſoon periſh under the experiment, and tho' innocent he commonly remains tortur'd for many days.

The oath called *oluchenche* is given after the following manner: the perſon that takes it has his limbs bound tighter or looſer, to force out the truth as they term it, according to the wizard's inclination to find him either guilty or innocent.

As I paſſed thro' the kingdom of *Angola*, one of the aforeſaid ſorts of the oath called *bolungo* was adminiſtred to a *Mufacca* (ſo they call the receiver among the *Whites*) a relation to the king of *Congo*, and to him of *Loango*, one of the powerfulleſt along that coaſt, and whoſe ſon, as they told me, was to ſucceed in that kingdom. To this perſon the *Scinghili* (gods of the earth, being the name they have for their wizards) attributed the cauſe of its not raining in the month of *March*, at which time it always had accuſtomed to have rained. He therefore, to ſatisfy the rage of the people, was to undergo this dangerous teſt, which he accordingly did, and unexpectedly came off acquitted. The *Scinghili* or wizards boaſt that it is in their power to grant or prevent either wet weather or a drought.

A wizard deceived. We having put aſhore in one of the ports of this kingdom, as we were on our voyage to *Congo*, and the people having underſtood who I was, and that I was of a contrary opinion to that of their *Scinghili*, they began immediately to mur-

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mur againſt me. Their wizards, to confirm their belief, and to oppoſe mine, foretold that there ſhould be no rain all that ſummer. But it ſo fell out, and Providence I believe had ſo order'd it, that ſcarce was I got aſhore to ſay maſs, but the heavens began to pour forth their watry wrath againſt theſe infidels in ſuch a manner, that theſe very wizards were afterwards forced to own to me that their knowledge in theſe matters was not infallible.

Strange ſuperſtition.

In our convent at *Songo* our fathers had built one apartment two ſtories high, on purpoſe to keep ſome of the church utenſils by themſelves. No rain having happened that ſeaſon, the *Scinghili* attributed the cauſe thereof to our raiſing our building contrary to the cuſtom of the country. Hereupon the too credulous people came one day in a great rage to pull down that apartment; when one of our fathers immediately going out, demanded of them *what they would have?* Whom they anſwered in great fury, *That they muſt either pull down that building, or they ſhould always want rain.* This ſoon fir'd the pious father, and made him to go on with a great deal of zeal; firſt reproaching their unwarrantable folly, and after giving them to underſtand that GOD was the only diſpoſer of all gifts, whether in heaven, earth or ſea, ſometimes giving, and ſometimes with-holding, according as he beſt ſaw fit and convenient; and that the miniſters of the prince of darkneſs, ſuch as their *Scinghili*, were only qualified to deſtroy men both here and hereafter, inſtead of doing them the leaſt kindneſs. Make a devout proceſſion, ſaid he, to our Lady of *Pinda*, I aſſure you GOD will relieve your wants. So they did, and ſo it fell out, the earth being ſoak'd with the rain, the houſe remaining untouch'd, and the people ſatisfied. Since then they have uſed this in time of diſtreſs, and it has happened they have gone from the *banza* with fair weather, and returned well ſoak'd from *Pinda*.

A wizard diſappointed.

Whilſt my companion father *Joſeph* was formerly travelling on his miſſion in *Sogno*, he came to an open country at a time when the clouds were juſt ready to diſembogue their burdens. He there overtook a traveller likewiſe, who was ſtanding ſtock ſtill, and murmuring ſtrange words to himſelf. After which he mounted his bow, and ſhot an arrow up into the air with great indignation. The father perceiving this, and gueſſing it to be ſome of the deviliſh practices of this country, immediately came up to him, and after having ſharply reproved him for his offence, acquainted him, *That he believed all his belliſh art would not ſuffice to keep it from raining that day:* and as he gueſſed, ſo it ſoon happened; for preſently after there fell ſo great a ſhower, that the father was wet to the ſkin, which he was nevertheleſs pleaſed with, by reaſon that it had ſo plentifully diſappointed the wicked ſorcerer. At this the wretch was much ſurprized, but would not nevertheleſs be convinced of his error, affirming, *That this had happened through the power of thoſe that went before him, who were greater proficients in magick than himſelf.* Theſe provoking words cauſed the black Chriſtians that were along with the father to ſeize upon the wizard, and to give him that chaſtiſement which his crime deſerv'd.

Impious obſtinacy.

In the country about *Coanza*, a river to be paſſed in the way to *Singa*, a certain *ſoua* or lord of the mannor cauſed himſelf to be accounted a *Scinghili*, requiring his vaſſals to make their addreſſes to him when they wanted rain. One of our fathers coming thither, and deteſting the impious abuſe, did what lay in his power to get him ſeized; but being diſappointed thro' the quality of the perſon, he was forced to have recourſe to a milder remedy; and no doubt inſpired by GOD, he told the inhabitants, *That if they did not rid out of their hearts that curſed opinion, they'd never have any rain.* As the father propheſied, ſo it happened; for ever ſince, for ſeventeen years together, they have not had one drop in thoſe parts, whereby the earth is become ſo dry, eſpecially conſidering the climate, that it has yawn'd wide in moſt places, and ſeems with ſo many mouths to beg pardon of the Almighty Diſpenſer of benefits for the blaſphemy of their lord. 'Tis true, the beſt come-off they have for this offence is, that the ſaid father, after their diſobedience, curſed the air; and ſo cauſed it to with-hold its favours from them. Notwithſtanding the curſe on his country, and the loſs of his vaſſals, who went to live in other parts, the obſtinate *ſoua*, unwilling to own his error, ſtill continued to pretend to the ſame power.

Another judgment.

To conclude ſpeaking any more of oaths, I will give one terrible inſtance relating to them, which happened in the kingdom of *Matamba*, being the dominions of the queen of *Singa*, and related to me by father *Francis dà Pavia* a miſſioner there. Upon an affair ſomething more conſiderable than ordinary, a certain friar of our order thought fitting to give an oath on the holy evangeliſts to two of the greateſt magicians, counſellors to the queen. At firſt they refuſed to take it, but at length conſented, ſaying to themſelves, *What harm can happen to us by ſo doing? We had better ſatisfy the father in ſo indifferent a matter, than diſoblige him by a refuſal.* Hereupon they preſently agreed to take it, and ſwore,

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but falſely, when a ſtrange accident happened. The firſt of theſe burſt, and fell down dead, while he had his hand on the maſs-book; and the other languiſhed away, and died in about ſix hours after. Which taught others to be more cautious how they jeſted with God.

A diabolical cuſtom. From the death of theſe two magicians of the higher rank, let us proceed to ſpeak of other wizards, who moſt commonly die violent deaths, and that for the moſt part voluntarily. For the preſent I ſhall only ſpeak of the head or chief of theſe wretches, from whom the reſt take example. He is ſtiled in the country language *Ganga Chitorne*, being reputed god of the earth, and to whom is conſequently paid the firſt fruits of all it produces, due to him, as they ſay, as its author, and not either to the ordinary work of nature, or to the extraordinary one of Providence. This power he alſo boaſts to be able to communicate to others, when and as often as he pleaſes. He further aſſerts, that his body is not capable of ſuffering a natural death; and therefore to confirm his adorers in that opinion, whenever he finds his end approaching either thro' age or a diſeaſe, he calls for ſuch a one of his diſciples as he deſigns to ſucceed him, and pretends to communicate to him his great power; and afterwards in publick (where this tragedy is always acted) he commands him to tie a halter about his neck, and to ſtrangle him therewith, or elſe to take a club, and knock him down dead. This command being once pronounced, is ſoon executed, and the wizard thereby ſent a martyr to the devil. The reaſon that this is done in publick, is to make known the ſucceſſor ordained by the laſt breath of the predeceſſor, and to ſhew that he has the ſame power of producing rain, and the like. If this office were not thus continually fill'd, the inhabitants ſay, *That the earth would ſoon become barren, and mankind conſequently periſh.* In my time one of theſe magicians was caſt into the ſea, another into a river, a mother and her ſon put to death, and many other baniſh'd by our order, as has been ſaid.

Great treachery. In the firſt year of our arrival in theſe parts there happened a paſſage worthy to be remembred, which before I can begin with, I muſt go ſome years back with my ſtory. Upon the late king of *Congo*'s death, two very conſiderable perſons pretended to that crown, either of whom did all that in him lay to procure the count of *Sogno*, a powerful elector, on his ſide. One of theſe, whoſe name was *Simantamba*, made him ſeveral preſents of ſlaves for that purpoſe, but which had been all taken by force; and therefore the fathers that were then at his court adviſ'd him by no means to accept of them. To this the count anſwered, *That he had already conſidered of the matter, and was inclinable to be of their opinion, that he ought not to accept of them.* Some time after the ſame *Simantamba*, to ingratiate himſelf the further into this prince, and to engage him in a ſtricter tie of friendſhip, requeſted his ſiſter of him for a wife. To this the count ſo readily conſented, that he not only ſent him her forthwith, but likewiſe the crown it ſelf, which it ſeems he had then in his poſſeſſion, together with a velvet throne, ſeveral other things of great value, and divers arm'd troops. *Simantamba* having advice of the approach of his ſpouſe, went out ſeveral days journey to meet her; and the better to avoid the ſnares that might be laid for him by his rival in the crown, thought it proper to ſet down and fortify himſelf in a very ſtrong wood. The count's army arriving ſome time after with ſongs, muſick, and dancing, entered the wood with great alacrity, which *Simantamba*'s followers perceiving, and fearing ſome treachery by reaſon of ſo great a number of people ſent by the count, adviſ'd their maſter to oppoſe their entrance: But he truſting too much to his ſecurity, rejected their advice, and conſequently ſoon became a martyr to his credulity; for the count's army had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of the wood, but they ſet upon both him and his followers with piſtols, and killing the greateſt part, forced the reſt to fly. Thus inſtead of a joyful *hymen*, this prince met with a barbarous death, and which together with that of his friends, ſuited with the deſcription made by *Virgil* in the ſecond book of his *Æneids.*

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Luctus ubiq; pavor, & plurima mortis imago.

Odd ſtories. Some time after the brother of this deceaſed prince got together a great number of people to revenge his brother's death; and his firſt exploit was the taking of a great part of the county of *Chiovachianza* belonging to *Sogno*. To recover which, the count, at our being there, raiſed a great army likewiſe, and marched directly towards the chief city of his antagoniſt. At his arrival he found all the inhabitants fled; whereupon the *Sogoneſe* ſoldiers fell immediately to rifling of the houſes, and moreover began to kill all the living creatures they met in their way, to ſatisfy their hunger. Amongſt the reſt they found a cock of a larger ſize than ordinary, with a great ring of iron about one of his legs, which occaſion'd one of the wiſeſt among them to cry out, *Surely this cock muſt be bewitch'd, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with.* To which the reſt anſwered, *Be*

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it what it will, we are reſolved to eat it. For this end they immediately killed, and tore it to pieces after the manner of the *Negroes*, and afterwards put it into a pot to boil. When it was enough, they took it out into a platter, and two, according to the cuſtom, having ſaid grace, five of them ſat down to it with great greedineſs. But before they had touched a bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled pieces of the cock, tho' ſodden, and near diſſolved, began to move about, and unite into the form they were in before, and being ſo united, the reſtor'd cock immediately raiſed himſelf up, and jumped out of the platter upon the ground, where he walk'd about as well as when he was firſt taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining wall, where he became new feathered all of a ſudden, and then took his flight to a tree hard by, where fixing himſelf, he after three claps of his wings, made a moſt hideous noiſe, and then diſappeared. Every one may eaſily imagine what a terrible fright the ſpectators were in at this ſight, who leaping with a thouſand *Ave Marias* in their mouths from the place where this had happened, were contented to obſerve moſt of the particulars at a diſtance. The cauſe of their preſervation they attributed to the grace that was ſaid before they ſat down; otherwiſe they were of opinion that they ſhould all have been either poſſeſſed or killed. I having related this ſtory to father *Thomas da Siſtola*, one of our order, who had been ſuperior of a miſſion to *Congo* and *Angola* for above ſeven years, he told me that whilſt he lived in *Congo* he heard two perſons aver that the before-mentioned *Simantamba* had a very large cock, from whoſe manner and time of crowing he obſerved with great ſuperſtition whether his undertakings ſhould be unlucky or proſperous. But notwithſtanding the infallibility of his oracle, we find he was deceived when he made that laſt expedition wherein he loſt his life. Whether this cock of his was the ſame mention'd before to have been reſtored to life after a moſt miraculous manner, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

Portugueſes *beat the* Sogneſes.

The ſame father *Thomas* acquainted me how he and his companion had been abus'd in their miſſion at *Sogno*, and ſent among the pagans into the kingdom of *Angoij*, which was after the following manner. A king of *Congo* being deſirous to be crown'd, had recourſe to the *Portugueſes* of the kingdom of *Angola* for their aſſiſtance, with condition that in caſe he ſucceeded in his deſign, he would give them the country of *Sogno*, and two mines of gold to boot. This proffer being not unwelcome to the *Portugueſes*, they immediately aſſembled themſelves to take poſſeſſion of it, to the end that thereby they might be more ſecure of having their bargain performed after they had done their work. At the ſame time the king gather'd great numbers of his ſubjects together to join the *Portugueſes*, adding moreover a certain company of *Giaghi* under the *calangola* (a chief among this barbarous people, that delight in feeding on man's fleſh) all which immediately ſet forward towards *Sogno*. The count being ſoon acquainted with theſe proceedings, raiſed a prodigious army likewiſe, and therewith went out to meet his bold invaders. But it ſo happened, that by reaſon the *Sogneſe* army were wholly unacquainted with the fire-arms and manner of the *Portugueſe* fighting, they were ſoon diſcomfited and routed, leaving the field, and an innumerable number of priſoners, together with the dead body of their count, to the conquerors.

Are routed themſelves.

After this victory obtained, the aforeſaid *calangola* propoſed to the *Portugueſe* captain to have all the priſoners killed, and given to his ſoldiers to eat, alledging that *the next day they ſhould take as many more, and they would then not be able to keep both.* This propoſal the captain either thro' clemency or intereſt refuſed to conſent to, telling the *Calangola*, that his men, if they pleaſed, might feed for the preſent on the dead bodies, and in the mean time he would conſider of his requeſt. Whilſt this paſſed, the counteſs dowager, together with all the people, petition'd the ſaid captain, *That he would proceed no further with his hoſtilities, and he ſhould be fully ſatisfied in what he demanded.* To which the captain anſwered, *That he was reſolved to go on as far as the fartheſt* * banza, *to teach the* Sogneſe *people the bounds of their obedience to* Congo. Hereat the people being extremely enraged, one of the principal among them being of the blood of the counts, ſtood up, and told them, *That if they would elect him for their count, he would ſoon rid them of their fears of the* Portugueſes. To this the affrighted people immediately conſented, and at the ſame time choſe him for their ſovereign. Being thus choſen, he began to unite and fortify the diſtracted minds of his ſubjects; and to the end they might quickly be in a condition to take the field, he gave them the following inſtructions. Firſt he order'd them to ſhave their heads (which cuſtom continues even to this day among theſe people, whether males or females.) Next he commanded them to bind palm-leaves about their temples, to the end that in the battle they might be thereby diſtinguiſhed

* Banza *is a name given to the cities here.*

from

from thoſe *Blacks* that accompanied the *Portugueſes*. He further adviſed them not to be afraid either of the noiſe or flaſhings of guns, ſince they were only as bugbears fit to fright children, and not men of courage. He moreover cautioned them againſt minding thoſe *European* trifles which their enemies the *Whites* were accuſtomed to throw among them, when they had a mind to diſorder and make them break their ranks †. He likewiſe ordered them to ſhoot always at the men, and not the horſes, theſe laſt being inconſiderable in war, and nothing like to the nature of tygers, lions and elephants. He commanded them moreover that if any among them turn'd his back, they ſhould immediately ſtrike off his head; and if more than one did the ſame, the reſt ſhould ſerve him the like: *For* (ſays he) *we are all reſolved to die a glorious death, rather than live a miſerable life.* Laſtly, to the end that his followers might go on under him with the leſs concern, he commanded them to kill all their domeſtick animals; and the better to encourage them therein, was the firſt that ſet them an example, by killing his own in their ſight. This he did likewiſe to prevent the *Portugueſes* (in caſe they ſhould have the better of him) from having any thing to triumph over, and feaſt with in his dominions; and rather choſe to have his ſubjects feed on them, to hearten and ſtrengthen them for battle, than to have his enemies fatten and regale on his ſpoils. Now becauſe his orders had been ſo punctually obſerved in this particular, the whole race of theſe beaſts, eſpecially of cows, has almoſt been totally deſtroyed ever ſince; inſomuch that I my ſelf have known a young maid ſold here for a calf, and a woman for a cow. To reinforce this his army, the laſt thing this count did was to call in his neighbours to his aſſiſtance, together with whom and his own ſubjects having compoſed a wondrous force, he forthwith march'd out into the field. His enemies through too great a negligence and contempt of his power, ſoon betrayed themſelves into his hands; for marching on without the leaſt order, they gave opportunity to an ambuſh that lay ready for them, to break, and put them eaſily to flight. The firſt that fled were the *Giaghi*, being the troops under their *calangola*, and the forces of the king of *Congo* followed ſoon after. The ſlaves that had been taken in the battle before, finding here an opportunity to eſcape, run like madmen in amongſt their friends, and having their arms unlooſed by them, preſently turn'd all their fury upon the remaining *Portugueſes*, who ſtill kept their ground; but at length being overpower'd by numbers, they were forced to give back, and were all kill'd in the purſuit, except ſix who were taken priſoners, and brought before the count; who demanded of them, *If they would chuſe to die with their companions, or ſurvive to be made ſlaves?* To which they anſwer'd, with an accuſtom'd *Spaniſh* reſolution, *Never did* Whites *yet yield to be made ſlaves to* Blacks, *neither would they.* Which anſwer ſoon cauſed their deſtruction, for ſcarce were the words out of their mouths, but they were all killed upon the ſpot. All the artillery and baggage was taken by the *Sogneſe* army; the former of which, together with ſome pieces of cannon bought of the *Hollanders*, ſerved to furniſh a fortreſs built with earth at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, which commands both the ſaid river and the ſea. MEROLLA

In further danger.

Before they left *Loanda*, the *Portugueſe* army had deſired of the commander of the *Armadilia* (ſo they call'd their fleet by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of it) *that as he ſail'd along the coaſts of* Sogno, *where-ever he ſaw great fires burning he ſhould anchor.* Now after the obtained victory, the *Sogneſe* ſoldiers ſpent all their nights in jollity and merriment about ſuch fires, as had been deſcribed; which the ſhips immediately perceiving, dropt their anchors hard by, and were preparing to land their force; while diſcovering from the ſhore a *Portugueſe* ſlave that hal'd them, they ſoon took him into a boat, and found he had been ſent by the count to the governor of *Loanda* with a leg and an arm of a *White*; together with this inſulting meſſage, *Go carry the news of your defeat, together with this preſent, to the governor of* Loanda *your maſter.* Thus you may perceive the ſeamen, if they had landed, had been in the ſame caſe with the landmen, and inſtead of impriſoning the *Blacks* in the ſhackles they had carried along with them for that purpoſe, had been undoubtedly in the like condition themſelves, and had been at leaſt made ſlaves of, if they came off with their lives.

The Sogneſes *vindication.*

What the *Sogneſes* ſay for themſelves in juſtification of this quarrel, is as follows: They aſk firſt, *What right the king of* Congo *had to give away their country of* Sogno *to the* Portugueſes, *when it was none of his, but a ſovereignty of it ſelf?* And next they would know, *Why the* Portugueſes, *who were not unacquainted with that particular, ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to be ready to accept of it, and that in an hoſtile manner?* They alledg'd moreover, *That when the* Hollanders *ſome years ſince had got poſſeſſion of the*

† *The* Portugueſes *to put them into diſorder, uſed to ſcatter knives, bits of coral and of cloth, about which they ran out to pick up, and ſo were diſperſed.*

kingdom of Angola, *a great number of* Portugueſes *being outed thence, fled to* Sogno, *where they were courteouſly entertained by the count, who gave them the iſland of* Horſes *to live in; and moreover furniſhed them with all manner of proviſions* gratis. *Now they could not but much wonder that thoſe people whom they had ſo hoſpitably relieved, ſhould have the ingratitude to endeavour to take their country away from them.* Theſe jars ariſing upon this occaſion, could not but be extremely prejudicial to the infant growth of Chriſtianity in this country, inſomuch that one of our order who lived at *Sogno* died for mere grief thereof: And I my ſelf met with ſeveral people in *Chitombo*, the place where the battle was fought, who would come no more to confeſſion upon that account.

Barbarous uſage. Now to return to our ſtory: The count having received in the aforeſaid battle about thirteen wounds, in near the compaſs of a month, died thereof; and a new one being ſoon choſen in his ſtead, he nouriſhed in his heart ſo great a hatred to the *Portugueſes*, that he reſolved for the future to have no more dealings neither with them nor the *Capuchins*, whom he looked upon to belong to them. Whereupon ſending for ſome *Flemiſh* merchants that were juſt then upon their departure out of his country for *Flanders*, he writ by them to the pope's nuncio there, to furniſh his dominion with new prieſts. The pious prelate upon the receipt of this letter, ſent him two *Franciſcans* and one lay-brother, with ſtrict command to them, that if there were any *Capuchins* in the country, they ſhould ſubmit to them as their ſuperiors. Theſe three religious perſons being arrived, were received with all the courteſy imaginable, and afterwards conducted to our convent. The count perceiving that he had now got other prieſts, made uſe of ſeveral falſe pretexts to ſend ours away; and at laſt being not able to prove any crimes againſt them, he had recourſe to the moſt barbarous and arbitrary uſage that could be thought on, commanding that they ſhould be dragged out of his dominions for the ſpace of two miles together. This was forthwith executed with the greateſt rigour, for the officers of this cruel maſter, not only tore them along in their own cords, with their faces grating downwards upon the ſands, but likewiſe revil'd them all the way with unmerited reproaches and calumnies. All which notwithſtanding theſe pious fathers underwent with the greateſt chearfulneſs, well remembring what greater puniſhments and indignities their Saviour had ſuffered for them before. So great nevertheleſs were the injuries offer'd to theſe fathers, that in no long time after one of them died; and the other, who was the aforeſaid father *Thomas*, hardly eſcaped with his life. Being thus miſuſed, and withal unprovided of all neceſſaries, they were at laſt left on the confines of the count's dominions, in a little uninhabited iſland of the river *Zaire*. Here they made ſhift to ſupport themſelves for two or three days; F. *Thomas*, who was the leaſt hurt of the two, going out to hunt for their ſubſiſtence: but at length they were unexpectedly delivered from hence by ſome pagan fiſhermen, who took them on board them, and carried them to a city of their's called *Bombangoij* in the kingdom of *Angoij*. Here arriving at night, they were very courteouſly entertained by an infidel of the place, who gave them a ſupper, and moreover aſſigned them a houſe, and three women to wait on them after the manner of that country. But our fathers not caring to truſt themſelves among theſe people, ſoon after they had ſupp'd, ſending away their women, meditated an eſcape. For this purpoſe father *Thomas*, who was the beſt able to walk, took his lame companion upon his back, and marched out of the houſe; but he had not gone far, but he was forced, through weakneſs, to ſet down his burden under a great ſhady tree; which as ſoon as day appeared, for fear of diſcovery, they made ſhift to get up into. Their patron coming that morning to viſit his gueſts, and finding them gone, much wondered; and well knowing they could not be got far, by reaſon of the condition he left them in, immediately went about to ſearch after them. Coming at laſt near the place where they were, and not having yet found them, a pagan thought came into his head that they might have been carry'd away by ſome ſpirits, and which he expreſs'd after this manner; *If the devil has carried them away, I ſuppoſe he did it that they might make me no recompence for my kindneſs.* Our fathers hearing this, could not forbear laughing, even amidſt their miſeries and misfortunes, and putting out their heads from the tree, cry'd out, *We are here, friend, never doubt our gratitude, for we only went out of the houſe to refreſh our ſelves with the rays of the riſing ſun.* Hereat the old man being exceedingly rejoiced, immediately took them down, and putting them into two nets, ſent them away to *Capinda*, a port of the kingdom of *Angoij*, about two days journey from *Bombangoij*. Here, if I am not miſtaken, the father that had been moſt haraſs'd, died; and father *Thomas* embarking himſelf not long after, on board a veſſel that lay there, departed from *Loanda* in the kingdom of *Angola*. One of the two *Franciſcans* that remained yet in *Sogno*, the other having been

been gone for *Angola* ſome time before, being extremely affronted at the ill uſage of theſe two *Capuchins*, ſignified to the count that he thought himſelf obliged in charity to go in queſt of his baniſhed brethren, and that either to ſupport them if alive, or bury them if dead. This requeſt the count highly approved of, and conſequently gave him leave to go. Having hereby obtained his deſire, he ſoon ſet out for *Capinda*, but never returned, thinking it rather adviſeable to go on board the ſame veſſel with father *Thomas* for *Loanda*.

His companion the lay-brother not finding him to return, obtained leave likewiſe to go on the ſame errand, as well as under pretence of haſtening his return; but being once out of ſight, he alſo was no more to be ſeen. Our convent thus being deprived of all its inhabitants, only one lay-brother remaining behind, whom the count kept locked up for fear of loſing him; the people roſe in great fury againſt their prince, and that for depriving them of the miſſion deſigned for their good. No prudence being capable of oppoſing this mutiny, they at laſt went ſo far that they ſeized upon their count, and ſent him bound to an iſland of his dominions in the *Zaire*; where, that he might not be abſolutely idle, they left him liberty to command, and afterwards choſe a new count. This prince being but little ſatisfied with his confinement, did all that in him lay to get himſelf reſtored, intriguing inceſſantly with the neighbouring nations for that purpoſe. But which coming timely to his ſubjects ears, they once more ſeized upon him, and tying a huge weight to his neck, threw him in a rage into the ſea, with theſe words; *Over this river you made the poor innocent* Capuchins *to paſs into baniſhment for no offence, and into the ſame go you barbarous and inhuman monſter, for ſo doing.* Thus ended the life of a perſecutor of poor harmleſs men, who offended him only in that they were either really, or elſe ſuſpected to be *Portugueſes*.

The count confined.

A Capuchin welcomed.

Whilſt matters went thus, father *Joſeph Maria*, who lived then at *Loanda*, after ſome time came to *Sogno*, under pretence of carrying away the lay-brother beforementioned, with ſome church-utenſils belonging to the miſſion, though in reality his buſineſs was to ſound the minds of the *Sogneſe* people. After his arrival at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, called by the *Portugueſes Pionta del Padron*, before he would ſet foot aſhore, he ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the count with his being there. As ſoon as the people heard of it, they hurried away in great numbers to ſee him, and preſently acquainted him *how they had diſpatched the enemy of the* Capuchins *into that river, and that for the future they would defend thoſe holy men to the laſt drop of their blood.* This promiſe they afterwards confirmed by an oath at the holy altar. They alſo at the ſame time earneſtly entreated this father, *that he would continue among them, and depart no more for* Loanda. To this requeſt father *Joſeph* anſwered, *That his commiſſion from his ſuperior extended no farther than to bring away father* Leonard, *together with the church goods.* In ſhort, ſo very urgent were their intreaties, and ſo powerful their reaſons, that he was at length prevailed upon to tarry with them; and that eſpecially at the return of the meſſenger who brought him the ſame deſires from the new count. All this gained ſo far upon him, that he not only conſented to ſtay himſelf, but likewiſe, as a farther token of good-will, and pardoning their late offence, procured alſo the injured father *Thomas* to return once more among them; and even from thence-forward our order has lived in that country without the leaſt moleſtation. MEROLLA

This earldom is very large, even if you except *Chiovachianza* ſpoken of before. In it there were formerly about ſix miſſioners, but there are now for the moſt part but one or two, when there is occaſion for a much greater number. In the firſt miſſion my companion went on into theſe parts, above five hundred, as well men and women, as children, were baptized by him in a day. I have alſo known here abundance of mothers come five or ſix days journey, with their infants in their arms, to have them chriſtened, or elſe to confeſs themſelves, paying the interpreter to boot. How often does it happen among *Europeans*, that many put off the ſacrament of the bleſſed ſupper from time to time with no ſmall hazard to their ſouls? whereas in this country there is only a want of apoſtolick labourers to make the people ſtrict obſervers of the commandments, and conſtant in the faith. *Many baptized.*

To preſerve as much as poſſible this new-planted Chriſtianity, it has been ordered that in every city, or place of any note, there ſhould be one church at leaſt, and at my being here there were in all about eighteen throughout the count's dominions. To every of theſe there is ſent ſome perſon that has been bred up in our convent, who three times a week is to ſay over the *Roſary* to the people, and withal to teach every ſunday. On all holidays, inſtead of maſs the Litany is only ſung, and the Chriſtian doctrine expounded; and on the firſt ſunday of every month there is a proceſſion to be of the *Roſary*. As often as any dedication-day of a church happens, the miſſioner takes care to be preſent himſelf if he can poſſible, when great numbers appear, either *Prieſt's office.*

MEROLLA ther to baptize their children, to marry, or to receive the ſacrament.

Great abuſes. Herein nevertheleſs there did not want abuſes, introduced for the moſt part by foreigners, rather than the natives, of whom there are many, who through the grace of GOD live ſuch good lives, that ſometimes in their confeſſions there has ſcarce been matter for abſolution. The firſt abuſe was in matrimony, after the following manner: theſe people were accuſtomed to converſe with their wives ſome time before they married them, to try if they could like them; and after the ſame manner the wives were to experience their huſbands. The contracts were made thus: a father and mother ſeeing their ſon arrived to an age fit for marriage, ſend a preſent (which goes alſo for a portion) according to their ability, to the father and mother of the perſon that he fancies, requeſting their daughter of them for a wife to their ſon. Together with this preſent there is likewiſe ſent an earthen pot full of palm-wine, called by the natives *Cietto à Melaffo.* Before the intended wife's parents receive the preſent, they and their company are to drink up the wine: Firſt, his father is to drink, then the mother; and after them it is handed about among the ſtanders by: if this laſt ceremony were omitted, it would be accounted a conſiderable affront. After all this is done, the father is to return an anſwer either one way or other: if he rejects the offer, he muſt make his excuſes; but if he accept it, he only retains the portion. When the laſt happens, the huſband with his friends and relations goes immediately, upon notice that the preſent has been accepted, to his wife's father's houſe; and having there received her of her parents, conducts her to his own. The way of marrying, *in facie eccleſiæ*, is not at all approved of by them, for they muſt firſt be ſatisfied whether their wife will have children, of which they are very ſolicitous; whether ſhe will be diligent in her daily labour; and laſtly, whether ſhe will prove obedient before they will marry her. If they find her faulty in any of theſe points, they immediately ſend her back again to her parents. When the fault proceeds from the wife's ſide, the huſband muſt have the preſent he made her reſtored; but when it happens on his part, he can recover nothing. Tho' the woman through any defect, either in perſon or behaviour, be returned, yet is ſhe not nevertheleſs looked upon as the worſe for it, but ſoon after generally undergoes another trial. Being obliged by us to marry, when once they are become ſo, they will live ſo chriſtian-like and lovingly together, that the wife would ſooner ſuffer herſelf to be cut to pieces, than conſent to defile her huſband's bed. If it at any time happen otherwiſe, which I'm confident rarely does, the adulterer is obliged to give the value of a ſlave to the huſband of the adultereſs, and ſhe is to go forthwith and beg her huſband's pardon for the wrong ſhe has done him; otherwiſe if he comes to know of her crime, he may eaſily obtain a divorce. Such as are found to cohabit together without being lawfully married, are fined ſo much of the country money as amounts to the value of nine of our crowns.

It muſt be obſerved, that the father of the bride, when he receives the preſent for her, though it be never ſo little, muſt not complain, for that would be no better than ſelling his daughter. Wherefore to prevent ſuch a crime, all men are taxed by the publick in thoſe matters how much they ſhall give, and which is always rated according to their qualities and conditions.

All that the bride's parents receive upon this account, they look upon as due to them for maintaining their daughter to the time of her marriage; ſo that you may perceive he is to be eſteemed the richeſt perſon here who has moſt daughters.

A notable abuſe is this other, though practiſed by the meaner ſort of people, and that but ſeldom. When a man happens to draw near his end, who has taken a woman for his wife, but whom he had not yet married, to ſave returning the portion, he leaves the concubine to ſome kinſman. To prevent the which, we have ordered that he who receives a woman in that nature ſhall be baſtinadoed. One of theſe *Negroes* that had taken his couſin to wife, was once brought before me. This perſon was of the better ſort; but I thought the greater his quality was, the greater would be the ſcandal if I ſhould let him go unpuniſhed; and therefore having firſt uſed admonitions to him, and finding them fruitleſs, I proceeded to menaces; but all the effect they had was, that inſtead of quitting her, he made a new preſent to her father, and thereby inſinuated that he had fulfilled the law. Hereupon I cauſed him to be again apprehended, together with his ſpouſe: and having made a ſhort ſermon to them both, and the reſt of the people, to ſhew the heinouſneſs of this crime, upon their further obſtinacy, I delivered them up to the people to be dealt with as they thought fit; who taking them into their cuſtody, before they parted with them, ſeverely ſcourged them both, and moreover deprived the man of a certain office he held, which brought him in great profit.

I ſaid before, that women would have experience of their huſbands before they married them, in like manner as the men were

were to have of them; and in this particular I can aver, that they are commonly much more obſtinate or fickle than men, for I have known many of theſe laſt that were willing to be married, and the women always hung back, and either fled away or made excuſes.

Amongſt the many caſes of this nature that happened to me in my miſſion, I ſhall relate only one more. Being called to confeſs a ſick woman that had a daughter who lived with a man upon trial; before I confeſſed her, I told her, *That I could not make her partaker of the benefit of abſolution, unleſs ſhe withdrew her daughter from the ſtate of ſin ſhe lived in, and obliged her to marry.* To which the ſick woman readily anſwered, *Father, I will never conſent that my daughter ſhall have occaſion from me to curſe me after I am dead, for obliging her to marry where ſhe does not fancy.* Then I replied, *What, do you then ſtand more in awe of a temporal, than an eternal curſe?* And at the ſame time calling the daughter to me, I demanded of her, *If ſhe would be willing that her mother ſhould go to hell upon her account?* The wretch hearing this, began immediately to tremble and weep, and calling her feigned huſband to her, ſwore before me, that ſhe would be ſure to marry him the firſt holiday that came: and accordingly ſhe did, for ſoon after going a fiſhing with her huſband, they happened to have good luck, and therewith they ſolemnized their nuptials. Hereupon I preſently confeſſed the ſick mother, and ſhe not long after died in peace. Notwithſtanding this, ſome obſtinate mothers have rather choſen to die unconfeſſed, than to concern themſelves with the marriage of their daughters.

The œconomy obſerved between huſband and wife is as follows: The man is obliged to procure a habitation, to clothe his wife according to her condition, to prune the trees, to grub up roots from the fields where there is occaſion, and alſo to carry home the palm-wine to their houſe as often as it riſes. The woman on her part is to find meat for her huſband and children, and therefore only they have the care of marketing. As ſoon as rain comes, ſhe goes into the fields, and works till noon, at which time ſhe is to return home to get her huſband's dinner. Being got ready, ſhe ſets it down before him, who ſits only at table, and who after he has ſatisfied himſelf, gives the reſt to her, and ſhe forthwith divides it between herſelf and children. I ſhould have told you alſo, that the wives here wait on their huſbands at table.

Another abuſe is, that when the women are with child, they clothe themſelves from the loins to the knees, after the country faſhion, with a ſort of rind taken off a tree, which is like a coarſe cloth, and ſo neatly interwove, that it rather ſeems the work of the loom, than the product of the earth. This tree is called *mirrone*, the wood whereof is very hard, the leaves like thoſe of the orange-tree, and every bough ſends down abundance of roots to the ground. It is generally planted near the houſes, as if it were the tutelar god of the dwelling, the *Gentiles* adoring it as one of their idols: and in ſome places they leave *calabaſhes* full of wine of the palm-tree at the foot of them, for them to drink when they are thirſty; nor do they dare tread upon its leaves, any more than we would on the holy croſs. But if they perceive any branch broke, they no longer worſhip it, but preſently take off the bark, or rind, whereof the women with child make thoſe garments, receiving them at the hands of the wizards, who tell them, they eaſe the burden of the great belly, and cauſe them to be eaſily delivered. It is not to be imagined how careful the women are of this tree, believing it delivers them from all the dangers that attend child-bearing. Nevertheleſs underſtanding there was one in the liberty of our miſſion, I went, well attended, and cut it down. The woman it belonged to aſked, why it was cut down? I told her I wanted it to cut into planks; and ſhe went into her houſe without ſpeaking one word more. MEROLLA

The fourth abuſe is, that whilſt their children are young, theſe people bind them about with certain ſuperſtitious cords made by the wizards; who likewiſe teach them to utter a kind of ſpell while they are binding them. They alſo at the ſame time hang about them bones and teeth of divers animals, being preſervatives, as they ſay, againſt the power of any diſeaſe. Likewiſe there are ſome mothers ſo fooliſh, that they will hang *Agnus Dei's*, medals and relicks to the aforeſaid cords. When theſe women bring their children to be chriſtened, if we find any of theſe cords about them, we preſently order them to be ſtop'd in their proceedings, and inſtead thereof to receive ſeveral ſcourges on their knees, till ſuch time as they recant their error. I will relate only one of the ſeveral caſes of this nature that happened to me. A woman came to me to have her ſon baptized, and who at the ſame time had the magick cord about his waſte: I immediately ordered the mother to be whipped; but ſcarce had ſhe received one ſtroke before ſhe fell down on her knees, and in great conſternation directed herſelf to me after this manner: *Father, pardon me, I beſeech you, for the love of* GOD, *becauſe that my child having had four*

MEROLLA *of theſe cords on, I took off three while we were upon the road, and the fourth I deſigned to take away as ſoon as I had opportunity, but forgot it.* This cauſed great laughter in the ſtanders-by, but in me it raiſed an effect of pity of the ſimplicity of the woman, inſomuch that giving her only a ſmart reproof, I ſent her away unpuniſhed.

The fifth is, that being to wean any one of their children, the father and mother together lay him on the ground; and whilſt they do that, which modeſty will not permit me to name, the father lifts him by the arm, and ſo holds him for ſome time hanging in the air, falſly believing that by thoſe means he will become more ſtrong and robuſt. This ceremony they call the lifting of a child, and is in my opinion the moſt impudent and ſuperſtitious that could be imagined. Theſe people moreover keep their young children always naked upon the ground, to the end they may thereby grow hardy and active; and ſcarce are they able to walk alone, but they tie a bell about them, to give notice where they are to be found when they have ſtrayed.

A ſixth abuſe is, that the mothers are accuſtomed to preſent their infants to the wizards as ſoon as born, that they may foretel what good or evil fortune is likely to befal them: for this purpoſe the falſe prophet takes the child in his arms, and turning and winding it about, makes his pretended obſervations upon the muſcles and other parts of its body, and afterwards tells the parents what he thinks fit. The ſame obſervations are made upon ſick perſons, to know what has been the occaſion of their diſeaſes: if they happen to gueſs wrong, and the patient comes to die, they never want for excuſes to clear themſelves.

Seventhly, it is a cuſtom that either the parents or the wizards give certain rules to be inviolably obſerved by the young people, and which they call *chegilla:* theſe are to abſtain from eating either ſome ſorts of poultry, the fleſh of ſome kinds of wild beaſts, ſuch and ſuch fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with ſeveral other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious obſervance theſe commands are obeyed. Theſe young people would ſooner chuſe to faſt ſeveral days together, than to taſte the leaſt bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it ſometimes happen that the *chegilla* has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they ſhall preſently die unleſs they go immediately to receive it from the wizards. A certain young *Negro* being upon a journey, lodged in a friend's houſe by the way: his friend before he went out the next morning, had got a wild hen ready for his breakfaſt, they being much better than the tame ones. The *Negro* hereupon demanded, *if it were a wild hen?* his hoſt anſwered, *No:* then he fell on heartily, and afterwards proceeded on his journey. About four years after theſe two met together again, and the aforeſaid *Negro* being not yet married, his old friend aſked him, *If he would eat a wild hen?* to which he anſwered, *That he had received the* chegilla, *and therefore could not.* Hereat the hoſt began immediately to laugh, enquiring of him, *What made him refuſe it now, when he had eaten one at his table about four years ago?* At the hearing of this the *Negro* immediately fell a trembling, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far poſſeſſed with the effects of imagination, that he died in leſs than twenty four hours after.

Eighthly; The maids have a cuſtom, that in what place ſoever they firſt have their courſes come upon them they muſt continue, though without doors, till one of their kindred comes to carry them into the houſe; then they have two maids and a ſeparate apartment aſſigned them, where they muſt keep locked up for two or three months together, and obſerve certain ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſuch as, *not to ſpeak to any man, to waſh ſo many times a day, to anoint themſelves with* taculla, which is the duſt of a red wood tempered with water, and the like. If they ſhould not do this, they are of opinion, that they ſhould never be fit for procreation, though experience ſhews them the contrary. This ſuperſtition is by them called the *caſkets* of water or fire.

On the feaſt of the purification of the virgin *Mary*, I had a mind to preach a ſermon againſt theſe practices; and the better to move the people, I had before placed the image *in relievo* of this bleſſed ſaint covered on the altar with a dagger ſtruck thro' her breaſt, upon which the blood followed: This done, I began to diſcourſe againſt thoſe women that obſerved the helliſh deluſions beforementioned, proving that they thereby not only offended their loving Saviour, but likewiſe did great injury to his immaculate mother. At the ſame inſtant I drew aſide the curtain, and diſcovered the image, which the people perceiving ſo wounded and bloody, began immediately to relent, and broke out into the extremeſt grief. Among the many preſent there was one father of a family that had a daughter then ſhut up upon the foregoing account; who returning home in a great paſſion, fell upon both wife and daughter, and banged them to that degree, that they were glad to come immediately to our church to be confeſſed.

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The ninth and laſt abuſe is, that all the fields of this country being without fences, their owners, to preſerve their corn, plant about them ſeveral rows of ſtakes, which being bound round with bundles of herbs by the wizards, they tell you will kill any ſuch as ſhall offer either to rob or do them damage.

Laws and ordinances. To remedy as much as poſſible all theſe diſorders, which for the moſt part are practiſed either by women or men of no conſideration, we have thought proper to iſſue forth the following ordinances.

Firſt, That all the *mani's* or governors either of provinces or cities, who are not lawfully married, ſhall be forthwith deprived of their governments, to the end that they may not by their ill examples with-hold the common people from their duty. To get this the better obſerved, we drew on our ſide all the principal courtiers, whom we perſuaded to marry their wives without deſiring to have any foregoing experience of them. This pious endeavour of ours, thro' the grace of God, ſucceeded ſo well, that all that embraced it were eſteemed; and ſuch as oppoſed it either deſpiſed, or puniſhed.

Secondly, That all the women which were great with child ſhould be confeſſed, and communicate oftner than they were wont to do, and eſpecially ſuch as were near their time; both whom we likewiſe enjoined to wear religious relicks inſtead of the wizards mats.

Thirdly, That all mothers ſhould make the cords they bound their infants with of palm-leaves that had been conſecrated on palm-ſunday, and moreover guard them well with other ſuch relicks as we are accuſtomed to make uſe of at the time of baptiſm.

Fourthly, That all fathers and mothers ſhould at certain times offer up their children to God, and that in the church before ſome image of our Saviour.

Fifthly, That all mothers after the birth of their firſt-born ſhould carry it to the church, and perform the ceremony, which is called entring into the holy place; and if it be ſick, we ordered its mother to recommend it to the Lord, together with ſome ſort of vow.

Sixthly, That the parents ſhould enjoin their children to obſerve ſome particular devotion, ſuch as to repeat ſo many times a-day the *Roſary* or the *Crown* in honour of the bleſſed Virgin, to faſt on ſaturdays, to eat no fleſh a wedneſdays, and ſuch things uſed among Chriſtians.

Seventhly, Thoſe women that ſhould be found ſhut up for the future on account of their conception were to be ſcourged, and which was forthwith executed by order from the count: but if through neceſſity they were obliged to keep up, then they were enjoined only to repeat the *Roſary* on common days, and to hear maſs on all feaſt-days. Merolla

Eighthly and laſtly, Whipping was likewiſe impoſed on all ſuch as ſhould rob, or otherwiſe do damage in any field; and that inſtead of the magick guard their owners had planted to preſerve their corn, and to render it fertile, they ſhould make uſe of conſecrated palm-branches, and here and there ſet the ſign of the croſs. And further, to the end that all theſe preſervatives ſhould be left ſtanding at the time of reaping the corn, we ſent always a good company of our ſcholars at that ſeaſon with a ſtandard, to run over the fields, and ſee that all was in order; and alſo to back their authority, we procured ſeveral of the count's ſons and relations to accompany them, who might warrant the pulling down any ſpells or inchantments which they ſhould meet with in their way.

Deſcription, &c. of Sogno. Being thus got into the ſpacious fields of *Sogno*, let us take a view by the by of the ſituations, poſſeſſions, habitations and manner of living, and clothing of thoſe *Ethiopians*. The earldom of *Sogno* is abſolute, except only its being tributary to the kingdom of *Congo*. It is a *peninſula*, bordering on the eaſt upon *Bamba*, a dutchy belonging to *Congo*, and divided from it by the river *Ambriſe*: on the weſt and ſouth it has the ocean, and on the north it is bounded by the river *Zaire*, which divides the Chriſtians from the pagans of the kingdom of *Angoli*, and is ſeated in the torrid zone, being only ſix degrees diſtant from the equinoctial line. It has ſeveral iſlands in the *Zaire*, which are all inhabited by Chriſtians. The election of the count is performed by nine electors, who for the moſt part chuſe a new one before the old one deceaſed is buried. During the interim of the *ſede vacante* (vacancy of the throne) a child governs, who is obey'd by all as if he were their real prince. As ſoon as the election is made, we miſſioners are acquainted with it by order, to the end that if we approve of it we may publiſh it in the church, otherwiſe the election goes for nothing.

Counteſs dowager. The count being dead, the counteſs dowager (like the queen dowager of *Congo*) returns with her children to her firſt habitation, where ſhe is to exerciſe no dominion, but becomes a private woman, only retaining a privilege to take place next to the counteſs-regent. Sometimes it happens that there are three or four of theſe counteſs-dowagers living at a time, and that becauſe the women in this country are much longer-liv'd than the men, as alſo

MEROLLA that it is lawful for no body to marry theſe counteſſes except the ſucceſſor only.

Their duty is to obſerve continence ſtrictly in their widow'd ſtate; for if any of them ſhould be proved guilty of unchaſtity, they muſt either undergo death by fire, or the ſword. If either the ſon, or any other perſon of the blood has a mind to ſucceed his relation even in the life-time of the dying prince, there commonly ariſe great troubles to the ſtate; for they generally by factions get poſſeſſion of the throne, and exclude the electors from doing their duty. It is therefore that the death of all counts is always concealed as much as poſſible, inſomuch that ſometimes the bleſſed ſacrament has been forborn to be given them, for fear of diſcovering the occaſion by the prieſts going to court.

Policy. It once happened that I was called to court to comfort the indiſpoſed count, but the meſſenger it ſeems had a particular order to conduct me by the moſt unfrequented road. I went, and being come into the count's preſence, after having received me with all the civility imaginable, he demanded of the courtier what people he had met by the way: he anſwer'd, only three or four, and named them. After which, without any reply to him, he addreſſed himſelf to me, and diſcourſed of many things relating to my miſſion. I knew ſuch diſcourſe could not be the cauſe of his ſending for me, and therefore after ſome time intreated his highneſs to diſcover to me the occaſion of it: He anſwer'd, *The occaſion of my ſending for you, father, was only to ſee you, and to delight my ſelf with your converſation.* But as I was afterwards informed by a perſon about him, his reaſon was to have ſome remedy from me for his indiſpoſition; yet altho' I had been above an hour with him, he had not the courage to open his mind to me, fearing leſt even I ſhould diſcover his illneſs to be greater than it really was, and therefore the better to keep me in ignorance, he immediately cauſed himſelf to be lifted out of the bed. My companion ſoon after returning from his miſſion in the neighbouring parts, found ſeveral dead bodies in the road, which we diſcovering to the count, fearing it was by his order they had been murdered, he frankly owned that they had been ſacrificed to the intereſt of the ſtate. We told him our ſenſe of ſuch practices, and withal enjoined him a ſevere penance for the fact.

The count's ſons. The ſons of the deceaſed count remain likewiſe no more than private gentlemen after his death; and if their father in his life-time has a mind to buy them any eſtates, he muſt publiſh throughout his whole dominions, that he has done it with his own money, legally ariſing from his own rents, otherwiſe his children would run a riſk to be deprived of the poſſeſſions, as, for want of ſuch a proclamation, it has often happened they have been. The counts have another way to leave livelihoods to their children or friends, and that is by grubbing up woods belonging to his crown, and thereby reducing them to arable lands, which he is at liberty to grant as he thinks fit. This way we have likewiſe made uſe of to ſubſiſt any ſlave baptized into our church, and for whom we have begged ſome of this land for him to cultivate to his own profit.

Dominions The count's dominions are very large, and in which are many cities called *banza*, one of the principal of which is *Chiova*, but the greateſt of all is the *banza* of *Sogno*, where the count reſides. This *banza* is always governed by one of the count's near relations or friends, and who has only the name of governor, the reſt having only the title of *mani*. There are likewiſe ſeveral territories and towns ſubject to theſe cities, which are termed by the natives *libattas*.

Governors Every governor or *mani* on the feaſt-day of St. *James* is obliged to appear with all his people at the *banza* of *Sogno*, to aſſiſt at the firſt maſs ſaid there. If any one be any ways hindered from coming, he muſt ſend a deputy in his room, which if he neglects to do, he will both loſe his employment, and pay a fine beſides.

Manner of paying obedience. On the ſame day every one is to pay allegiance to the prince after the following manner. In the great market-place near our convent a throne is erected for the count, who in the preſence of all the people comes to receive benediction from the miſſioner, who attends for that purpoſe in the church-porch: he afterwards exerciſes two feats of arms. In the firſt, after the cuſtom of the country, having on his head a crown of flowing feathers, he makes uſe of a bow and arrows: In the other, being adorned with a hat with plumes of feathers on it, a chain and croſs of gold about his neck, to which is fixed a long rope of coral which hangs down to his knees, together with a ſhort ſcarlet cloak, all embroidered, on his ſhoulders, with two open places to put out his arms on each ſide, and ſeveral other fine things, he exerciſes with the fuzee. In both theſe he is at the ſame time imitated by the people, who herein uſe the ſame geſtures and motions they would do in caſe they were either to attack or defend themſelves againſt their enemy. As ſoon as the count has ended his exerciſe he goes to ſit upon his throne, which is prepared for him under a great tree that ſtands on the ſouth-ſide of the market-

market-place before-mentioned. After him the captain-general having received the like benediction with his maſter, performs the ſame thing that he had done before him, and wherein he is alſo followed by all the people, with divers ways of attacking, retreating, and other ſtratagems of war, called by the nations *faſchelari*. As ſoon as he has done, he places himſelf on a high ſeat covered with leather, built up for him on the eaſt-ſide of our church: This he does, that he may both the better be ſeen, and obſerve the military exerciſes performed ſucceſſively by the electors and the *mani*, each being as a captain at the head of his company, and who every one carry a ſpecimen of that which they are obliged to offer every year to the count for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and court. For example; if they are to give fiſh, they carry a couple of fiſh tied together on the head of a ſpear: if oil, then they ſhew the palm-fruit that produces it: if fleſh, they carry a horn of ſome beaſt; and ſometimes I have ſeen a man wrapped about in a cow's ſkin to demonſtrate that duty. At the ſame time the *mani's* diſpoſe of the *fyndicſhip* to him that is moſt worthy, and remove ſuch as have ill executed their offices from their employments. The great number of people met together from all parts to aſſiſt at this ceremony, occaſions us alſo a great deal to do during the ſpace of fifteen days: for ſome apply themſelves to us to be married, others to confeſs themſelves, and ſome to baptize their infants. I think of theſe laſt, for my ſhare, I baptiſed about two hundred and ſeventy two in one day. All the aforeſaid ceremonies being at an end, the people return home each to their own country, but not without craving a bleſſing from father miſſioner.

This ceremony is begun on St. *James's* day, by reaſon that apoſtle is looked upon as the patron and protector of all theſe parts, and that for having given a famous victory to the king of *Congo* againſt the idolaters on his day. The manner according to the common report was this.

Account of a famous victory. *Giovi*, the firſt chriſtian king of *Congo*, being dead, *Don Alphonſo* his ſon, no leſs heir to his virtuous actions than crown, ſucceeded him. *Panſanguitima* his brother thinking his title not good, becauſe he had changed his religion for the chriſtian faith, in a ſhort time rebelled, and having no better warrant than his ſword, moved againſt him with a numerous army of idolaters. *Don Alphonſo* not a little ſurprized at this attempt, marched out to meet him with a ſmall number, truſting to the merits of his cauſe, and the aſſiſtance of our Saviour: they ſoon came to a battel, and tho' the idolaters were very numerous, yet were they immediately routed, and *Panſanguitima* himſelf wounded. After the battel this prince fled to a certain retired place in the mountains, where being met with by ſome *Blacks* that were Chriſtians, they ſeized upon and took him priſoner, and afterwards brought him bound before the king his brother: the king ſeeing him in that condition, embraced him with all the bowels of a loving brother, and being extremely concerned to find him ſo deſperately wounded both in ſoul and body, made it his utmoſt endeavours to get him healed of both. But no chriſtian charity was able to prevail upon the ſtubborn and obſtinate pagan *Panſanguitima*, who giving himſelf up altogether to deſpair, would ſuffer neither remedy nor comfort, and ſo in a ſhort time died. It did not ſo happen to his lieutenant-general, for he having heard the dreadful ſentence of death pronounced againſt him in caſe he did not turn Chriſtian, choſe rather to be baptiſed than to die a martyr to his former opinion. Hereupon the king immediately cauſed his bonds to be looſed, and ſet him free, only enjoining him this penance, *That for a certain time he ſhould be obliged to bring water for all ſuch as were to be baptiſed.* Now upon report that St. *James* was viſibly ſeen aſſiſting at this battel, he has ever ſince been received for the patron of *Congo* and *Angola*, and ſome other neighbouring nations. MEROLLA

Office of the mani. The office of the mani is to receive the king's revenue, and to employ huſbandmen to manure the crown-lands when the rains have rendered them fit to till. At the time of reaping, theſe officers reſerve a certain part of the corn for themſelves, being their due, and a perquiſite annexed to their employ. As for the adminiſtration of juſtice, whether civil or criminal, it all belongs to them, except in ſome particular caſes, reſerved to be determined either by the prince or his delegates. The parties in law having joined iſſue to come to a trial, the plaintiff firſt urges his reaſons on his knees before the judge, who ſits on a carpet with a little ſtaff of authority in his hand, and under the canopy of a ſhady tree, ſuch as are wont to grow in the great mens court-yards here. Sometimes the judge hears cauſes in a great ſtraw-hut built for that purpoſe. When he has gravely given ear to all the proofs the plaintiff can bring, he proceeds in like manner to hear the defendant: after which he calls for the witneſſes, and if they do not attend, the cauſe muſt be put off to another day: if the witneſſes appear and give their teſtimony, the judge after having ſeriouſly

MERELLA weigh'd and conſidered the proofs and allegations of both parties, proceeds to pronounce ſentence according to the dictates of nature and reaſon, and not through any knowledge of any kind of laws. He that has judgment pronounced in his favour, after having paid ſo much to the judge's box, extends himſelf all along with his face to the ground, being a poſture whereby to demonſtrate his gratitude. When all is over, and the plaintiff about to return home, his friends and relations begin to ſet up their throats, repeating all the way to his houſe the conqueror's cauſe, and the judgment pronounced in his favour. Being got home, he is obliged to treat thoſe that had accompanied him, and ſometimes ſcarce a night and a day are ſufficient to bound their merriment: if the caſe be conſiderable, they commonly feaſt for three or four nights together with no ſmall charge to him that invites. All this while the unfortunate perſon having had the cauſe gone againſt him, remains ſilent and quiet, returning to his habitation without the leaſt murmur or ill-will.

There are other ſorts of feaſts which are wont to be kept by the *Blacks*, ſuch as upon the birth-days of their patrons, their aſſumption to any dignity, or the like: it is then that every one endeavours to make his lord a preſent ſuitable to his capacity, and moreover aſſiſts at the common ſolemnity beſides.

Pagan feaſts.

Having thus given a ſhort ſketch of ſome feaſts in uſe among theſe new Chriſtians, I will likewiſe take a little notice of one of the pagans of theſe parts, and that eſpecially upon the birth-day of the *caſſangi*, the moſt potent emperor of the *Giaghi*, with ſome other particulars relating to his dominions. What I am about to tell you was communicated to me by father *John Baptiſt de Saleſano*, a friar of our order, who accidentally happened to be in this country on the day this feaſt was ſolemnized. The dominions of *caſſangi* are very conſiderable, not ſo much for their bordering upon the kingdom of *Matamba*, as becauſe of their continued enmity with the queen of *Singa*, a friend to the *Portugueſes*. This queen has formerly been very ſerviceable to the *Whites*, but now they generally make uſe of the aſſiſtance of another prince of the *Giaghi*, called *galangola*, as has been obſerved before. But to ſpeak of the feaſt made by the *caſſangi:* His ſubjects being ſummoned together, appear in a vaſt body in ſome ſpacious plain. After they are thus met, they gather themſelves into a ring, leaving a large void in the middle, where there are ſeveral trees: on the top of one of which they erect a ſort of ſcaffold capable to contain the *caſſangi*, with the chiefeſt of his lords: afterwards, at a convenient diſtance, they chain down to the trunk of a tree one of the fierceſt lions they can meet with. When all this is done, and the emperor with his court placed as aforeſaid, the people begin to ſet up a huge noiſe, which joined with the untunable diſcord of a great number of odd muſical inſtruments, compoſes a helliſh harmony. After this a ſudden ſign is given for all to be huſh and ſilent, and then the lion is immediately looſed, though with the loſs of his tail, which is at the ſame time whipped off to make him the more furious. At his firſt looſing he commonly ſtares about, and ſeeing himſelf at liberty, tho' not altogether free, by reaſon of the multitudes that ſurround him, he immediately ſets up a hideous roar, and afterwards, being greedy of revenge, ruſhes upon ſome part or other of the company, where tearing one, and rending another, he makes a fearful havock among them: all this while the people run round him unarmed, being reſolved either to kill him with their bare hands, or to periſh. At laſt the wild beaſt having been the death of a great number of his aſſailants, is nevertheleſs forced to yield to the preſſing crouds that gather on all ſides about him; when the lion is killed, they all greedily devour the dead bodies; after which their muſick begins again, and ſo they return ſinging and dancing, and crying aloud, *Long live our* caſſangi, *long live our* caſſangi, to their emperor's palace, where being afterwards treated by him, they at length return with great joy to their own homes.

Miſſioners.

Now let us leave the *Giaghi*, and return to ſpeak farther of *Sogno*. To maintain this country in its due obedience to the chriſtian faith, no ſmall number of prieſts is neceſſary. In former times there have been a father-ſuperior, and ſix miſſioners all at once. In my time there was only I and one companion: the means we made uſe of to make theſe people live well has been hinted at before; what remains is to inform you, that as ſoon as any miſſioner is arrived in any city, the *mani*, or governor thereof, at night, when all the inhabitants are retired to their houſes, publiſhes a proclamation to acquaint the people, *That a miſſioner is come thither, and that they muſt all appear before him to have their ſpiritual neceſſities relieved, and continue ſo long with him as ſuch a buſineſs will require.* If the *mani* himſelf appear negligent in this, or occaſion any manner of diſturbance, he will receive a deſerved puniſhment, for we make it our buſineſs to get ſuch a perſon removed from his employment, even within his year.

At

Wizards. At my firſt going out on my miſſion, I found near a city called *Tubii*, a place where the wizards practiſed their ſorceries. No doubt Providence directed me to diſcover this helliſh trade, for whilſt I was walking along, I ſaw a large white bird flying before me, ſuch as I had never ſeen before in theſe parts; my curioſity led me to have a nearer view of it, and in order thereto I followed it into a thick and ſhady grove ſomewhat dark, at the end whereof I obſerved a large heap of earth in form like a tomb, with a great number of arches and calabaſhes at the top, and at both ends. Being pretty well aſſured what this was, I preſently ſent for the *mani*, who came trembling to me, and proteſted he knew nothing of the matter; I commanded him to inform himſelf then, and to get me the wizard ſpeedily ſeized: He ſaid he would, but I not caring to truſt his diligence, returned the next night to the ſame place, expecting to have found the wizard there; but he it ſeems having been acquainted with my proceedings, took care to diſappoint me by running away, as they all do as ſoon as they hear we make any ſearch after them. Then I order'd the *mani*, that *within ten days time he ſhould grub up and level all that place*, which he nevertheleſs diſobeyed me in; whereupon I cauſed him to be ſummoned before the count in our convent, where after a ſevere reprimand I commanded him to diſcipline (ſcourge) himſelf in the middle of our church during the whole time that I was celebrating of maſs, adding withal ſeveral other puniſhments in caſe he did not level the ſaid grove at his return home.

Churches and houſes The churches for the moſt part are built here with boards, and ours, as exceeding the reſt, was capable of holding five hundred perſons. In the *banza* of *Sogno* there were five other churches, in one of which the counts were always buried, and another was the chapel royal. The houſes are generally thatched, and the four ſides of them are fenced with palm-branches, or leaves interwoven not contemptibly with each other: The floors are of loam well beat and hardned, and the roofs and cielings made of thoſe ruſhes we are us'd to bottom chairs withal. The lord's houſe is of a quadrangular form likewiſe, and built with boards, but the front is always painted with a ſort of colour that iſſues out of the planed wood: The like any of the gentry may have, if they can obtain leave from their lords. Within theſe houſes are hung with a ſort of oſier mats variouſly coloured, but we *Capuchins* are wont to have ours done with ruſhes, as more warm in winter.

The count's habit. The count's habit differs according to the ſeveral feaſts, and ſometimes on other occaſions: His ordinary wear is a veſt of ſtraw-cloth girt cloſe about him, but of ſuch workmanſhip as may be only worn by him, or by thoſe that he thinks fit to honour with that privilege. This veſt hangs down to the ground, as does likewiſe a long bays cloak he wears over it on his bare back. On the feaſt-days he changes this cloak for a ſhort ſcarlet one fringed all round with the ſame cloth pink'd. On the moſt ſolemn days he puts on a ſhirt of the fineſt linen, as likewiſe yellow or crimſon ſilk ſtockings, and a cloak of flowered ſilk, which bears the name of the *ſpring*. When he comes to communicate with us at the altar, he has a cloak all white, and which drails along upon the pavement as he walks. When the count comes to church, which is at leaſt three times a week, he has a velvet chair and cuſhion carry'd before him, being brought himſelf in a net on the ſhoulders of two men, each with a commander's ſtaff in his hand, one all ſilver, and the other only of ebony tipped: The hat the count then wears is covered firſt with taffety, and next with a ſort of very fine feathers: On his head he generally wears likewiſe a little ſilk ſtitched cap, which can be worn only by him and ſome few others. Before him marches one muſician above the reſt, who has ſeveral little round bells fixed to an iron two ſpans long, wherewith he gingles, and chants to it the glory and grandeur of his lord: Beſides this there are ſeveral other ſorts of muſical inſtruments made uſe of at feſtivals, the principal whereof are thoſe which in the country language have the name *embuchi*, which I mention firſt becauſe they belong only to kings, princes, and others of the blood-royal. Theſe are a ſort of trumpets made of the fineſt ivory, being hollowed throughout in divers pieces, and are in all about as long as a man's arm; the lower mouth is ſufficient to receive one hand, which by contracting and dilating of the fingers forms the ſound; there being no other holes in the body as in our flutes or hautboys. A concert of theſe is generally ſix or four to one pipe. The *longa* (which is made of two iron bells joined by a piece of wire archwiſe) is ſounded by ſtriking it with a little ſtick: Both theſe are carried alſo before princes, and that eſpecially when they publiſh their pleaſure to the people, being uſed as the trumpet is with us. The inſtrument moſt in requeſt uſed by the *Abundi*, being the people of the kingdom of *Angola*, *Matamba*, and others, is the *marimbà*; it conſiſts of ſixteen *calabaſhes* orderly placed along the middle between two ſide-boards joined together, or a long frame, hanging about a man's neck with

MEROLLA

Muſick.

MEROLLA with a thong. Over the mouths of the *calabaſhes* there are thin ſounding ſlips of red wood called *tanilla*, a little above a ſpan long, which being beaten with two little ſticks, returns a ſound from the *calabaſhes* of ſeveral ſizes not unlike an organ. To make a concert, four other inſtruments are played upon by as many muſicians, and if they will have ſix they add the *caſſuto*, which is a hollow piece of wood of a lofty tone about a yard long, convered with a board cut like a ladder, or with croſs ſlits at ſmall diſtances; and running a ſtick along, it makes a ſound within which paſſes for a tenor: The baſe to this concert is the *quilando*, made of a very large *calabaſh*, two ſpans and a half or three in length, very large at one end, and ending ſharp off at the other, like a taper bottle, and is beaten to anſwer the *caſſuto*, having cuts all along like it. This harmony is grateful at a diſtance, but harſh and ungrateful near at hand, the beating of ſo many ſticks cauſing a great confuſion.

Another inſtrument of this concert is that which the natives call *nſambi*, and which is like a little gittar, but without a head, inſtead whereof there are five little bows of iron, which when the inſtrument is to be turned, are to be let more or leſs into the body of it. The ſtrings of this inſtrument are made of the thread of palm-trees: It is played on with the thumbs of each hand, the inſtrument bearing directly upon the performer's breaſt. Tho' the muſick of this inſtrument be very low, it is nevertheleſs not ungrateful.

Over and above the great drums us'd in the army, there are another ſort of a leſſer ſize, called *ncamba*; theſe are made either of the fruit of the tree called *alicon-da*, or elſe of hollow'd wood with a ſkin over one end only: They are commonly made uſe of at unlawful feaſts and merry-makings, and are beaten upon with the hand, which nevertheleſs makes a noiſe to be heard at a great diſtance. When the miſſioners hear any of theſe at night, they immediately run to the place in order to diſturb the wicked paſtime. It fell often to my lot to interrupt theſe helliſh practices, but the people always ran away as ſoon as ever I came up to them, ſo that I could never lay hold on any to make an example of them. The *Giaghi* not only make uſe of theſe drums at feaſts, but likewiſe at the infernal ſacrifices of man's fleſh to the memory of their relations and anceſtors, as alſo at the time when they invoke the devil for their oracle.

More of the count's habit. But to return to the count's habit. From his neck to his knees there commonly hang ſeveral ſtrings of purple coral, together with a large chain of the fineſt gold, having a maſſy croſs juſt before his breaſt to demonſtrate his being a Chriſtian: On his wriſts he generally wears bracelets of high-prized corals, and on all ſolemn days chains of gold of the fineſt workmanſhip: His fingers are almoſt always covered with rings: He generally goes in ſlippers inſtead of ſhoes. There are commonly carry'd before him two umbrella's of peacocks feathers, and two others of ſtraw, both being fixed to the tops of long poles: He has likewiſe two horſes tails along with him, wherewith to drive away the flies, altho' ſeldom any come near him. Thoſe of his followers who are employ'd in theſe offices, are commonly his greateſt favourites or relations. While maſs is ſaying, at the reading of the goſpel he has a lighted torch preſented to him, which having religiouſly received, he gives to one of his pages to hold till the conſummation be over, and when the goſpel is done he has the maſs-book given him to kiſs. On feſtival-days he is twice incens'd with the cenſor, and at the end of the maſs he is to go to the altar to receive benediction from the prieſt, who laying his hands upon his head while he is kneeling, pronounces ſome pious and devout ejaculations. Whilſt the prieſt that officiates goes out to put off his veſtments, the count in like manner retires to his private orizons: Afterwards he enters into the veſtry to pay his reſpects to the miſſioner, who receiving him courteouſly, accompanies him back as far as the door of the church. As ſoon as he is come out, he falls on his knees again, and the people all ſtanding round about him give themſelves ſeveral cuffs on the ear as a token of their fidelity, according to the cuſtom of their country, and he makes them a ſign with his fingers to ſignify his ſatisfaction. At his coming out of the church on the principal feaſt-days, he commonly practiſes ſome warlike exerciſe; and on thoſe of leſs conſideration either the captain-general performs that part for him, or elſe his courtiers entertain themſelves with dancing to the aforeſaid muſical inſtruments. On all the moſt ſolemn feaſts maſs is ſung by us and our interpreters to the glory and honour of our GOD, after which the count's guards which he brings along with him give a volley of muſquet-ſhot, with drums beating, and other muſick.

Martial exerciſe.

The captain-general and the governors, or *mani's*, have all their places ſeverally aſſigned them in the church to prevent any diſputes: The noblemen have carpets allowed them to kneel on, but no cuſhions, that honour being wholly reſerved for the counteſs to ſit on. The habits of the nobility and gentry are as follow: The gentry have a kind of ſtraw garment on their ſhoulders,

Habit of nobility and gentry

ſhoulders, which reaches down to their waſtes, curiouſly wrought, with their arms coming out at two ſlits, and ends in two toſſels which hang down on their right ſide. About their waſtes they have a cloth girt, which on one ſide hangs down to the ground; On their heads thoſe alone who have that honour allowed them, wear a wrought ſilk cap neatly quilted. The noble women have a ſort of ſtraw petticoat called *modello*, which reaches to their middle: From the waſte upwards to their breaſts they have a piece of cloth which they bring twice about them, and that which goes about a ſecond time they wrap about their head like a veil in the church. Both men and women generally appear with long pipes in their mouths ſmoaking. The vulgar of both ſexes have only a cloth about their loins, which reaches no farther than their knees. In the inland parts it ſuffices that they cover only what modeſty requires ſhould be hid. Within doors they generally go ſtark naked, being accuſtomed ſo to do in regard to the exceſſive heat that torments them for nine months together, not enjoying the leaſt *freſco*, only during the months of *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*.

Agriculture. The manner of their cultivating the earth in this country is ſuch, that they make uſe neither of the plough nor ſpade. When the clouds begin to afford the leaſt moiſture, they are accuſtomed to prepare for the rain by gathering up the ſcorched herbs and roots into heaps, and afterwards ſetting them on fire upon the land: Then as ſoon as the firſt ſhower is fallen, they proceed to turn up the ground with a ſlight hoe, called by them *Lzegú*, which is fixed to a handle about two ſpans long: With this they cut into the earth with one hand, and with the other ſcatter the ſeed which they have always ready in a bag by their ſides. Now the buſineſs of manuring the ground belonging ſolely to the women in this country, they are almoſt always forced to carry their children upon their backs in ſwathing-rolls, thereby to prevent their being either infeſted with, or devoured by the great number of inſects that come out of the earth upon this occaſion; for at home they do not care to leave them, out of an extraordinary love and fondneſs they have for them. The ſame they are wont to do when they carry any burden, for then they have a ſort of hammock which comes about one ſhoulder, wherein they ſecure their children from any danger either ſleeping or waking, their feet coming round their mother's waſte on either ſide.

Theſe people ſow in *March*, and if the heavens prove favourable in affording them rain, they may gather in their harveſt in *June*. The ſeed they ſow is of various ſorts of pulſe, for the moſt part unknown to us; but thoſe we are acquainted with, are *Indian* wheat, and a kind of little kidney-beans call'd *ncaſce*. MEROLLA

Amongſt many others they eſteem, are the *mandois*, which grow three or four together like vetches, but under ground, and are about the bigneſs of an ordinary olive. From theſe milk is extracted, like to that drawn from almonds (in *Italian mandole*) and whence, for ought I know, they had their name. There are another ſort of ground pulſe call'd *incumbe*, which alſo grows under ground, is like a muſquet ball, and very wholeſome and well taſted. Amongſt theſe I and others have often found nutmegs, perhaps fallen from the trees, the uſe of which is altogether unknown to theſe people. There are ſome wild ones found, which they call *neuhanzampuni*.

They alſo have a ſort of roots called *bataras*, which being roaſted, taſte much like cheſnuts. Their *mandioca* is a root, which being bruiſed as ſmall as rice, is not made into bread, but is either eaten raw, or elſe ſoften'd in broth. This plant caſts no ſeed, and therefore the way to propagate it, is by breaking off a branch and burying it in the ground, where it will ſoon ſpread and flouriſh.

This ſort of food is more uſed by the *Portugueſes* than *Blacks*, either becauſe they have a better way of planting theſe roots, or by reaſon that they will laſt ſeveral years. There is another ſort uſed inſtead of bread, made with ſodden roots, which is called *gnamn*, and is very different from the foregoing both in form and kind.

The *ouyanda*, a ſort of pulſe not unlike rice, grows upon a ſhrub, and will laſt two or three years, and which every ſix months propagates it ſelf in great abundance.

The pulſe *ncanza* brought from *Braſil*, is exceeding white, and holds great ſimilitude with the *Indian* beans, whence the *Portugueſes* give it the name of *Braſil* beans.

Cangula, another ſort of pulſe, is greatly eſteemed by the *Blacks*, but little valued by us *Europeans*. *Mampunni*, or *maiz*, is much like *Indian* wheat.

Maſſa mamballa ſhoots up in ſtalks about the height of our wheat; to which it is not unlike both in ears and whiteneſs; it yields a white flower, and is leſs offenſive to ſome ſtomachs than others.

The ſeed of the herb *maſſango* greatly reſembles that of our hemp.

The plant *aſely* runs up as high as a halbert, its ears not unlike our millet: It gives the gripes or cholick to thoſe that are not accuſtomed to eat of it.

The *eluuo* may be preſerved many years:

MEROLLA its ear is triangular; its grain like unto that of millet; its colour red, and its ſubſtance no way prejudicial to health.

Plants. Of thoſe plants that grow but little above-ground, the moſt in eſteem is the *ananas*; its leaves are like thoſe of aloes, and its fruit greatly reſembles pine-apples, and differs from them only in that theſe are yellow, and when ripe all pulp: On the top of this fruit there grows a tuft of leaves, which being taken off and planted, produces a new plant. When this fruit is ripe, it exceeds the melon in luſciouſneſs; but if you cut it green, it preſently dries up and conſumes.

Fruit-trees. Concerning fruit-trees, ſetting aſide the *niceſi*, *banane* and *mamai*, which I have already deſcribed when I ſpoke of *Braſil*; here are not a few of other kinds, whereof the moſt valued is that which bears the name of the *count*. The fruit of this tree is not unlike the giant pear, and has but an ordinary out-ſide, tho' inwards it is as white as milk. Its ſeed is like to a bean, and its juice is ſo exceeding pleaſant, that it is commonly given to ſick people to recover their taſtes. About the mountains of *Congo* I have ſeen ſeveral of theſe trees that grow wild. The *caſhiù* fruit is much larger than an apple, and when ripe is plentifully beautified with yellow and crimſon. From its core it throws out another fruit of a duſky colour, which being roaſted in the fire, taſtes like a cheſnut; and is naturally hot, tho' the other be mild and refreſhing.

The *guaiavas* are a fruit not unlike pears: They have ſhort ſtalks, are yellow without, and carnation within; and they would be more in requeſt were their ſeeds, which ſtick cloſe to the pulp, not quite ſo hard.

The *chichere* are a ſort of plums like to thoſe the *Italians* call *caſcavelle*, which being a little eager, are given to people in fevers.

The plant *colas* affords various kinds of fruit; which being incloſed, as it were, in a crimſon purſe (its huſk) is much valued by the *Portugueſes*, inſomuch that whenever they meet any lady in the ſtreet whom they deſign to honour, they preſently offer her ſome of theſe fruit; they ſay that chewing it makes water drink pleaſant.

Palm-trees. Palm-trees here are of different kinds: Thoſe eſteemed the moſt, are ſuch as produce both oil and wine. Theſe are to be ſeen thinly planted up and down in the fields. The oil they have is got from the fruit which grows in cluſters, but ſo cloſe that they ſeem to be all one piece. Theſe cluſters are ſo large, that a very ſtrong man muſt not pretend to carry above one or two of them. In the language of the country they have the name of *chachij*, and their ſeeds, or ſtones, whereof they have a great number, are call'd *embe*. From theſe which are like a date, being pounded ſmall with hot water, they extract an oilineſs, which they make uſe of as we do of our oil.

Wine. At certain times of the year the natives aſcend theſe palm-trees, by help of a hoop, to tap the wine: The manner of doing which is thus; Wherever they perceive any flower blown, they preſently whip it off with a knife, and thruſt the ſtalk into a very large *calabaſh* called *capaſſo*, which they cover and faſten to the tree. When this is done they leave it, and in a ſhort time have their bottle full of liquor as white as whey. This they let ſtand to purge it ſelf for about a day after they have taken it down, which it will always do to that degree, that its fermentation ſeems rather to be raiſed by a good fire, than any natural heat. When this is over, they rack it off the lee, and there remains a perfect taſte of wine, called by them *melaſſo*, which often makes the *Blacks* drunk. They are obliged to drink it ſoon after, for in three days time it will turn to vinegar, and in four coagulate and ſtink. The nature of this tree is principally hot, tho' it produces oil as well as wine, which is naturally cold, and every body knows will congeal like butter.

There is another ſort of wine called *embetta*, of a colder nature, drawn much after the ſame manner from another ſort of palm-tree; but this tree generally yields a greater quantity, and is planted on the ſide of a river, and no where elſe. The tree is called *matome*.

Artificial. In thoſe countries where theſe palm-trees that produce wine do not grow, the people have artificial ways of procuring it. For this end they let *Indian* wheat ſoak in water for ſome time, in like manner as we do wheat to make ſtarch of. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and preſs'd it, they put the liquor into a pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a great deal of pleaſure. This liquor they call by the name of *guallo*.

There is another kind of palm called *tamgra*, which bears a fruit like olives; but theſe having little or no taſte, generally fall to the ſhare of the apes and monkeys. Another ſort there are, whoſe fruit are long ſtrings of little balls extremely hard; which nevertheleſs, after they are pounded and mixed with the powder of the *engalla*, or wild boars teeth, compoſe a wonderful cordial. Theſe trees are called *mateba*.

Cloth. That palm which is very like the *matome*, if it be not the ſame, affords a ſort of

of thread from its leaves, whereof the natives weave cloth. Its ſmalleſt branches being both ſmooth and pliant, ſerve to make travelling nets of, and which the better ſort of *Blacks*, but eſpecially we *Whites*, uſe for that purpoſe. Of the greater branches, both they and we commonly build our houſes.

Medicine in fevers. The fruit of the tree called *mabocche* is not unlike our oranges; they are exceeding round, and have very tough rinds. Within they have ſeveral ſeeds like unto thoſe in pomegranates, but placed more confuſedly: the taſte of them is ſo very pleaſant and delightful, being ſomewhat enclined to the ſharp, that they are commonly given to perſons that lie ſick of fevers to rectify and refreſh their palates. Of theſe there are two ſorts, the greater and the leſſer; but by how much the latter muſt yield in bulk, by ſo much it for the moſt part gains in perfection.

Sort of cinnamon. The *donno*-tree has its bark only to boaſt of, being in virtue and fragrancy not much unlike to our cinnamon. Altho' this country has not the plant garlick it ſelf, yet has it nevertheleſs a tree, whoſe wood not only ſmells like it, but has its taſte alſo, and moreover is commonly made uſe of after the ſame manner.

The *aliconde* is a tree immenſurably great; within the cavity of whoſe trunk, it being generally hollow at the bottom, hogs are commonly kept from the ſun. The fruit of it is very like to our pumpions, with a ſtalk about the bigneſs of a man's finger, and in length near two or three foot. The uſe of the ſhells of theſe fruit is commonly either for veſſels or bottles. The inner rind of this tree being well ſoaked and beaten, yields a ſort of matter to ſpin, much more durable and finer than our hemp, and which is made uſe of here for that purpoſe. Cotton here is to be gathered in great abundance, and the ſhrubs it grows on are ſo prolifick, that they never almoſt leave ſprouting.

Medicinal vegetables. Having thus ſpoken of divers plants and fruit-trees of the leaſt note, I will proceed to deſcribe others of both kinds, that have phyſical virtues aſcribed to them.

Amongſt theſe the tree *angariaria* has the firſt place: either the wood or root of this tree is ſaid to be good to drive away any pains in the ſide, occaſioned by the ſtone, gravel, or the like; but however the moſt efficacious part of it is its fruit, which is not unlike to our acorn. Hence it comes to paſs, that no diſeaſe of this kind was ever known to have continued long in theſe parts.

Another tree of medicinal virtue is the *chiſecco*, any part of which being reduced to powder, and mixed with water, is good againſt fevers; and being applied either to the forehead or temples of the ſick perſon, infallibly prevents his fainting. MEROLLA

The *chicongo*, a tree likewiſe, has a purgative power attributed to it.

What is moſt ſurpriſing, is the nature of the tree *mignamigna*, which produces poiſon in one part, and its antidote in another: if any perſon be poiſoned either by the wood or fruit, then the leaves ſerve to cure him; and if he be poiſoned by the leaves of them, then he muſt have recourſe either to the fruit or wood: the fruit of this tree is like a little lemon.

Our old lay-brother *Leonard*, whom I have had often occaſion to mention in this relation, and who had lived in this country many and many years, told me he had ſeen there, plants of *ſtorax*, *gum-benjamin*, and *caſſia*; but that neither of them were held in any eſteem by the *Blacks*.

As to pepper, what I have to ſay is only this; being one day grievouſly tormented with wind, I aſked a noble *Negro*, *If he could not help me to a remedy?* he anſwered, *Yes*; and immediately fetched me ſome pepper. I took it according to his preſcriptions, and received relief. I afterwards demanded of him, *Whence that came?* he told me, *It was brought from a wood juſt out of the count's dominions.* And doubtleſs there are many other excellent products in theſe parts, which for want of being ſufficiently known, loſe their eſteem.

Oranges and lemons. I ſhould have told you before, that within the dominions of *Sogno*, there are many excellent lemons; and wherewith one particular iſland ſo abounds, that there are no other trees to be found in it except here and there an orange-tree. In the way to *Singa* you meet with vaſt woods of orange-trees, which go by the name of *Portugal*, but rather deſerve that of *China*, for their thin rinds, and luſcious pulps.

Birds. As to birds, this country has two ſorts like ours, which are ſparrows and turtles: the firſt of which, in time of rain, change their colour to red, though they afterwards return to what they were of before, which is uſual with other ſorts of fowl. Here are alſo eagles, but to ſay the truth, not ſo large as I have ſeen elſewhere. I have moreover obſerved divers kinds of parrots here, which were very different from thoſe of *Braſil*. The crows of this country are white upon their breaſts, and on the top of their wings, but black every where elſe like ours of *Europe*.

Pelicans are often to be met with as you travel to *Singa:* they are all over black, except on their breaſts, which nature has adorned with a kind of fleſh-colour like to that of the neck of a turkey. Whether this be the true pelican, or not, which naturaliſts

MEROLLA turaliſts ſay feeds her young with her own blood, and at the expence of her life, I ſhall not undertake to determine.

Father *Francis da Pavia*, my companion into theſe parts, through his long experience has informed me, that whilſt he was on a journey to *Singa*, he obſerved certain large white birds, with long beaks, necks, and feet, which whenever they heard the leaſt ſound of an inſtrument, began immediately to dance and leap about in the rivers where they always reſided, and whereof they were great lovers: this, he ſaid, he took great pleaſure to contemplate, and continued often for ſome time upon the banks of the rivers to obſerve.

There are another ſort of birds ſo exceeding white and fine, eſpecially in their tails, that the white ladies buy them up at any rate to adorn themſelves with. There are divers other kinds of birds, and fowl, which for brevity ſake I omit ſpeaking of.

Concerning theſe and other birds building their neſts, I obſerved that ſparrows, and ſuch-like little birds, built them after the form of our ſwallows-neſts. The materials they make uſe of, are for the moſt part the thread of palm-leaves, which they draw out thence with their beaks, and afterwards carry to the place where they deſign to build. The manner of their building is round a ſlender bough, whereby when the wind blows, their young are rocked about in their neſts, like children in their cradles.

The greater ſort of birds build, either on the top, in the trunk, or on the thorny boughs of the tree called *maſuma*. The prickles of this tree are exceeding hard, and its fruit ſomething reſembles a green citron; and which when opened throws forth a wonderful fine wool (no ſilk finer, ſofter, nor cooler) whereof are commonly made pillows and bolſters for ſick people.

Of wild hens I have ſpoken in another place, and here I again affirm, that they are in this country much better taſted, and more beautiful than the tame ones. The ſame I have to ſay of the partridges, which are much like to ours, but neither of which are any ways valued by the natives, and therefore they ſeldom or never look after them.

But among all the winged inhabitants of this climate, none pleaſed me ſo much as that little bird deſcribed by father *Cavazzi* in his *hiſtorical deſcriptions*, *book* 1. *page* 50. *numb.* 153. This bird, not much unlike a ſparrow, at firſt ſight ſeems wholly black, but upon a nearer view may be diſcovered to be of a kind of blue. As ſoon as day breaks, he ſets up his notes and ſings; but the excellency of his ſong is, that it harmoniouſly, and almoſt articulately, pronounces the name of JESUS CHRIST; which repeated by many of them in concert, is a heavenly muſick worthy our ſpecial obſervation, ſeeing thoſe heathen nations excited to own the true GOD by irrational creatures. They are excited by the heavens forming a croſs of ſtars under the zone, which many have deſcribed, and I beheld; they are excited by the mountains, which have the croſs carved on them, as has been ſaid, without knowing by whom; they are excited by the earth, which draws the crucifix on its fruit called *niceſo*, as we have obſerved. In fine, theſe little angels excite them with their voices, yet all theſe things are of little force to move the hardened hearts of thoſe *Gentiles*.

It is a wonderful bird mentioned by our father *Coprani*, in his *cambr. illuſt.* whoſe ſong conſiſts of theſe plain words, *va dritto*, that is, *go right*. Nor is there leſs to be admired in another bird in theſe parts, and particularly the kingdom of *Matamba*, which as travellers are on their way, harmoniouſly ſings, *Vuichi*, *Vuichi*, which in the language of the *Blacks* ſignifies, *honey*, *honey*; and ſkipping from one place to another, reſt upon the tree where the honey is, that the paſſengers may take it, and the bird feed on what remains. But it ſometimes falls out, that following the cry of the bird, the paſſenger falls into the clutches of ſome lion that lies hid, and ſo meets his death inſtead of honey; therefore when the bird cries, if he ſees not the honey, they are aware of the hidden lion, and fly in time.

Elephants. Among the variety of numerous quadrupeds, the moſt wonderful are the elephants, being, as it were, living and moving mines of moſt curious white ivory, whereof ſo great a trade is made; but theſe being vulgarly known to all perſons, I will give no other account but only of the manner of killing them.

When theſe beaſts are gathered together in a herd, the hunter anointing himſelf all over with their dung, gets in ſlily with his lance in his hand among them; there does he creep about from one to the other, under their bellies, till he ſees an opportunity to ſtrike any of them under their ear, by which wound they are eaſy to be brought to the ground. After the ſtroke given, the hunter takes immediate care to eſcape, before the beaſt can well turn about to revenge himſelf; and the other beaſts being deceived by the ſmell of their dung, take no notice of his crying out, and flouncing, ſuppoſing it to be only one of their young. By theſe means the reſt of the herd walking on, and forſaking their falling companion, leave him a prey to the ſucceſsful hunter. If the wounded elephant

phant happens to purſue his aſſaulter, he can eaſily baffle him, by taking to many roads, for it is a very difficult thing for this beaſt to turn his body ſo often as ſuch a dodging would require. The *Negroes* are wont to diſtil a water by the ſun from the bones of this animal's legs, which is held to be good againſt *aſthmas*, *ſciaticas*, or any cold humours. Some of the pagans of theſe parts, particularly the *Giaghi*, have a kind of devotion for the tail of this beaſt; for when any one of their captains or chief lords comes to die, they commonly preſerve one of theſe tails in memory of him, and to which they pay a ſort of adoration, out of an opinion they have of its great ſtrength. For the ſake of cutting off theſe tails only, they often undertake this hunting; but which amputation muſt be performed at one blow, and from a living elephant, or their ſuperſtition will allow it no virtue.

No beaſt of prey ſuffered. In this country of *Sogno* there are no lions, tigers, nor wolves to be met with; which nevertheleſs other parts of this ſide of *Africa* are not exempt from. When any of theſe beaſts, eſpecially tigers, happen to enter the count's dominions, he that firſt diſcovers them is obliged to go immediately to a governor, or *mani*, and acquaint him therewith: whereupon an alarum is preſently beat to raiſe the country; and the people being ſo raiſed, forthwith apply all their endeavours, whether by ſhouts, drums, or inſtruments of war, to force the beaſt into the open field. After they have got him there, they ſingle out one among them to aſſault him; which the perſon pitched upon performs, with a ſharp long knife in one hand, and a ſlight manageable ſhield in the other. As often as the beaſt leaps at him, the combatant receives his attempts on his ſhield; till at laſt taking his opportunity, he whips off one or more of his legs with his knife, whereby the beaſt being diſabled, eaſily becomes a victim to the conqueror's fury. The *royal lions*, ſo called for their generoſity, carry themſelves with majeſty, and do not hurt unleſs provoked by ſome accident.

Wild dogs and wolves In *Sogno* there are a ſort of wild dogs, who going out to hunt in great numbers, whenever they met with any lion, tiger, or elephant in their way, ſet upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground, though they loſe never ſo many of their company by the attempt. Theſe dogs, notwithſtanding their wildneſs, do little or no damage to the inhabitants. They are red-haired, have ſmall ſlender bodies, and their tails turn up upon their backs like a grey-hound's.

The wolves that ſometimes infeſt theſe parts, are ſo very ſubtil, that they will ſcratch through the walls of the houſes built here with palm-leaves, on purpoſe to come at the people, whom having found, they immediately devour or tear to pieces. A certain woman once happening to go a little further from her houſe than ordinary, left her child within aſleep: whilſt ſhe was gone, a woolf broke in, and lay down cloſe by the child that was aſleep. The mother coming ſoon after, went in to feed her child, and ſpied the wolf; who ſeeing himſelf diſcovered, immediately fled. MEROLLA

Wild men. At ſome huntings there have been taken in this country both wild men and women: which to confirm, father *Leonard* once told me, that before my coming thither there had been one of that kind preſented to a friar of our order, which was again beſtowed by him on the *Portugueſe* governor of *Loanda*.

Monkies there are of divers kinds; ſuch as the baboons, which are the largeſt ſort; another kind party-coloured as big as a cat; and a third ſort leaſt of all, which nevertheleſs like the others have all tails longer than their bodies.

Here are likewiſe great numbers of wild goats, and many wild boars are to be found in the woods. The tame goats of this country are ſo exceeding fertile, that they will bring forth three or four young ones at once.

Sheep. The ſheep here do not produce wool, but hair; neither are the rams furniſhed with horns as with us, nor are the ewes ſo fruitful as the goats before-named. Goats fleſh is in much greater eſteem in theſe parts than mutton, and therefore the natives chuſe rather to geld their young goats than their lambs.

Serpents. Serpents are not in the leaſt wanting here; thoſe ſeen by me of greateſt note, were the *copras*, a ſort of ſerpents whoſe poiſon is in their foam, which though at a great diſtance they ſpit into the eyes, and cauſe ſuch grievous pains, that unleſs there be ſome woman by at the ſame time, to aſſwage the pains with her milk, the party will become immediately blind. Theſe climb about in the houſes and trees night and day.

There are another ſort of ſerpents, as I have been told, in this country, which as ſoon as they are moleſted by any traveller, will leap upon him, and twining themſelves round about his body, fix a ſharp ſting they have in their tails into his breaſt, whereby he ſoon burſts and expires. The name of this ſerpent is *embambe*, and the way the natives have to cure themſelves of his wound, and ſave their lives, is by cutting him in two with a knife, which they carry about them for that purpoſe, as ſoon as ever he has entered his ſting.

MEROLLA *More memorable matters.*

But from hence let us proceed to give an account of more memorable matters. In the ſecond year of my miſſion I was forced to do my duty for ſome time alone; by reaſon that our ſuperior being dead, my companion father *Joſeph* was advanced to that dignity, and was gone to reſide in the kingdom of *Angola*. At the ſame time the moſt reverend cardinal *Cibo* writ us a letter in the name of the ſacred college, complaining, That the pernicious and abominable abuſe of ſelling ſlaves, was yet continued among us, and requiring us to our power to remedy the ſaid abuſe; which notwithſtanding we ſaw little hopes of accompliſhing, by reaſon that the trade of this country lay wholly in ſlaves and ivory. Nevertheleſs, meeting together not long after, we joined our addreſſes to the king of *Congo*, and count of *Sogno*, and obtain'd the favour from them, that the hereticks at leaſt ſhould be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that eſpecially the *Engliſh*, who made it their chief buſineſs to buy ſlaves here, and to carry them to *Barbadoes*, an iſland of theirs in the *Weſt-Indies*, where they were to be brought up in the proteſtant religion, ſo very contrary to ours. This letter was firſt read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feaſt-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earneſtly recommending to them, *to have a compaſſionate regard to ſo many miſerable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily ſuffered to come under the power of hereticks, that would not only enſlave them, but likewiſe pervert the good principles we had inſtilled into them.* I moreover urged, *That if there were a neceſſity for a trade of this kind, they ſhould ſooner have to do with the* Hollanders, *who were obliged to deliver ſo many ſlaves at* Cadiz *every year, whereby their countrymen might have ſtill the happineſs of continuing among catholicks, though in bonds.*

I propoſed likewiſe for them to trade in this nature with the *Portugueſes*, rather than the *Hollanders*. Which they would not hearken unto for ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe they would by no means have that nation eſtabliſh themſelves in their country. *Secondly*, By reaſon that they would give them no opportunity to ſell their arms and ammunition amongſt them: and, *Thirdly*, becauſe they always undervalued the ſlaves, and never offered ſo much as they were worth.

Theſe, with ſome others, have been the reaſons that the *Portugueſes* have never yet been able to get any footing in *Sogno*.

Villany of ſome Engliſh.

A year almoſt paſt before there was any ſhip appeared in this country; at laſt an *Engliſh* veſſel came to anchor there. This I immediately adviſed the count of, requiring at the ſame time, *That if ſhe were really* Engliſh, *ſhe ſhould not be ſuffered to land any perſon whatſoever.* The count's anſwer was, *that I ſhould be obeyed:* but which I obſerved to be ſpoke by him with ſuch coldneſs, that I could eaſily diſcover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirmed in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the ſeller. All this while the captain of the ſhip pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in freſh proviſions; which being paſt, he ſcarce ſhewed the leaſt ſign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happened to go down to the ſhore to ſpeak with the *mafucca*, or receiver of the *Whites*. Being but juſt entered his houſe, I ſaw two *Engliſhmen*, who I thought had been no nearer than their uſual ſtation; they ſeeing me, drew in, and I turned my back to go out again; but ſcarce had I reached the threſhhold, before I heard a brace of piſtol bullets whiz by my ear. At this being aſtoniſhed, I looked about, but ſaw no body. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my eſcape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the maſter of the houſe of the villany, which I ſuppoſe was deſigned me by theſe *Engliſhmen:* but to my great diſappointment, he returned me neither a complement nor a reſentment.

The day following the beforementioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront, than confer with me; demanding of me at firſt ſight, *What I had to do to oppoſe the* Engliſh *trading in that port?* To which I replied, *That purſuant to an agreement between me and the count, all hereticks were to be excluded from dealing in ſlaves throughout the dominious of* Sogno, *but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty. What do you mean by hereticks?* (quoth he) *is not our duke of* York *a* Roman *catholick, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I pleaſe? Granted* (ſaid I) but then I alledged further, *That I was ſure it was not the intention of that duke, that Chriſtians ſhould be bought and ſold for ſlaves, nor that ſuch as he* (meaning the captain) *ſhould be allowed not only to trade, but likewiſe to rob and infeſt the ſhores wherever they came, in like manner as another* Engliſh *captain had done there the laſt year; who as ſoon as he had taken in all his lading, fell to waſting the country, and forced away ſeveral of the natives into ſlavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This* (I told him) *I would aſſuredly acquaint the dutcheſs of* York *my country-woman with, that the duke her huſband's reputation might not ſuffer, and ſuch offenders might be puniſh'd as they well deſerv'd.*

To

To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himſelf and his countryman the other captain, thinking to overcome reaſon with noiſe; and if ſome people had not come in to my aſſiſtance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards ſent to let the count know, *That I ſhould not open the church-doors, till thoſe hereticks that were enemies both to our church and him were gone.* This meſſage ſoon brought the count to our convent, where when he entered to ſpeak with me, there came in with him only one man who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the ſheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the haft, and the other on the ſheath. For the better underſtanding of this, you muſt know, that whenever the count comes to ſpeak with us, no body has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter; and when any extraordinary caſe requires another's coming in, he muſt kneel all the while in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, *That conſidering the many enemies that ſurrounded him on all ſides, he ought to provide himſelf of arms and ammunitions of war, and which he could beſt do from the* European *ſhips that came to trade in his dominions.* This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my anſwers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out ſome dreadful menaces againſt me; but which I timely perceiving, ſtarted up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words. *The reaſon* (ſaid I to him reſolutely) *of my coming into your dominions, was for the ſervice of* God, *and the ſalvation of your ſouls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot diſpenſe with the hazarding even of my life, in withdrawing ſo many poor ſouls from out of the power of* Lucifer (meaning the ſlaves to be bought by hereticks) *which nevertheleſs you ſeem by your arguments to be willing to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count* (continu'd I) *on you own caſe in ſo palpable an act of diſobedience; for as for my part, I ſhall always endeavour to perſiſt in my duty.* Having ſpoke theſe words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me faſt hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almoſt from black to yellow, would by no means ſuffer me ſo to do, crying out, *Hear my reaſons firſt, father; hear my reaſons before you go.* Then clapping himſelf down upon a bench, he fell into a long diſcourſe, but in which I often interrupting him, he at laſt flew away in a great paſſion, muttering and mumbling to himſelf, *That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not ſo much as baptiſe a child.* By theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches of his, I could eaſily perceive that he ſided with the *Engliſh*, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he cauſed proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his ſubjects throughout the whole *banza* to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheleſs did without laying any penalty on thoſe that diſobeyed him, and conſequently his ſubjects being true ſervants of God, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithſtanding their good diſpoſitions, I thought my ſelf obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a ſchedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority ſent me from the biſhop of *Angola*. Hence it followed that our ſlaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewiſe thoſe that ſerved in the convent, immediately forſook me, and that I ſuppoſe by inſtigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cauſe me the ſooner to comply. Whilſt I yet continued firm in my reſolutions, a *Dutch* ſhip appeared in the harbour: ſoon after her arrival the count's ſecretary brought her captain, according to cuſtom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheleſs the *Engliſh* captain had neglected to aſk; I gave it him, and by thoſe means extinguiſhed part of the fury inſtilled into the people's breaſts by the magicians and wizards againſt me; for they had made it their buſineſs to make the people believe, *that I purpoſely oppoſed the aforeſaid contracts with the* Europeans, *that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the* Portugueſes *came againſt them, and which they likewiſe affirmed I by ſecret means encouraged.* The anchoring this ſhip in the harbour occaſioned the ſpeedy departure of the other; for in leſs than thirteen days after ſhe hoiſted ſail and put to ſea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the natives of *Sogno*, beſides near a hundred more which the captain ſaid had been ſold him by the pagans.

MEROLLA

The count excommunicated.

Finding an opportunity to acquaint my ſuperior in the kingdom of *Angola* with theſe matters, I immediately ſet about it, and diſpatched away two letters, but which were both intercepted by order from the count: this coming to my ears, I writ three more, one of which I confided to a faithful *Black*, promiſing him a conſiderable reward if he delivered it; the other two I ſent publickly, which were intercepted, as before.

Who reſpents.

MEROLLA

before. About the ſame time the count likewiſe writ a letter to the biſhop of *Loanda*, complaining, *that I would neither adminiſter the ſacraments, nor open the church*; and beſides, *that I had condemned the wizards to death in an open congregation.* To this the ſaid biſhop, well knowing both the treachery and hypocriſy of the *Blacks*, gave no anſwer; but however ſoon after ſent my ſuperior, accompanied with father *Benedict à Belvedere*, to aſſiſt me. Here mark the providence of GOD! Whilſt the count continued in his obſtinacy, a certain diſeaſe that reigned in the neighbouring parts, called in the *Portugueſe*, *bexigas*, but in ours the *ſmall pox*, had reached his dominions, and whereof great numbers died daily. The people being ſenſible that this muſt be ſent as a judgment among them, gathered forthwith together, and addreſſed themſelves with great earneſtneſs to the count, adviſing him *to retract and atone for the great error he had been guilty of, or, beſides the juſt judgments of* GOD *both upon him and them, they would infallibly riſe againſt him for redreſs.* To this the count anſwered, *That it had never been his deſires, that they ſhould ſuffer any ways upon his account; and that what he had forbid by his proclamation was only to frighten the miſſioner into obedience: but ſince they were of opinion that what had befallen them was occaſioned by this injunction, he was willing, if he might thereby confirm their ſafety, to take it off.* Though he ſoon after was as good as his word, yet were the people not wholly ſatisfied, affirming, *That they would not die like dogs, but like true Chriſtians, as they had been bred, and therefore willed him to preſent himſelf before me to aſk forgiveneſs for his crime, to the end that the church-doors might be again ſet open to them.* This he ſoon after accompliſhed in the following manner, but whether through ſincerity or hypocriſy I ſhall not pretend to determine. Having clothed all his courtiers in like manner as they are wont to be when they go to receive ambaſſadors, he alone appeared in ſackcloth, unſhod, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a large cable rope about his neck: in this manner coming to our convent, he proſtrated himſelf humbly at the gate, beſeeching me *to pardon him his crime*, and only excuſing himſelf, *that what he did was done raſhly and without conſideration, but that he was now ready to make me all manner of ſatisfaction for his diſobedience.* He remember'd me moreover of the preſumption of *David*, and hoped, *that like him having repented, he ſhould likewiſe receive mercy.* Having ſaid thus much, he gave his crucifix to one of his attendants to hold, and afterwards kneeled and kiſſed my feet: hereupon I immediately raiſed him from the ground, took off the crown of thorns from his head, and rope from his neck, and then repeated to him thoſe words which I formerly uttered to another perſon on the like occaſion, *If you have ſinned like* David, *imitate him likewiſe in your repentance.* After this I waited upon him out as far as the ſtreet, and then left him.

And is forgiven.

He afterwards came a ſecond time in the aforeſaid manner to have his excommunication taken off; but I told him, *That I would willingly have complied with his deſires, but that in about three days time my ſuperior would come into thoſe parts, and that it was more proper for him to abſolve ſo great a perſon as he.* I farther told him, *That as for his accomplices, I would undertake to give them abſolution*, which I ſoon after performed both to his and their ſatisfaction. At laſt the expected father arrived, and I having acquainted him with what had been already done, he after a delay of a few days gave the penitent count abſolution. Having received this great favour and aſſiſtance from the biſhop, I thought my ſelf obliged to return him my moſt humble thanks and acknowledgments, and withal to inform him of the cauſe, manner, and time of my ſhutting up the church, as likewiſe with the reaſons I had to threaten the wizards with the puniſhment the count had writ to him about.

The *Dutch* all this while followed their trade cloſe. A certain captain among them called *Cornelius Clas*, having acquired a reputation with the natives by his ſubtilities, went about ſowing his heretical tares amidſt the true corn of the goſpel. Amongſt other (damnable) doctrines, he maintain'd, *That baptiſm was alone neceſſary to ſalvation*, becauſe it took away original ſin, as the blood of our Saviour did actual ſin. The better to comply with the *Blacks*, whom he knew to be deſirous of greater liberty in thoſe matters, he affirmed, *There was need of no other ſacrament than that of baptiſm; and that if they had a mind to communicate, they ſhould do it, but that confeſſion was not neceſſary, being only to be underſtood figuratively.* And he farther (impudently) diſowned the real preſence of CHRIST in the conſecrated hoſt. To procure himſelf the greater credit, he often invoked the ſaints to his aſſiſtance, and eſpecially St. *Anthony*, though his tribe generally deny the praying to ſaints to be of any uſe to us. He afterwards repeated ſeveral expreſſions here and there out of our ſermons in *Lent*, and then proceeded to ridicule them after the following manner. *O* (cried he) *your father's an able preacher and a great ſcholar, he hits the nail on the head, and talks to the purpoſe; but*

if he would improve you thoroughly, he ought to advance ſuch and ſuch doctrines (which by the way were moſt perniciouſly heretical.) Thus he run on for above an hour together exploding our opinions and recommending his own, till he had at laſt ſo far prevail'd upon thoſe miſerable *Negroes*, that their hearts were become as black as their countenances. Altho' this perſon's principles and deſigns came at length to be known, yet were the moſt ignorant nevertheleſs affected with his arguments and perſuaſions, but notwithſtanding theſe miſchiefs came not to our knowledge till after the departure of their author.

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my miſſion another *Engliſh* ſhip happen'd to come to an anchor in the river: As ſoon as I perceived it, I went to the count and ſaid, *Behold, my lord, another* Engliſh *ſhip appears in the harbour!* and at the ſame time begg'd of him not to permit any of the men to land for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happen'd: He ſeem'd to comply readily with my deſires, and promiſed that none ſhould; nevertheleſs ſelf-intereſt blinding him again, he received the accuſtomed preſents, and ſuffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commiſſion to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean time without any further delay we publiſhed a manifeſto, that upon pain of excommunication none ſhould preſume to ſell any ſlaves to the *Engliſh*; but as for bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five *Negroes*, and thoſe he bought before the manifeſto was publiſhed. He came a ſecond time to my apartment accompanied by a *Dutch* captain, and with a great deal of ſubmiſſion ſaid to me, *Father, what reaſon have I given you to deny me, ſo much to my diſadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have ſuffered ſo many hardſhips, and undergone ſo great peril in my voyage hither?* To which I courteouſly anſwer'd, *That I would do any thing that lay in my power to ſerve any Chriſtian, and him in particular, who appeared to be ſo very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my ſuperior.* I told him further, *That tho' I was againſt his trading aſhore, as being an* Engliſhman, *and conſequently a heretick, I could not prevent his doing it by ſea, and therefore if he could find any to traffick with him he might freely do it: That's what I would rather have* (replied the captain) *for thereby I may trade cuſtom-free. Now I perceive* (continued he) *that theſe brutes* (meaning the *Negroes*) *have always their hands open to receive preſents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately ſhrug up their ſhoulders and excuſe themſelves, pretending the miſſioners will not let them grant it. But why* (added he) *did they not explain themſelves at firſt, that I might have ſaved my preſent, and ſailed about my buſineſs elſewhere? It ſhall go hard but I'll make them know whom they have to deal with.* Then turning to me he ſaid, *Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them reſtore to me what I gave them and I'll be gone. But firſt* (quoth he) *give me leave to preſent your* reverence *with a barrel of wheat-flower to make your* hoſts *of, a ſmall veſſel of* Aquavitæ, *and ſomething elſe that may lie within the verge of my capacity.* I returned him a thouſand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that tho' I had occaſion for the wheat-flower I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a baſket of fruit upon him diſmiſſed him. The count having diſpoſed of the preſent was given him, could by no means reſtore it, and beſides durſt not for fear of excommunication provide him the ſlaves he had promiſed. This ſo vexed the captain, that taking only along with him two ſlaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his houſe in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ſhip: His landlord ſoon miſſing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent; but the captain having cauſed three patereroes to be turned againſt the *Negro*'s boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner. *Come hither ſlave* (quoth he) *and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deſerve:* After which beſtowing a great many curſes on him, he ſet ſail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his diſobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience: Tho' a *Black*, he is an abſolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, tho' he were in *Italy*, conſidering the number of his ſubjects, and large dominions.

MEROLLA

Before the *Engliſhman* had weigh'd anchor to be gone, another *Dutch* ſhip came into the river, which my companion father *Benedict da Belvedere* perceiving, immediately oppoſed the landing any of her men: His reaſon was, that they were hereticks, in like manner as the *Engliſh*, and which he confirmed by the hereſies the abovementioned *Dutch* captain had not long before ſpread amongſt us. I could not well diſſent from this opinion of his, nevertheleſs for quietneſs ſake I told him, *That ſince we had ſo luckily got rid of the* Engliſh, *we muſt of neceſſity admit of the* Dutch,

MEROLLA *or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the* Portugueſes *for ſome reaſons beſt known to themſelves, they would have nobody elſe to utter their commodities to, which would prove no ſmall detriment both to the church and the ſtate.* He underſtood me, I don't queſtion, but notwithſtanding took little or no notice of what I ſaid, being tranſported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which had it not been ſo exceſſive, might have ſucceeded better than it did.

A great eſcape. On *Eaſter-day* there was a great feaſt held throughout the count's dominions, when the electors and governors were obliged to come to court to wiſh their lord a happy *Eaſter*, according to cuſtom: He that voluntarily abſented himſelf was look'd upon as a rebel, and thoſe that came were treated at the count's charge; the electors and governors dividing the proviſions amongſt their followers. My aforeſaid companion hearing a confus'd ſound of inſtruments, and many loud acclamations from the people gathered together in vaſt numbers, made what haſte he could to them that he might prevent thoſe feſtivals, which he look'd upon as not proper to be celebrated in a place where the count aſſiſted, who then ſtood excommunicated. For my part I could not well fathom his intentions, for he only came to me and demanded my bleſſing and leave to go out of the convent, which I could not refuſe him. At his firſt coming the chief elector came up to him to ſalute him, which he coldly received and returned: After a few compliments they came to complaints. My companion began to blame them for having ſo courteouſly admitted of the *Hollanders*, as alſo for ſolemnizing of this feaſt, which they ought not to preſume to have done as matters went. This ſo exaſperated the elector, that he cry'd out with a great paſſion, *What hereticks! What Chriſtians! What catholicks! Are we not all to be ſaved by baptiſm alone?* Father *Benedict* being out of patience at theſe words, and truly moved for the honour of GOD's ſervice, tho' a little too exorbitantly, without any reply ſtept up to him, and gave him a ſound box on the ear by way of admonition. This affront the elector's people ſo greatly reſented, that they immediately gather'd about him to defend him, and thoſe that were without the walls likewiſe made at the ſame time an attempt to get into the place. The count, captain-general, and great-captain being ſoon informed of what had happen'd, preſently interpoſed to prevent the miſſioner's receiving any damage from the fury of the multitude, and afterwards conducted him ſafe to our convent. The chief intent of his father's extraordinary zeal, was to make known to ſo great a company of people got together, what danger their ſouls were in by converſing with hereticks.

For my part, I judged a ſpeedy reconciliation with the elector highly neceſſary, and therefore ſome few days after I ſent for him to our convent; he came, and after having courteouſly received him, I deſir'd him *to recant ſincerely what he had ſaid, and aſk father* Benedict's *pardon, and I would abſolve him.* To which he anſwered ſmiling, *That would be pleaſant indeed; I am the ſufferer, and yet I muſt be guilty; He was the aggreſſor, and yet I muſt beg pardon. Muſt I receive a blow, and notwithſtanding be thought to have offended?* Then I reply'd, *That muſt not be taken for an injury, which was not ſo intended. The blow was not to offend, but defend you, being as it were a remembrance not to hearken to the errors of hereticks. Beſides, you ought to conſider that it was given out of paternal affection by your ſpiritual father, and whom it did not miſbecome to give it. Moreover, you know among us the biſhops do it in caſes of confirmation, and the perſon that receives it takes it rather for an honour than affront. You ought to confeſs that you deſerved correction for venting ſo dangerous an opinion in the preſence of ſo many true catholicks.* Being convinced by theſe reaſons that he had been in the wrong, he conſented to recant his error, which he did after maſs at the church-door, confeſſing that what he had done was merely occaſioned thro' paſſion, and not out of any diſobedience to the doctrine of the church, for which he had a ſincere veneration. Afterwards begging pardon of the aforeſaid father, and kiſſing his feet, he was again received into our communion. After all this he made his humble acknowledgments to the count for having preſumed to incline his people to a rebellion within his dominions.

To extirpate this hereſy effectually out of the minds of the people, we took an occaſion, after we had given abſolution to the elector and his followers, to preach a ſermon to them to this purpoſe: *That whereas paradiſe was allowed by all to be a place of the greateſt purity and brightneſs, ſo ought to be the minds of thoſe who are in election to be admitted inhabitants thereof. Lucifer the prince of light, for having ſuffered himſelf to be contaminated with pride, occaſioned his being thrown headlong into hell, together with his adherents. Can it ſeem poſſible to you that ſo pure and peaceful a place ſhould admit of the haughty and unclean? Some among you are like your own* maccacos, *or monkeys amongſt us, who keeping poſſeſſion of any thing they have ſtolen, will ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be taken and killed than to let go their prey. So impure ſwine wallow in their*

their filth, and care not to be cleans'd. To remedy this our Saviour inſtituted the ſacrament of repentance, to the end that when man had ſinned, he might come and purify himſelf from his tranſgreſſions. Theſe and many other ſpiritual *memorandums* were given by us, proving at the ſame time, *That* GOD *being all goodneſs, could not poſſibly be the occaſion of any evil.* We then demanded of them, *If they were not convinced that this was true by the light of their natural reaſon?* They all anſwered with a common conſent, *That it was, and that they had been deceived by the heretical ſeducer, who had impoſed doctrines upon them which were contrary to the word of* GOD. *We hope therefore that for the future theſe hereſies will be totally extinguiſhed, ſince we have taken ſo much pains to decry them both in the pulpit and elſewhere.* The ſame night that the count had been made acquainted with his falling again under the ſentence of excommunication, for having deſigned to furniſh the *Engliſh* with ſlaves, contrary to the *manifeſto* publiſhed by us, his counteſs was ſeized with a fainting fit, occaſioned either by her being with child, or elſe thro' the diſguſt ſhe had conceived at her huſband's proceedings. Being thus ill, ſhe immediately diſpatched her ſon to me to deſire me to come to her, who doubting whether I would comply or not, thought himſelf obliged to ſwear, that his mother was at death's door. Being moved by charity, I went accompanied by father *Stephen de Romano*, who had ſome ſmall ſkill in phyſick. By his means, and thro' GOD's grace, ſhe ſoon recovered, and was confeſſed. This lady was, to give her her due, a very religious woman, and a great frequenter of the bleſſed ſacrament; and beſides, one that upon many occaſions, when the count her huſband and we were at variance, would ſend us divers refreſhments of oranges and lemons, and the like. The count having obſerved at a diſtance the civility and kindneſs we ſhewed to his wife, ſeemed to be mightily pleaſed with it. Thinking to take him in this good humour, I went up to him, and deſired him to excuſe what I had ordered him to be made acquainted with, having been thereto obliged by the duty of my function, and were for that end come into his country. I likewiſe told him, that if he would needs follow his own inclinations, he muſt be a pagan, and could not deſerve the title of a Chriſtian; and moreover informed him what a ſtrict account I had to give not only to my ſuperiors, but alſo to my own conſcience, and therefore exhorted him to ſubmit himſelf to the cenſures of the church. I deſir'd him to remember likewiſe how I had expoſed my life for his good, and that I could not but have a particular kindneſs for him, being my ſpiritual pupil. This I ſpoke to prevent his flying out into paſſions and diſdain, as he was wont to do upon occaſions of reproof. MEROLLA

From mid-lent to *Whitſuntide* the count had not been within the church-doors, except ſometimes *incognito*; but generally ſtood at a diſtance, whence he might ſee the prieſt at the altar, and where he heard maſs. On Aſcenſion-eve he ſent to beg of me for the love of GOD to abſolve him. I would have willingly complied with his requeſt, but was prevented by father *Benedict*, who alledged that it was by no means proper to take him again into our communion, till the *Hollanders* had weighed anchor, and where gone. On *Whitſunday* he ſent a meſſenger to me again, giving me to underſtand, that his ſubjects not ſeeing him appear in the church as formerly might probably riſe in a tumult; to prevent which he propoſed to agree to all I had required of him, provided I would abſolve him. My anſwer was, that he ſhould appear next morning at the ſecond maſs dreſt in mourning like a penitent, and ſhould moreover bring along with him all the electors, together with the two captains, the general, and great-captain. As I had commanded, ſo it was performed. Thoſe others that ought to have been preſent, and could not come, were excuſed upon ſending proxies. Being all met, I addreſt my ſelf to the count, and endeavour'd to make him ſenſible what damage he might do to ſo many poor ſouls as he was maſter of, by encouraging them to have commerce with hereticks. I remember'd him alſo of the late affronts received from the *Engliſh*, and indulged by him. Upon hearing this and a great deal more, which I don't think neceſſary to repeat here, both the count and all the reſt, took an oath upon the holy *miſſal*, that they would ſooner loſe their lives than ſuffer any *Engliſh* ſhip to enter any of their ports again, which is obſerv'd and performed even to this day. The penance I impoſed upon the count was that he by his authority ſhould oblige three hundred of thoſe that lived in unlawful wedlock to marry. He gladly accepted the propoſal, and afterward entered the church with great pomp and univerſal joy, and never in the leaſt offended after.

The reconciled count not only performed what had been enjoined him, but brought over four hundred to the holy ſtate of matrimony. Amongſt the reſt there was one *mani*, who not only married himſelf, but alſo cauſed two ſons, and as many daughters of his to do the like at the ſame time. My companion father *Benedict*

MEROLLA *dict* obſerving and wondering at the great care and diligence the count employ'd in reducing ſo many ſtray'd ſouls to matrimony, cried out, *As long as all is ſecure here, I'll go on in my miſſion, and try what I can do with others abroad, by urging theſe good examples to them.* As he hoped, ſo it came to paſs; for in leſs than ſix weeks he had cauſed above ſix hundred to marry. This was a very laborious work, and put him into a violent fit of ſickneſs two days journey from our houſe. As ſoon as I heard of his being ill, I ſent for him home; but he would by no means comply with me, affirming, *That a good ſoldier ought to die with his ſword in his hand:* and further, *That if he loſt that opportunity of recovering ſo many poor ſouls from perdition, he knew not when he might have the like again offer'd him.* His death not long after, together with my being ſick, put a ſtop to ſo great and ſo good a work but juſt begun.

Chaſtity. It is neceſſary here to inform you, that in the dominions of *Sogno*, thoſe that are lawfully married live with all manner of love and amity together, and particularly the women, who are conſtant to their husbands, whether *Blacks* or *Whites*. The many years that the *Europeans* have traded here, there has not been found one baſtard among them, which are nevertheleſs ſo frequent to be met with in other countries. Theſe women have a particular averſion to hereticks, as may be perceived by what follows. A *Dutch* captain walking one day in this country, and obſerving a married woman taking a pipe of tobacco after the cuſtom of the country, ſent his ſlave to her to deſire her to let him have a whiff. The good woman hearing the meſſage, took her pipe out of her mouth, and hugg'd it in her arms, and without anſwering a word proceeded on in her way. The ſlave nevertheleſs proſecuted his maſter's requeſt, and follow'd her, repeating often what he had before requir'd, till at length perceiving her obſtinate and fixt in a refuſal, the better to incline her to reſign the pipe to him, he gave her a box o'th' ear, threatning her with worſe, if ſhe perſiſted in a denial. The woman notwithſtanding bore all patiently, and would not conſent to gratify him, whatever he could do to her. I ſhould have told you, for the better underſtanding of this, that 'tis a cuſtom in this country, that when any one obtains a pipe out of a woman's mouth, it is a probable earneſt of further favours. From hence may be learnt what a propenſity the women have to chaſtity in theſe parts, many of whom meet together on the firſt day of *Lent*, and oblige themſelves to a ſtrict continence till *Eaſter*; inſomuch that if any one among them ſhould happen to deviate from the vow they had jointly engaged in, ſhe would immediately think her ſelf guilty of a great fault, and conſequently undergo voluntarily ſome ſevere penance. They are likewiſe moſt rigid obſervers of all faſts enjoined by the church, and which they will not tranſgreſs even where neceſſity requires they ſhould, and in which caſes we are obliged to command them to do it to ſave their lives.

At length my companion father *Benedict* finding himſelf worſe and worſe, ſent a meſſenger to me to deſire me to afford him ſome ſuccour. I thereupon immediately diſpatched four ſlaves belonging to the church, to bring him in a net to the convent, that being the eaſieſt way I could propoſe to have him brought. The better to inſure the performance of my commands, I threatned the ſlaves with tranſportation, a thing they are more than ordinarily afraid of, in caſe of diſobedience or treachery. They brought him ſoon after, and being arrived, he immediately entered upon a general confeſſion of his ſins, even from his youth upwards to that day. The malady he was afflicted with was the gout, which getting not long afterwards into his ſtomach, at once ended both his life and his good actions, which were many. His funeral obſequies were performed ſutable to his character, at which aſſiſted the count with a vaſt number of people, I my ſelf ſaying maſs, tho' I languiſhed at that time under a violent fever. Father *Benedict* was a native of our kingdom of *Naples*, though he firſt received the habit of the order of St. *Francis* in the *Roman* province. He was a publick preacher in the city of *Rome*, as likewiſe a confeſſor to the nuns. The death of this good man may well be ſaid to be lamented by all, ſince the very birds and beaſts had their ſhare of concern at it: For it was to be obſerved, that whilſt the corps was upon the bier, it was attended by ſeveral parrots and wild hens, which hovered about waiting till it ſhould be interr'd. A dog likewiſe that had belonged to the deceaſed father, miſſing his maſter after he was buried, would neither eat nor drink, but lay howling after an extraordinary manner at the church-door. I gave him afterwards to the captain-general to be tranſported into ſome diſtant iſland: but this availed little, for in leſs than a month's time he returned, and placing himſelf at the door of the deceas'd father's cell, continued to howl as before, till at length having eat nor drank nothing for many days, and being thereby quite famiſhed, he groaned out a diſmal farewel to his loving maſter, and ſo died.

A great quarrel how decided. It may not be here amiſs to inſert a certain quarrel that happened among the *Negroes*

groes in the fourth year of my miſſion, and whilſt the aforeſaid father was living; but wherein no body was killed thro' the timely orders ſent to prevent it. The difference was this: The captain-general, ſon to the count's brother, being at variance with the count's other nephew, ſon to his ſiſter, while they were mutually provoking each other with ill language, the latter happened to throw down the former, and falling a top of him, began to belabour him luſtily with his fiſts, which nevertheleſs no body ſaw. The perſon aggrieved complained of this uſage to the count, who having heard him patiently, at length ſaid to him, *What juſtice would you have me to do between you two that are ſo nearly ally'd?* The captain-general having received the like affront once before from the counteſs's brother, briſkly reply'd, *What, would your excellency have me put up this affront too? No, it is not in my power, and I would have my enemies to know that I am not ſo much to be deſpiſed.* This ſaid, he withdrew, and taking up arms together with his other three brothers, he beat an alarm to challenge the count's other two nephews to battle, who nevertheleſs were not able to appear againſt him without the aſſiſtance of their uncle's troops that were already gone all over to the captain-general's ſide; and this cauſed them not to appear at all.

Challenges: The better to underſtand the manner of challenging in this country, I muſt acquaint you that the *Negroes*, when they have any private quarrels among them, do not care to decide the matter ſingly; but each gets as many of his friends as he can together to do it for him. When they are come to the appointed place, and drawn up in ſight of their adverſaries, they begin to argue the caſe cooly; then proceed to abuſing each other with invectives, till at length their blood being fired by injurious language, they fall to it helter ſkelter. Then their drums begin to beat confuſedly, which are made of thin wood all of a piece, and in form like our great earthen jars. Theſe being covered with a beaſt's ſkin, are ſounded, not with little ſticks, but with the hand, and which make a much greater noiſe than our drums do. They that have the uſe of guns, after the firſt onſet throw them away, having them more to fright than offend the enemy. They ſet them againſt their breaſt, without taking any aim, by which means the balls generally fly over their enemies heads, without doing them any harm; for they perceiving the flaſh in the pan, are likewiſe accuſtomed to ſquat down, and after having ſo received the firing, riſe up of a ſudden, and run forwards. After they have thus thrown away their fire-arms, they betake themſelves to their bows and arrows. MEROLLA When they are at a diſtance they ſend their arrows up into the air, that by their falling they may do their enemies the greater miſchief; but when they are nearer, they ſhoot them in a direct line. They are wont ſometimes to poiſon their arrows, the wounds made by which they recover by piſs. When the arrows fall, the adverſe party immediately gathers them up to make uſe of them again. The ſhort arms they imploy are great and ſmall knives, axes, and the like, which they buy of the *Europeans*. When they come to engage, the perſons that are conquered become ſlaves to the conquerors, if they are taken; and if not, they often kill themſelves for anger. In *Congo*, when there are no prieſts there, Chriſtians make ſlaves of Chriſtians, which they often do upon very ſlight quarrels.

But to return from whence we have ſtayed, let us go on with our ſtory. After a little while two electors, whereof one was the *mani Enguella*, the count's couſin, came up to the captain-general, who together with his friends ſtood with their arms in their hands, and endeavoured to pacify him. They found him ſitting majeſtically under an umbrella, as it were a canopy; when with a more than kingly gravity he broke forth into theſe words: *He that has a mind to ſpeak with me, let him do it proſtrate on the ground.* This the two electors would by no means condeſcend to do, ſince that would be to make him no leſs than count. Whereupon the haughty general leaped up in a paſſion, and diſpoſed himſelf to a rebellion, marching with his followers two days journey off from the city. His three brothers poſted away immediately to his government, which was a country given him by the count, in gratitude for having ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebel, who called himſelf duke of *Bamba* of *Sogno*. Hither he was ſoon after to follow, but was happily prevented by our interpoſing; for had he gone, the conſequence might have been no ſmall prejudice to the count. The arms and ammunition he carried along with him were ſeveral ſmall field-pieces, three hundred muſkets, thirty barrels of powder, a great number of bows, arrows, and the like, with great quantities of proviſions. The manner of our interpoſing was this. On *All-Saints* day, after the firſt maſs, the count came to me with concern in his countenance, and told me what a rebellion was raiſed againſt him. I anſwered, that as ſoon as I obſerved the firſt motions amongſt the people, I leapt forth of my cell, and went to enquire what was the matter. I was acquainted that the *Barretti* (ſo the family of theſe rebels was called) were got together to divert themſelves. To

MEROLLA which I reply'd, that their exerciſe did not at all ſeem to me to be tending that way; but I rather ſuppoſed it to be occaſioned by ſome contentions among them. Having then the chalice in my hand to ſay the ſecond maſs, and being ſomewhat miſtruſtful that this might ariſe from the captain-general's influence, I cauſed it to be enquired into when he had been at church, and was informed that he was preſent at the firſt maſs. Now if this had been true, I had ſoon prevented all future miſcarriages; but being impos'd upon, I could not. I then offered the count to do what in me lay to quiet the diſturbance, and promis'd to go find out the captain-general for that purpoſe. Hereupon my net was ſpeedily got ready, and I ſet forth, but had not gone above three or four miles before I was ſtopt by a guard of ſoldiers, who told me I ſhould go no farther. This caus'd me to come out of the net to know the reaſon, thinking when they ſaw me they would let me paſs; but I found it quite otherwiſe. I aſked their commander if he knew me? He anſwered, *This poſt was aſſigned me to let no body paſs whatſoever, and your reverence never yet baptized me, nor have I confeſs'd to you.* Then I went to go on, but this captain fell down on his knees, and hindered me. I believed poſitively that this was an act of humiliation and ſubmiſſion, it being the *Blacks* cuſtom always to ſpeak upon their knees to the prieſts and their lords: But ſee how I was miſtaken; for as I offered to go forward, he clapped the but-end of his muſket to his ſhoulder, and was about to fire at me, which I perceiving, retired, and giving a ſmall crucifix to one of his ſoldiers, bad him to carry it to the captain-general, as a token that I was coming to ſpeak with him. In the mean time I took to another road, which altho' it was three miles about, yet by the grace of GOD I got to *Chitombo* before midnight. In our way we paſs'd thro' ſeveral villages, whoſe inhabitants were all fled to the ſea-ſhore; therefore not finding any body to relieve my poor net-men, as they expected, they were forced to carry me patiently, without reſting a minute, for fear of loſing time. *Manichitombo* ſent me word that he would have me come on no forwarder, leſt I ſhould loſe my way in a huge wood, which I muſt neceſſarily paſs thro', and which I might very well do in the night-time: and moreover that if I continued at *Chitombo*, he would come and wait on me there. My anſwer was, that if he had a mind to ſhew himſelf an obedient ſpiritual ſon to me, he ſhould continue where I was till I had known the count's farther pleaſure in the matter; and I withal requeſted of him, that the letters I ſhould ſend for that purpoſe might not be intercepted by any of his faction; and to the end they might be able to diſtinguiſh which they were, I let him know that I would order them to be carried aloft upon a pole. Whilſt I was in expectation of an anſwer from the count, *Manichitombo*'s brother and ſecretary ſent me my crucifix again, and withal gave me to underſtand that his brother would not have me by any means to give my ſelf the trouble to come to him, for that he would comply with me in all I deſired and came about; and therefore begged of me to pray for him and his friends. Having this anſwer from the captain-general, I thought it to no purpoſe to ſtay any longer in *Chitombo*; and therefore immediately ſet out for *Sogno* again, and arrived there about midnight. Next morning I ordered my interpreter to go and acquaint the count what I had done; but tho' he ſeemed to comply with my commands, yet did he not nevertheleſs obey them, fearing to fall under diſgrace thereby: for it is common among the *Blacks* to ſuſpect what the interpreters tell them, if there be not a prieſt by to confirm it, and ſometimes ſuch meſſengers have been taken and puniſhed barely upon ſuſpicion. When I came to underſtand this, I went to the count my ſelf, and having informed him of all that happened, he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to be pacified; however deſired to be ſatisfied in two queſtions: The firſt was, why I had not excommunicated the captain for having ſo impudently ſet up his ſtandard againſt his ſovereign? And the ſecond was, that he deſired to know from me what puniſhment ſo great an offender deſerved? As to the firſt I anſwered, That I could not have excommunicated him for two reaſons: Firſt, becauſe he had not rebelled againſt the church; and ſecondly, in that he complied with my demands, which I preſumed were for his excellency's benefit. As to the count's ſecond queſtion, I plainly perceived that it was both deſigning and politick: for could he have procured me to declare the captain-general a rebel, he would have ſoon had him caught, and ſtruck off his head. But I thank GOD, being aware of his intentions, I prudently avoided them, telling his excellency in a jeſting way, that I would ſend the little boy (a youth that had been brought up in our convent, and whom the count dearly loved) to ſatisfy him in that queſtion. This caus'd all the ſtanders-by to laugh, and I my ſelf was not a little pleaſed that I had avoided anſwering to ſo enſnaring a demand. The third or fourth day after, the governor of *Chioua*, the count's eldeſt ſon, appeared with a powerful army which he had

had raiſed to defend his father. This perſon at his firſt coming was indeed extremely courteous and humble; but he afterwards ſoon became proud and haughty. How much pains we took to reconcile theſe two diſagreeing parties, need not be expreſt. In a word, we happily compoſed the diſſenſions between them, and we thought the captain-general had agreed to appear only with his three brothers. But wherever the miſtake was, he came at the time appointed attended by his whole army, which having drawn up before our church, in ſight of that of the *mani* of *Chioua*, he waited for the count's coming to give him a remiſſion of his crime. I fixed my eyes upon the multitude, and could not imagine what the event of this interview would be. I told the count's ſecond ſon, that was then in our convent, that in my opinion it was not at all proper for his father to appear in any paſſion at this juncture. He anſwered, that the way to meet one that came to aſk pardon after this manner, was to come with bullet in mouth, and the muſquet ready to receive it. *Not ſo faſt, ſir*, quoth I, *perhaps I may find a remedy*. Then I went and ſpoke to the captain-general's ſecretary, who of all his brothers was the wiſeſt and moſt prudent. I told him my ſentiments concerning the hoſtile appearance of ſo great a number of men, and his anſwer was, that they ſhould be all ſent home to their houſes, which was the ſame day performed. Of all this I immediately informed the count, and he appointed the four brothers to appear before him next morning, without any attendants. They accordingly came, and three leathern chairs being ſet out before our church, one for the count, another for me, and a third for the captain-general, the count after his wonted humble manner took the left hand. After a little while the captain-general making three low bows to the count, humbly acknowledged his offence, and received pardon. When this was done, the count ſtarted up, and nodding his head with a fierce countenance, to ſhew he was not altogether pleaſed with what had paſſed, and turning towards me ſaid, *Is there any thing more, father, that you deſire of me? Are you ſatisfied? Are you contented?* Which having ſpoke, he in a kind of paſſion left us. Happy was it for theſe four that I had interpoſed; for otherwiſe they would not have recovered their former poſts, as they did. Nor was it a matter of ſmall labour to get the captain, the ſecretary, and the other lieutenants reſtored. Yet I obſerved with admiration that the count laid hold of this opportunity to put ſeveral *mani*'s from their governments, who depended on the captain-general, and among the reſt, thoſe that had commands neareſt his *banza*, putting into their places ſuch as he moſt confided in, retrenching by degrees his exorbitant power: And thus the general was humbled, his maſter ſatisfied, and the people quieted. MEROLLA

Having given an account of this rebellion of a nephew againſt his uncle, I will conclude this firſt part with that of a ſon againſt his father a *Portugueſe*, and the dreadful puniſhment GOD inflicted upon him for his diſreſpect to his parents: A paſſage no leſs dreadful than memorable, and which may ſerve for a warning to unruly perſons to be more reſpectful to thoſe nature and the law of GOD have placed over them. Some few days before the arrival of the fathers miſſioners, F. *F. Andrew da Pavia*, and F. *Angelo Franciſco* of *Milan*, at the miſſion of *Sogno*, as ſhall appear hereafter, a run-away ſoldier embarked at *Loanda* for this place aboard a *Dutch* ſhip, in order to paſs into the kingdom of *Loango*, and thence into *Europe*. He, tho' he arrived at *Sogno*, ſucceeded not in his deſigns, as he projected; for being often rejected by the *Dutch*, he was left forſaken upon that point of the river call'd *el Padron*, the landing place of the aforeſaid earldom. This place being on one ſide hemm'd in by the river, and on the other by the waves of the vaſt ocean, and the land being covered with a thick wood of *mango* trees, he durſt not ſtir one ſtep in that intricate labyrinth. He often deſired the heathen fiſhers reſorting thither from the kingdom of *Angoij*, and the *Sogneſe* Chriſtians to carry him into their countries; but both of them excuſed themſelves, alledging they could not do it without their maſter's leave. He having nothing but his ſword, thought to prevail by force, which they perceiving, forſook the place, for fear of embroiling themſelves with the *Portugueſes*, and to ſhun him that took their fiſh away, and abuſed them. The wretch being in this condition, ſurrounded with misfortunes, ſaw the two aforementioned fathers coming from *Angola*, and conceived hopes they would relieve and conduct him to their houſe, hunger preſſing him. Coming out to meet them, and perceiving they did not ſo much as look at him, but went away without ſpeaking a word, he cried out, Fathers, I fly to your compaſſion, and deſire to be received by you. We cannot, replied they, baniſh that charity from our hearts which is due to all men like our ſelves; but GOD forbid that at our firſt appearance among theſe new converted chriſtian *Blacks*, we ſhould introduce with us the example of a moſt enormous wicked action committed

Rebellion of a ſon againſt his father.

MEROLLA

mitted by a white Chriſtian as you are. Thus they left him forſaken in that place. The caſe was thus: This wretch had given a full looſe to all his lewd inclinations, and being often reprimanded by his father, he never took the leaſt notice. On the contrary, to remove all obſtacles that hindred his proceeding in his wicked courſes, he reſolved to deſtroy him of whom he had received his being. Accordingly he inhumanly fired a piſtol at his father, the bullet whereof hitting him on the forehead without any hurt, rebounded back upon the ſon, and wounded him ſorely, who as he was, took ſanctuary in a church; but fearing the puniſhment he deſerved, endeavour'd to make his eſcape with the *Hollanders*, as has been ſaid. The moſt remarkable thing in this curſed action was, that the ableſt ſurgeons could never heal his wound, the fleſh ever remaining raw, as a brand on his forehead for ſo barbarous an action, and an example to all others to dread committing the like inhumanity. As I was going by the water to the kingdom of *Angoij*, I ſaw him walking with his ſword in his hand inſtead of a ſtaff; and he called to the ſeamen, who were his countrymen, but durſt not come near becauſe the governor of *Angola* would have puniſhed them ſeverely, had they preſumed to tranſport a run-away ſoldier.

To the former I will add one paſſage more, well known to all this earldom, where the witneſſes to it are ſtill living; it was thus: A certain Chriſtian being often admoniſhed by one of our miſſioners to leave his wicked courſe of life, he was ſo far from it, that running on in his lewd courſes, he ſcoffed at him. This man being one day to paſs a river with two companions, he was viſibly taken up by an inviſible hand into the air. One of his companions going to take hold of him by the feet, had ſuch a cuff given him, that he fell down in the boat, and the offender was ſeen no more, the two companions being left to proclaim what had happened all the country about. *Ill liver puniſhed.*

But ſince I have ſpoke of a ſon that was ſo ill a liver, I will conclude with other children born in this black *Ethiopia*, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that beheld and gave an account of them. One of theſe came from his mother's womb with a beard and all his teeth; perhaps to ſhew he was born into the world grown old in vice. A white and a black child were alſo born at one birth; and a black woman brought forth a child quite white. Thus I conclude this firſt part with three wonderful births. *Monſtrous birth.*

The End of the Firſt Part.

A VOYAGE

A Voyage to CONGO, *&c.*

PART II.

ETHIOPIA, ſo called either from *Ethiops* the ſon of *Vulcan*, or from the *Greek* word *aitho*, *I burn*; according to *Pliny*'s opinion, who expreſſes it thus, *Nam ſolis vicinitate ejus regionis incolæ torrentur*, *Ap. diction. 7 Lingu.* and which either by means of its ſcorching ſands, the nature of the climate, the odneſs of the food, and variety of the daily diet, produces nothing but blackneſs among its own native inhabitants, may with good reaſon be termed the dark and diſmal tomb of *Europeans*, and the fatal grave of white people. The blackneſs of theſe ſooty nations, ſome will have to be caus'd by the climate, or nearneſs to the ſun; but others, with more reaſon, derive it from their original, family and deſcent: for *Sevil* being in about 38 degrees of north latitude, produces white people. Near the river of *Plate*, in the the ſame latitude ſouthward, the men are of a cheſnut, and ruſty iron colour; and near the cape of *Good Hope*, which tho' more eaſtward, is in the ſame latitude, the natives are quite black as pitch. And therefore with *Cardan* we may ſay, the blackneſs does not proceed from the temper of the climate, but from the race. *Ut videantur ſtirpe potius quam aeris natura tales evadere.* Card. *lib.* II. *de variet. c.* IV. Which the poet confirms thus.

Sanguine tum credunt in corpora ſumma vocato,
Æthiopum *populos nigrum traxiſſe colorem.* Ovid. *lib.* II. *Met. v.* 235.

S. Iſidorus quoted by the moſt illuſtrious and moſt learned monſignieur *Paolo Areſi* in his *eſſays*, is of opinion, that the *Ethiopians* are deſcended from *Chuſh* the ſon of *Ham*, curs'd by *Noah* for his unbecoming curioſity in looking upon his father's nakedneſs. *Certiſſimum eſt originem ingrediri non a regione, ut hactenus exiſtimatum eſt ob ſolis ardores, ſed a ſtirpe & ſanguine Chus provenire.*

The author's ſickneſs and recovery.

In the ſecond year of my miſſion, I fell ſick of a violent fever in *Æthiopia*, inſomuch that I found my ſtrength to fail me ſo faſt, that I thought it but prudence to prepare for my laſt miſſion into another world. The remedy we *Europeans* make uſe of here upon theſe occaſions, is, to let almoſt all our blood out of our veins, and to repleniſh them with ſuch as the food of the country produces, which being more connatural to the climate, agrees beſt with us. And if it pleaſes GOD to ſpare life, it is no leſs painful, or requires any ſhorter time to recover; for days and months paſs away in accuſtoming the body to the unuſual food, but it is the work of two or three years, with continual care and application, to re-eſtabliſh health. If the probability of this be queſtioned, I appeal for confirmation of it to father *Cavazzi da Montecuccolo* in his *hiſtorical deſcriptions* before-mentioned, where he ſpeaks of it in many places, *viz.* in his firſt book, *pag.* 146. in his third, *pag.* 300, *&c.* MEROLLA

If the torments this fever occaſioned my body were ſo grievous, much more muſt they needs be to my ſoul, ſince I had only the poor lay-brother *Leonard* to adminiſter the ſacraments to me: who nevertheleſs in temporals was as ſerviceable as I could expect or wiſh, but in ſpirituals could only ſprinkle me now and then with holy-water, and call ſometimes for me on the names of *Jeſus* and *Mary*.

Whilſt I was thus labouring under an uncertainty, whether I ſhould live or die, an envoy was introduced to me from the king of *Cacongo*, who writ me word, that both he and his whole kingdom were diſpoſed to receive our holy faith, and therefore deſired I would make what haſte I could to him to have thoſe good intentions accompliſh'd. At that time I was ignorant that the count of *Sogno* had married his ſiſter to this king, on condition that he ſhould embrace the chriſtian-communion, but which not long after I was acquainted with by the ſaid count himſelf. This good news I muſt own was no ſmall relief to my malady, though it did not abſolutely recover me. I therefore entreated his excellency, the count, that he would pleaſe to ſupply the want of ability in me, and give the envoy an anſwer which might demonſtrate my gratitude, and great obligations to his maſter for his propoſal.

MEROLLA This king ſent afterwards to our count to offer him the iſland of *Zariacacongo*, which being neareſt to his dominions, might be better governed by him, and continued in the chriſtian religion when once planted there. With the meſſenger that brought this offer, I diſpatch'd another to the king, to let him know that for the preſent I was extremely ill; and beſides that there was no other miſſioner throughout the count's dominions beſides my ſelf, but that if GOD in his infinite mercy ſhould pleaſe to ſpare my life, I would take ſuch care that he ſhould be ſerv'd in his requeſt, either by me or ſome other. I deſired his majeſty moreover to order the governor of the iſland, that whenever any of my interpreters ſhould come there, to ſet up a croſs as an original ſign of Chriſtianity, he would permit them to do it without moleſtation. I likewiſe begged of his majeſty to aſſign me ſome place in his dominions for a church to be built. All I had ſo deſired, was punctually granted not long after by this good king, who teſtified a more than ordinary inclination to ſee me; but which my weakneſs, occaſioned thro' the great loſs of blood I had undergone, hinder'd me from obeying him in. One of our fathers being come to me, ſet forward immediately to forward ſo good a work, as the converſion of a whole kingdom; who coming to *Bomancoij*, a city on the other ſide the river *Zaire*, and metropolis of the kingdom of *Angoij*, heard that the king was dead, and a new one elected. This cauſed him immediately to return homewards, employing himſelf by the way in other miſſions among the iſlands belonging to *Sogno*: he thought it not amiſs to touch at the iſland of *Zariacacogno*, to pry into the diſpoſitions of that people; and finding a croſs erected amongſt them, he took thence an occaſion to aſk them, *If they deſired to be Chriſtians?* The governors anſwer'd, *That they could not receive any new law without leave from the preſent king; which if he would grant, they were moſt ready to embrace it.* There were not wanting ſome among them that ſaid ſcoffingly, *When we are ſick, forſooth, the wood of this croſs will recover us!* This they ſpoke, I ſuppoſe, by the inſtigation of the wizards, who knew well enough that the chriſtian religion ſhould be no ſooner eſtabliſh'd there, but they would be perſecuted; and therefore, no doubt, thought it adviſable to oppoſe it. The father having done all he could to pleaſe them, and finding his endeavours ineffectual, left them till a more favourable opportunity offered it ſelf. The count finding theſe iſlanders to oppoſe the commands of their late king, reſolved to compel them by force to perform them, and conſequently ſet out againſt them with an army for that purpoſe; and we ſeeing it involved in troubles, thought fit to put off our going thither till another time.

Deſcription of an iſland.

This iſland is none of the ſmalleſt, and ſituate in the midſt of the river *Zaire*. It abounds with all ſorts of proviſions, and great numbers of inhabitants. It is plain, raiſed eight fathom above the water, and is divided from the kingdom of *Congo* by a river, over which there is a bridge.

Arrival of more miſſioners.

About the end of the fifth year of my miſſion, arrived at our convent the two *Milaneſe* fathers formerly mention'd, *viz.* father *Andrew da Pavia* (who was appointed ſuperior in my ſtead) and father *Angelo Franceſco da Milano*; together with a lay-brother, one *Giulio d' Orta*. They brought along with them ſeveral refreſhments from *Europe*, whereby having greatly comforted me, I began to recover my ſtrength, inſomuch that I reſolved ſpeedily to ſet forth in my miſſion, but knew not well whither to go. If I went to *Chiovachianza*, I was afraid I ſhould not ſucceed there, by reaſon, as father *Leonard* told me, they had not ſeen the face of a prieſt for many years; and moreover, ſince they had had any among them, they had been ſubdu'd, as I told you before, by *Simatamba*. And if I went to the new king of *Cacongo*, I diſtruſted my ſecurity there, becauſe he had never invited me. At length it was the advice of all, rather to repair and ſupport what had been already built, than to think of laying a new foundation in another place, and the rather, becauſe there was no extraordinary underſtanding between the count of *Sogno* and the new king of *Cacongo*, altho' the count had given him his vote as one of his electors. I was nevertheleſs not yet reſolved to go for *Chiovachianza*, having heard what happened there to one of our order, who coming thither from *Sogno*, and being for that reaſon ill look'd upon, did little or no good; and beſides, happening to take a ſmall quantity of *talk*, wherewith that country greatly abounds, he was taken and clap'd up into priſon, beſides other ill uſage offered him; and was at length releaſed, more out of covetouſneſs, than either charity or juſtice. Notwithſtanding this conſideration, I was at laſt prevailed upon to go: for this purpoſe I reſolved to carry with me interpreters of the beſt quality I could get; and therefore procured, though with ſome difficulty, the count don *Stephano*'s ſon, a perſon extremely beloved throughout theſe dominions, together with the ſecretary and his brother, both nephews to the preſent count, and who have been mentioned

mentioned by me before. Having got all things in readineſs for ſo long and dangerous a journey, taking up four or five days at leaſt, the interpreters thought themſelves obliged, according to the cuſtom of the country, to go and aſk their lord and maſter's benediction: which he gave them with a pleaſing countenance; but nevertheleſs could not help ſaying, *What, will you leave your prince to hunt after* bonghi? (the money of that country) to which they readily anſwered, *That they were going in the ſervice of* God, *and not in ſearch after* bonghi. This did not paſs ſo ſecretly but it came to my ears, and which I obſerv'd to have had that effect upon the beforementioned perſons, that I reſolved to alter my reſolutions, and inſtead of *Chiovachianza*, to embark for *Angoij*, and thence to go to *Cacongo*.

A new miſſioner ſent out.

If it was not my good fortune to go to *Chiovachianza* my ſelf, give me leave to tell you who did. We had a certain native of *Sogno*, whom we had bred up in our convent from a youth. This perſon being very virtuous, and of a more than ordinary capacity, our friars cauſed him to be made a prieſt for the benefit of Chriſtianity, to the end that being naturally more proper to bear fatigue and labour than they, he might be ſent out on a miſſion where they could not go. Him we forthwith diſpatch'd to the above-mention'd country, where in a few days he baptiſed above five thouſand children. Having remain'd there for ſome time, and work'd like a faithful labourer in his Lord's vineyard, at the requeſt of our fathers, he obtain'd a canonſhip in the biſhoprick of *Loanda* in the kingdom of *Angola*, where he now reſides, with a great deal of honour due to his behaviour and character.

The author ſets out likewiſe.

I went to wait on the count to take leave of him, telling him, *That I had in ſome meaſure been hinder'd from making my miſſion by land, and therefore I was reſolved to perform it ſpeedily by ſea.* His anſwer was little to the purpoſe, which nevertheleſs ſavour'd more of craft than any thing elſe. He told me, *That ſince my departure was ſo ſudden, he could only furniſh me with a brace of goats, and ſome pulſe.*

I embark'd, and the firſt port I touch'd at was *Capinda* in the kingdom of *Angoij*, where the *Portugueſes* trade all the year, as do the *Dutch*. I was no ſooner landed, but I ſet about my ſpiritual employment; yet whatever pains I took, and however I inculcated the truth, I could gain over but one ſingle perſon, whom I baptiſed. I confeſſed ſeveral Chriſtians that came thither about buſineſs, together with ſome *Flemiſh* catholicks that lived there. I continued aſhore all the day to ſay maſs; at which aſſiſted not only the *Roman*-catholicks, but the pagans, eſpecially the women of theſe laſt, who were ſo well pleas'd with the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, that they clapp'd their hands after their manner of devotion, and cried out in their language, *Eguandì Ziambiabungù magottì, benchì, benchì!* that is, *This is the mother of* God, *O how beautiful ſhe is!* Which ſaid, they all fell on their knees and worſhipped her. This act of tenderneſs ſo wrought upon me, that it quickly brought tears of joy into my eyes, to ſee ſo much devotion and acknowledgment in ſo ignorant a people. Merolla

King of Angoij.

Angoij is a kingdom rather in name than in dominions, being but a very ſmall territory. Here formerly a certain *mani* happening to marry a *Mulatta*, daughter to a very rich *Portugueſe*, his father-in-law would needs make him king of *Angoij*; and for that purpoſe cauſed him to rebel againſt the king of *Cacongo* his lawful ſovereign. The manner in ſhort thus: the king of *Congo* having ſent a governor, or viceroy, to govern the kingdom of *Loango*; that perſon being rather ambitious to reign abſolutely, than rule under another, got himſelf to be proclaimed king of all that country; and moreover, took in ſo much more land belonging to his maſter, that his dominions are at preſent extremely large, and wholly independent of *Congo*. *Cacongo* lying in the middle between *Congo* and *Laongo*, that *mani* declar'd himſelf neuter, and ſet himſelf up for king of *Angoij*, rebelling againſt his lawful ſovereign the king of *Cacongo*.

Kingdom of Loango.

The kingdom of *Loango* lies in five degrees and a half of ſouth latitude. The chriſtian religion was firſt planted there in the year 1663, by the labour and diligence of one father *Ungaro* a friar of our order. This pious father had run through divers countries and kingdoms, when at laſt coming to *Sogno*, and lodging in our convent, a *Portugueſe* traveller happening to come that way, was very courteouſly received and relieved by him, inſomuch that in a little while they had contracted a great friendſhip together. After ſome time the *Portugueſe* went his way, and coming to *Loango*, related to that king the great integrity and honeſty he had found in this *Capuchin* miſſioner. The king giving credit to what he told him, was eaſily induc'd to ſend two of his younger ſons to *Sogno*, to be inſtructed by this perſon in the principles of the chriſtian religion; which, after they had well been, and baptiſed, they were ſent back to the king their father.

Theſe princes confirming the character the *Portugueſe* had given of *Bernardino Ungaro*,

MEROLLA *gara*, the king had a great deſire to ſee ſo good a man, and keep him always with him; and therefore wrote forthwith to the governor of *Angola* to ſend him to him. This governor having obtain'd leave of the then ſuperior, father *John Maria da Pavia*, diſpatched him accordingly to *Loango*, without any manner of delay: Where arriving ſoon after, and having inſtructed the king and queen for ſome few days, he proceeded to baptize them both, and then to marry them after the manner of our church. His next buſineſs was to baptize the king's eldeſt ſon, and after him ſucceſſively the whole court, which conſiſted of above three hundred perſons. In a word, within the ſpace of a year that he lived there, he had baptiſed upwards of twelve thouſand people. At laſt this zealous miſſioner finding himſelf oppreſſed with a grievous indiſpoſition, and believing that he ſhould not live long, ſent for our lay-brother *Leonard*; who coming not long after to him, the pious father died the ſame morning he arrived, well provided, as we may imagine, of merits for another world. The good king hearing this, and being deſirous to keep up what he had ſo happily begun, ſent brother *Leonard* to the aforeſaid ſuperior to acquaint him with *Ungaro*'s death, and to deſire of him to ſend him ſpeedily another miſſioner; but however, theſe his good intentions were afterwards diſappointed by a rebellion raiſed againſt him by a kinſman, who being ambitious of his crown, and having been aſſiſted by ſome apoſtate catholicks, deprived the good king of his life. This king's extraordinary zeal for propagating of the chriſtian religion, appears, in that he has been often heard to ſay, *that he would ſhed his deareſt blood in the defence of it.*

The tyrant and uſurper that diſpoſſeſſed him, lived not long after to enjoy his ill-gotten throne, but was ſnatch'd away from it by a ſudden death. This wicked perſon being dead, another Chriſtian king aroſe, who tho' he did all he could, by the help of one *Capuchin*, to promote what had been begun by father *Ungaro*, yet was he not able to bring his intentions about, and that for want of more miſſioners; wherefore this kingdom remains at preſent, as formerly, buried in idolatry. In my time were ſeveral attempts made to recover our intereſt there, though to no purpoſe; yet there is now a greater probability of ſucceeding in it than ever, the preſent king having prohibited the hereticks to traffick within his dominions, by reaſon that they had ſold his ſubjects fire-arms, which he imagined might in time prove prejudicial to him.

I never heard there was any chriſtian prince that reigned in the kingdom of *Angoij*, that country having been always inhabited by a ſort of people extremely given to ſorcery and magick, and who have likewiſe ever been profeſſed enemies to the people of *Sogno* and *Cacongo*. Before I left thoſe countries, thoſe miſſioners I had left behind me in *Sogno*, writ me word that the count had declared war againſt *Angoij*; and having conquered that king, had taken all his guns, arms, and ammunition from him, vowing withal never to ſuffer any perſon to enjoy any office or dignity in that kingdom, unleſs he were a Chriſtian. This put me in mind of the ſaying of the Chriſtian poet *Claudian*,

Aſperius nihil eſt humili cum ſurgit in altum.
In Eutrop. *lib.* I. *v.* 181.

And I believe the chiefeſt motive of the king of *Cacongo*'s ſeeking the count's friendſhip, was to have the people of *Angoij* kept under, he being a kind of check upon them.

Whilſt I continued at *Capinda*, I obſerved a ſort of fiſhing which I never ſaw elſewhere. The fiſhermen threw into the ſea a large net with weights, which having long canes fixed to it at equal diſtances from each other, by their bobbing down ſhew when there is any fiſh taken: this net has large meſtes only to detain the great fiſh. It is made of thread of a certain root, which being beaten, becomes like unto our hemp. ☞ *What our author tells for a wonder, is now very common, for all draw-nets have corks fix'd at an equal diſtance to do the ſame office that he aſcribes to the canes.* *Manner of fiſhing.*

I ſaw all along theſe ſhores oiſter-ſhells lie in great numbers; and being deſirous to find thoſe with oiſters in them, although the *Negroes* would not direct us, we ſoon loaded our boat. We found them lying one upon another in great heaps, and reſembling a rock: it requires no great ſtrength to looſe them, but only a little ſhaking.

I had here an opportunity to ſee the civet-cats, called by the natives *nzime*, and by the *Portugueſes*, *gatte d' Angelia*. This country abounds with them, and they are ſold in great numbers to the *Whites*. They are white and black, and of about the bigneſs and make of a large cat. The civet is taken from the male, when ſhut up in a cage, by catching him by the tail that he may not turn; and then ſkimming the ſweat off from his limbs with a kind of ſpoon. There are other ſorts of wild-cats, which are called by the natives *nzſuſi*. *Civet cats*

The moſt civiliz'd habit here is a piece of cotton thrown over their ſhoulders, and another *Habits.*

another girt about their loins; which they purchaſe in exchange for ſlaves and ivory: others content themſelves with a ſhort apron, only to ſhew they are *Gentiles*. They wear a little horn about their necks, hanging like a jewel; and which they anoint every full-moon with an oil that their wizards give them, and afterwards bind them about with divers ſpells. They wear their hair according to their quality: the queen that I ſaw, had hers ſhav'd cloſe on the crown, and little tufts left all round on the ſides. Others have it left in a circle like that of a monk, and others have theirs plaited down in points towards their foreheads and their necks, inſomuch that if there were the leaſt ſtragling hairs, they would be cut away, and the reſt ſhaved cloſe to the head.

Houſes. The houſes for the moſt part are of reeds, whereof ſome are built round, and others ſquare: they are generally ſuch miſerable huts, that they are rather fit to receive inſects, wherewith this country abounds, than to afford a tolerable habitation for men. The houſe of the *mafucca*, receiver of the *Whites*, though it was built with the ſame materials, yet was it nevertheleſs very large and well-contriv'd, having ſeveral arch'd rooms, within each of which were two ſmall braſs-cannons, which, together with two great ones at the gate, made in all eighteen. Theſe cannons they had got in exchange for *Negroes*, ivory, and the like, from the *Whites*. The king's palace ſeem'd to me not unlike the foregoing. What moved my wonder moſt was, the governor of *Bomangoi*'s houſe, which at a diſtance ſeem'd to be a well-fortified cittadel encompaſſed with walls, and unlike the workmanſhip of the *Blacks:* but as you come nearer, you find its walls to be only compoſed of large ſtakes (paliſadoes) ſtuck into the ground, five thick, and then raddled up to the top with others of the ſame bigneſs: within there were two large ways, which ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer paths. The rooms are all hung within with a delicate ſort of mats, made of oziers of divers colours. It ſeem'd to me a ridiculous thing nevertheleſs, that their houſes ſhould be but of ſtraw, ſtakes, and oziers, and yet defended with braſs guns.

No adultery. The people here for want of laws to prevent it, take as many wives as they pleaſe; and ſhe commands the reſt that beſt pleaſes her huſband, but he has always a power to put her away as well as the reſt. The ladies of the blood-royal have a liberty to chooſe for themſelves what man they pleaſe, whether noble or a *plebeian*; but woe be to that man that happens to diſappoint them in their expectations, for they have likewiſe abſolute power of life or death. Whilſt I was in this city, one of theſe ladies ſent a young woman to be ſold to the *Portugueſes*, ſtrictly commanding her guardian to let her go at any price, but not to diſpoſe of her to any but *Whites:* Her crime it ſeems was a bare ſuſpicion of being too familiar with the ſaid lady's huſband. Thoſe women that receive ſtrangers into their houſes are obliged by a barbarous cuſtom to admit them to their embraces for a night or two, depriving their huſbands of that right in the mean time. Where we *Capuchin* miſſioners come, our interpreters immediately give notice, that no woman may come within our doors.

Theſe people abound ſo in ſuperſtition, *Superſtition.* that it would ſcarce be believed by any but thoſe who ſaw it; and to go about to prevent it would be to little purpoſe, ſince the chief among them are ſuch as encourage it. I declined ſeeing the king, altho' I had made him preſents, and he had returned the favour, by reaſon I had been told that he wore enchanted bracelets on his arms, and had divers other magick charms about his body, reſolving at my return both to viſit and make him ſenſible if poſſible of the curſed ſtate he was in without repentance. Whilſt I was here I heard ſeveral proclamations made publickly by the wizards, *That all thieves and robbers ſhould ſpeedily make reſtitution, or they would have recourſe to their arts to diſcover them.* I ſaw likewiſe at a diſtance an oath adminiſtered, which that it might be done with the greater efficacy, it was propoſed to be taken in the preſence of their idol: this hobgobbling reſembled in ſome meaſure a mountebank's *merri-andrew*, having a divers colour'd veſt on, and a red cap on its head, and ſtanding on a little table. As ſoon as the company that ſtood round in a ring ſaw me they immediately diſpers'd and hid their idol. This they did not out of any fear of us, by reaſon that being pagans we had no juriſdiction over them, but becauſe (ſaid they) the preſence of a prieſt deprives them of the power of acting. Before the gates of their houſes almoſt all have one of theſe idols, whereof I have ſeen ſome five or ſix foot high; others are ſmaller, but both are generally clouterly carved: they place them likewiſe in the fields where they are never worſhipped, but on account of finding out ſome theft, for which the thief when diſcovered muſt die. They that keep idols in their houſes, every firſt day of the moon are obliged to anoint them with a ſort of red wood powder'd, as was ſaid above. At the appearance of every new moon, theſe people fall on their knees, or elſe cry out,

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ſtanding and clapping their hands, *So may I renew my life as thou art renewed.* If it happen that the air is cloudy at that time, then they do nothing, alledging that that planet has loſt its virtue. This ſort of devotion is obſerved moſtly by women. As I was travelling over hills and vallies to tranſport myſelf to *Congo*, I chanced to light upon a place where they were invoking of evil ſpirits; the place was a poor wretched deſpicable hut built on a ſmall riſing ground: on one ſide hung two coarſe naſty aprons which ſtunk ſo that they were enough to ſtrike any one down that came near them. In the middle of this hut was a wall raiſed about two foot with mud and dirt, behind which ſtood the wizard to pronounce his fallacious oracles on account of the prince of darkneſs. He had on his head a tuft of feathers variouſly woven, and in his hand two long knives without ſheaths. Having a mind to enter this temple of the devil's, I perceived a very large fire before me, but nevertheleſs found ſo inſupportable a ſtench that all my ſenſes were in a manner taken from me. I reſolved notwithſtanding to proceed, arming myſelf frequently with the ſign of the croſs, and recommending my protection to the Almighty: Whilſt I was endeavouring to go forward, for you muſt imagine the ſtink was no ſmall obſtacle, I heard a great many of the poor deluded pagans come murmuring and muttering behind me, exclaiming againſt my rude attempt to enter their helliſh tabernacle. This prevented my going any further, fearing I might otherwiſe provoke their blind rage to do me a miſchief. But to return to my ſubject.

Invitation from a king.

When I had continued ſome time at *Capinda*, the *mafucca* told me he had orders from the king of *Congo*, that whenever any *Capuchin* friars appeared in thoſe parts, he ſhould ſend them to him. I anſwered, that coming from *Sogno* I knew not if I ſhould be well received or not. The *mafucca* replied, *I will write to know his majeſty's pleaſure, and I adviſe your reverence to write likewiſe.* I aſked him, *How many days journey the king was off from thence?* he anſwered me, *Three by water, and four by land. If it be ſo* (added I) *I will write.* Then I conſidered with myſelf, that if I did go I might loſe the opportunity of the return of my boat from *Loango* to tranſport me further, according to my intentions, and therefore I reſolved not to go. To this purpoſe I writ to his majeſty, humbly ſuppoſing, *that he was indifferent whether I came to him or not; and therefore having ſet out from* Sogno *with no other deſign but to go to the kingdom of* Cacongo, *I was preparing ſpeedily to go thither.* Coming to an anchor not long after in a port of that kingdom, I diſpatched a letter to the king, acquainting him that I was the perſon that had received ſo many favours from his predeceſſors, having been ſent for by him to *Sogno* to preach the goſpel, and that then being greatly indiſpoſed I could not poſſibly wait upon him according to his commands. This letter was contrived by me to be preſented him by two perſons, the one a *White*, namely, one *Ferdinando Gomez* a *Portugueſe*, whom I did not care to truſt wholly, by reaſon I knew him to be covetous, and therefore ſent another with him who was a *Black*, and a relation to the ſaid king. To him I conſigned a preſent to his majeſty, which was a cryſtal crown, and another of blue glaſs for the queen. This preſent was ſo well received by the king, that as a token of his being pleaſed he took it and put it on his head, which not a little ſurprized the ſtanders-by, they having a law amongſt them that prohibits their king wearing any thing that comes from the *Whites*, which law they call *chegilla*; his majeſty nevertheleſs diſpenſed with this law, telling the people that this crown had been ſent him by his *Capuchin* father, and that therefore he highly prized it, and commanded his queen to do the like by hers: he then ordered my meſſengers to be treated with all the civility imaginable, and after eight days ſtay diſmiſſed them with a letter to me, wherein he thanked me heartily for my kind intentions towards him, and proffered me, that if I would come and ſee him I ſhould be very honourably received, adviſing me to bring ſome rich *Portugueſe* merchant along with me to be my conductor, with ſome conſiderable merchandizes to pleaſe the people. This anſwer of his was to the purpoſe, and had three ſerviceable conſequences, firſt to himſelf, ſecondly to me, and thirdly to the *Portugueſes*.

Great treachery.

As to the firſt, it was commonly reported among the miſſioners, and remained freſh in the memories of the *Negroes*, that ſome years ſince a certain king of this kingdom having been baptized by a religious perſon, and afterwards cauſing a proclamation to be made, *That within ſuch a time all wizards ſhould depart his dominions, or ſuffer death for their neglect*; theſe wicked wretches incited his ſubjects to a rebellion againſt him, which at length increaſed to that degree, that they ran like madmen to the palace with weapons in their hands to aſſault their prince. The prudent king having timely notice of their motions, retired in great haſte to a ſon's of his, who was at that time governor of an adjoining territory, thinking he could be no where ſo ſafe as under his protection, who was indebted to him for his being. The ſon ſeeing

ing his father hotly purſued by his mutinous ſubjects, I know not whether through fear of death, or out of policy, ſoon diſcovered, and delivered him up to their mercy. What could the afflicted father do upon this occaſion, but have recourſe to the holy crucifix which he always wore about him, and which had been given him at the font by the prieſt that baptized him, kiſſing it over and over, and crying out, *If I muſt die through the treachery of a ſon, ought I not to do the ſame on account of my Saviour, who was betrayed and died for me? yes; if I had a thouſand lives I would lay them down all for his ſake.* This ſaid, hugging the crucifix cloſe in his arms and kiſſing it, he yielded down his head to the fatal ſteel, which at one ſtroke deprived him both of head and life. His perfidious ſon did not remain long unpuniſhed, for ſoon after, being firſt deprived of his government, he died miſerably. The ſame happened to that wicked kinſman, and infamous conſpirer againſt the king of *Loango*, who in like manner by a commendable death, reſigned his breath on account of his endeavours to propagate the chriſtian faith within his dominions.

The cauſe of my going to *Cacongo*, was principally the ſpiritual comfort of thoſe poor ſouls, and the performance of my duty, but I had likewiſe a deſire to ſee the body of the former of the two beforementioned kings, which was not much reverenced by the ſaid people, but highly reſpected by me, and which was not difficult for me to find it, having been the cuſtom there, as with us, to bury their kings by themſelves. That ſtrange accident having left ſo indelible an impreſſion on the mind of the preſent king, he had good reaſon to deſire a trade with the *Portugueſes* in expectation of their aſſiſtance both ſpiritual and temporal, which he alſo expected from his good friend and ally the count of *Sogno*.

To confirm as much as in me lay the good intentions of this king, I had ſignified to him among other things, that to lay the ſurer foundation of the chriſtian religion in his country, I muſt deſire the favour of him, that either all, or at leaſt the chief of the magicians and wizards of his kingdom would meet me to defend their opinions, and oppoſe mine; and if they declined coming on account of ignorance, I deſired I might exerciſe my ſacerdotal power on their charms, and diſprove and annul all their devices, and thereby ſhew that the performances of Chriſt's miniſters are always above thoſe of the devil's.

The ſecond conſequence to me and all true catholicks was, that by the introducing of Chriſtianity into that kingdom, the hereticks that traded there would be diſcountenanced and confuted, and not ſuffered for the future to make the port of *Capinda* their way to the kingdom of *Loango*. MEROLLA

The third good conſequence was to the *Portugueſes*, to whom we have been ſo much obliged not only in trade, but likewiſe in matters of religion.

Ferdinand Gomez preſſed me extremely to give the king of *Cacongo* an anſwer, and therein to ſignify to him that if his majeſty pleaſed he would wait upon him as a merchant, and had prepared great variety of merchandize for that purpoſe. My anſwer was, that if the king ſpent ſome days in conſidering on his anſwer, I had reaſon to ſtudy mine many more. His deſign it ſeems was to vend his commodities aboard, and then ſail away without leaving any thing aſhore. This the *Negroes* nevertheleſs diſcovered, and thereupon told him, that if he had a mind to trade for ſlaves in their country, he muſt firſt land all his merchandize. This honeſt man hoped to have had his rogueries authorized by me, though he knew it to be my buſineſs to preach nothing but truth and ſincerity. I thought it proper to go and ſpeak with the king, who reſided about eight miles off, to the end he might not think either himſelf or his ſubjects impoſed upon by me, or my acquaintance. *Gomez* would needs accompany me, we found the journey extreme troubleſome, eſpecially I who had been ſick. From the ſea we had a very ſteep aſcent to make, which obliged me to come out of my net, and to walk afoot, but at length through extreme weakneſs I fainted: whereupon I was lifted again into the net, and with much ado dragg'd up the hill. This fainting was occaſioned by my indiſpoſition, which never left me, and by the ſlender proviſions we had in the ſhip which conſiſted of nothing but horſe-beans, *Indian* wheat, and flower made of the root of an herb; and yet this man told me before our fathers of *Sogno*, that his bark was well provided, eſpecially with ſweetmeats, tho' indeed I found nothing but big words, and had like to have paid for it with my life.

When we came to the *mafucca*'s houſe, who was the king's relation, and lived about a mile from court, I called him aſide, and told him what *Gomez* had deſigned: he ſeemed very angry, but was nevertheleſs ſoon appeaſed by my inter-mediation. I afterwards aſked him ſeriouſly, *If I ſhould go to the* banza *where the king reſided, whether he thought his majeſty would be baptized or not?* To which he, tho' a pagan, civilly anſwer'd, That it was certain he would, according to his promiſe, provided that trade were ſettled within his dominions

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I nevertheleſs remained in the *mafucca*'s houſe, and towards night an embaſſador, with five others, came to me from the king of *Congo*. Before their coming I had two meſſengers from the *mafucca* of *Angoij*, to ſignify their maſter's concern for my departure from *Capinda* without his knowledge. I acquainted them that the reaſon of my ſo doing was, becauſe I had no houſe near the ſea to reſide in, his being above a day's journey off. I afterwards open'd the king of *Congo*'s letter, wherein he intreated me, for GOD's ſake, to come and comfort him, many years having paſs'd ſince he had any *Capuchin* within his dominions; and his mother *Donna Potentiana* was deſirous to ſee me, having ſeveral things to communicate to me for the benefit of Chriſtianity. Together with the embaſſy the king ſent a preſent of two ſlaves, one for me, and the other for the *mafucca*, for ſervices done him. Mine I refuſed, and yet I never ſaw him, but afterwards conſidering that if I did not accept of him the *mafucca* would have both to fell to the hereticks, I gave him to *Ferdinand Gomez*, for having given me a flaſk of wine for the ſacrament, and ſome other ſmall things. Then I took leave of the *mafucca* of *Cacongo*, thanking him for his civilities, and bidding him to acquaint the king his maſter that I was gone to *Loanda* to accompliſh what his majeſty had commanded. I deſired the captain of the ſhip or ſmack, that if he did not meet with me at *Capinda*, he ſhould do his beſt to come to the port of *Sogni*, which he did faithfully, being a *Venetian*, and my country-man, notwithſtanding both the wind and tide were againſt him. For the civilities I had received from the *mafucca*, I preſented him with ſeveral ſmall things, in all to the value of about a ſlave: This I did that he might be the more willing to furniſh me with proviſions for my voyage. I punctually obſerved his orders in ſatisfying the people that were to carry me over the river, which oblig'd him ſo much, that he procur'd me ſeveral companions beſides the *Congolans*, which made us in all thirteen.

The father's journey to Congo.

On the 7th of *March* 1688, without any farther delay we ſet forth towards *Congo*, and having gone about two days journey by land, arrived at the *banza* of *Bomangoij*, where by a correſpondent of the *mafucca*, a well-bred man, I was very courteouſly receiv'd and welcom'd, as I was by the governor, who received me with ſincerity, and procured a boat to carry me further up the river. This voyage was extremely irkſome to me through the exceſſive heat, the ſun being then in *Leo*, which is the time of the rains; and I believe I could never have endured it, had I not been particularly aſſiſted by Almighty GOD. A-nights I was obliged to lie aſhore on the wet ground, continually tormented with a multitude of gnats called *melgos*, which rather deſerved the name of horſe-leeches, for they would never quit their holds till they dropt off and burſt, and ſo rather choſe to loſe their lives than baulk their appetites. Or elſe I lay expoſed to the air in the canoo, which was a much greater plague. All this was nothing to what follows: The *mafucca*'s ſervant having received his money beforehand, would not allow me enough to ſubſiſt for four days, having agreed with the reſt of the *Blacks*, who took their turns, to go by land and divert themſelves, meeting the boat at the turn of the river, till we came to *Boma*. As for my interpreter, they gave him now and then a little, but I was fain to owe all my ſupport to a little wine I had by me. The *Congheſes* ſent to me by the king, bid me to have patience, for it would not be long before I were in their maſter's dominions, and then I might have an opportunity to revenge myſelf on thoſe wicked infidels.

Boma iſland.

The iſland of *Boma* is well ſituated, pretty large, extremely populous, and abounds with all manner of ſuſtenance proper for the climate. It is tributary to the king of *Congo*, and has ſeveral ſmall iſlands about it belonging to the count of *Sogno*. The inhabitants do not uſe circumciſion like ſome pagans their neighbours, whoſe wizards circumciſe them on the eighth day, not out of any regard to the *Moſaical* law, but for ſome wicked ends and purpoſes of their own. When our miſſioners came to exerciſe their function in the iſlands of *Sogno*, theſe people carry their children to them to baptize. In this they do well, but as to other matters they obſerve little or no religion, and that I believe chiefly for want

of

of prieſts to inſtruct them. As ſoon as they perceived my arrival, the mothers run like mad women with their children in their arms to get them baptized: This the *mani* would not nevertheleſs permit me to perform, till he had known his lord and maſter's pleaſure therein. As we rowed up the canal, the lord of the iſland ſent to ſpeak with me, being ready to receive me not far off, but firſt let me know that I muſt not pretend to touch him, for that he was a true gentile: His arms were all covered with great numbers of enchanted iron and braſs hoops, and he ſuperſtitiouſly avoided my touching him, for fear they ſhould loſe their virtue. When I came to him, I found him ſitting in a ſort of leather chair under an *umbrella*; he had a ſort of linen apron about his middle, and the reſt of his body was wrapped about in a kind of ſcarlet cloke, which having loſt both its colour and nap plainly ſhew'd its antiquity. I alſo ſat my ſelf down in a little leather chair, which I carried always about with me to hear confeſſions. After a little diſcourſe I preſented him with ſomething after the cuſtom of his country; for if ſomething of this kind be not done to the prince, a miſſion will not be very likely to ſucceed. Afterwards this prince having aſſigned me a houſe near to his, I began to baptize the children.

The prince gave me to underſtand that he had a mind I ſhould baptize a ſhe-ſlave of his, which I told him I could not do till I had catechized her; and moreover, that after baptiſm there were ſeveral things to be done by her, among which one was, that ſhe muſt be forthwith married according to our law, which we enjoined on all the converted pagans in other parts. I was anſwered by one of the ſtanders-by, that this woman was not only a ſlave, but likewiſe miſtreſs to their lord, and therefore I ought not to inſiſt on the ſame from her as another. I told him her being a miſtreſs was ſo much the worſe, and bid him acquaint his lord, that I could by no means comply with his deſires: The prince ſeemed very much diſpleaſed at my refuſal to baptize his ſlave, but I nevertheleſs perſiſted in my reſolutions.

I baptized many at that time, and thereby not only reaped a ſpiritual benefit, but likewiſe a temporal one; for almoſt every one brought me ſomething or other as a preſent. Being ſcarce able to ſtand on my feet, I turned about to the *mafucca*'s ſervant and ſaid to him, *See what difference there is between your religion and ours; for where yours allows you to be ungrateful, ours enjoins us to give even to thoſe that have uſed us ill: Take therefore you all theſe preſents, and leave me only ſufficient to ſupport me to night.* According as I had bid him ſo he did, what was left for me being only a pot full of pullet-broth, and a few peaſe. Here the cuſtom is to have the kitchen without doors for fear of firing the houſe, which is but of ſtraw. My interpreter only remained with me, the reſt of my companions being gone, ſome one way and ſome another. As ſoon as we had prepared my ſupper with an addition of two eggs, I fell to it heartily: My broth I ſupp'd up, and taſted my peaſe, but I had not ſo done half an hour before I felt thoſe pains that people are wont to do with the twiſting of the guts: I thereupon lighted a candle, and threw my ſelf upon the bed, which ſeemed much farther from me by reaſon of my torments than it really was. What I ſuffered is only poſſible for them to expreſs that have experienced the torture. Providence, which ſeldom fails the wretched in extremity, at laſt directed me to a little baſket I had by my bed-ſide, wherein I had preſerved ſome antidotes, for I now began to think I was poiſoned: Amongſt the reſt there was an elk's hoof, which I took and applied, but it did me no good, finding myſelf rather worſe than before; for my teeth began to be ſet, and my ſight to be loſt; then I had recourſe to a ſort of little lemon which I would willingly have put into my mouth at once, but could not by reaſon of the too ſtrait paſſage: At laſt I found I muſt break it, which I did; the firſt drop that came into my mouth gave me ſome eaſe; but when I had got the reſt of the juice into my ſtomach I began immediately to grow drowzy, inſomuch that I quickly fell aſleep with the lemon in my mouth, and hand upon my cheek. How long I continued in that condition I cannot tell. My companions coming, and perceiving me to lie in that poſture, thought verily I had been dead, but at length through the only interceſſion of the Virgin I came to my ſelf. Then turning about to the *Congolans*, I cried, GOD *forgive ye*, and was going to ſay more, but found my tongue unable to expreſs any thing but broken tones. The occaſion of my breaking forth into that expreſſion, was on account of the poiſoning of ſix of my order near *Bamba*, as they were travelling through *Congo*, being the common road from the kingdom of *Angola*. This way I reſolved to avoid, for fear the like fate might have happen'd to me. As for my diſtemper, it began to work off by vomits, which continued upon me for eight days and nights together, in four of which I had little or no reſt, and beſides brought up whatever I eat. Being tolerably recovered, ſome ſhort time after

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MEROLLA after I was impatient to be gone: For that purpoſe I ſent to know if my people were in readineſs, but had for anſwer, that the cheſt wherein the altar and its furniture were kept, was left on the ſhore and the canoo gone. It ſeems the lord of that country had ſent the night before to the watermen, that if they offer'd to carry me off they ſhould loſe their heads. I hereupon ſent civilly to that prince to ſuffer me to procure another boat: His anſwer was, that if I wanted a boat, he alſo wanted a cloke, my preſent which I formerly made him not having been ſufficient. I happen'd to have two pieces of cotton-cloth by me, which it ſeems he had been informed of; they were woven in divers colours, and came from *Guinea*, being a preſent to me from father *Franciſca da Montelione:* One of theſe I immediately ſent to this prince to obtain his favour, which I heard he would not nevertheleſs afford me, unleſs I ſent the other alſo: This I was unwilling to do, alledging I kept it for the ſervice of GOD, to which he reply'd, that the boat was kept for GOD's ſervice likewiſe, and therefore I ſhould not have it. Finding my ſelf thus indiſpenſably obliged to let him have it, I ſent it him, and three days after he returned me a boat and men.

Before I continue my voyage on the river, give me leave to acquaint you with ſome other paſſages of this nature which happened in this iſland, and were told me by father *Thomas da Seſtola* our ſuperior, which may ſerve to confirm what has been related before. A certain miſſioner coming to this iſland, the *mani* or lord ſeized upon ſome of the goods belonging to his miſſion; the friar hereupon acquainted the count of *Sogno* from whence he came therewith, who immediately ſent orders to have the things reſtored again to the *Capuchin*, or he would proclaim war againſt the *mani:* This had ſo good effect, that the goods were forthwith reſtored, and the miſſioner highly treated and preſented. Nevertheleſs to prevent any miſunderſtanding between theſe two princes, the before-mentioned black prieſt called *Don Franciſco* was ſent hither, who being of the ſame colour and country with theſe iſlanders, made a good beginning in his holy function. Whilſt he was one day celebrating maſs, the *mani*, who was much more devoted to riches than religion, inſtead of aſſiſting at thoſe divine myſteries, did nothing but gaze upon the prieſt's *chaſuble* and ſilver patten; of one he had a fancy to make a coat and of the other a breaſt-plate. As ſoon as maſs was ended, he very boldly aſked for them: The prudent prieſt hereupon anſwer'd him, that he would very willingly let him have them, the *Capuchins* abounding in thoſe things, provided he would let him have them to officiate with during his ſtay there, but he ſtole away that very night. Whether it was the *mani* himſelf, or any other that deſigned me harm, I am not able to determine; but I am certain that if I had known the foregoing ſtory, I had walk'd more warily, and given nobody an opportunity to make me undergo ſo great a danger as I did.

Antidotes againſt poiſon.

It may not be here amiſs to take notice of two things more relating to the foregoing: Firſt, as to the ſmall ſort of lemon which I made uſe of as an antidote, it is to be noted that the poiſon of theſe parts, which lies chiefly in certain herbs, is not to be expelled any other way than by the juice of this fruit, and this is a ſecret known to very few. As to the poiſon in wood or the like, nought can prevail againſt it, but the bark of the tree called *mignamigna*, as has been hinted at before in the deſcription of the plants and trees of theſe countries.

A Capuchin poiſon'd.

Over and above the ſix *Capuchin* miſſionaries that were poiſoned at the time of my being in *Congo*, I muſt add the like ſad fate which had happened to father *Joſeph Maria da Seſtri* a *Genoeſe*, who in his way to *Sogno*, where I then reſided, being accompanied with about thirty five perſons ſent with him by the count, he went aſide to a *Congheſe* city called *Incuſſo:* At the time of his departure he told me that ſix had been poiſoned before him, and he ſhould be the ſeventh. Staying at *Incuſſo* about a year, he took what care he could to get into his hands all the implements that had belonged to the deceaſed miſſioners, and which he was commanded to do by the then father ſuperior. Whilſt he was doing this, he was earneſtly requeſted by the vicar-general *Don Michael de Caſtro* a *Mulatto* to come to him, profeſſing himſelf deſirous to fulfil the *Eaſter*-duty of receiving the ſacrament and confeſſing, being then an old man, and wanting one to aſſiſt him in adminiſtring the ſacraments. The pious father went innocently to wait on him according to his requeſt, carrying along with him what things he had recovered, purpoſing to ſend them to the ſuperior: About four a clock he got ſafe to the vicar-general's houſe, but before night he was taken with fainting fits, and died not without a reaſonable ſuſpicion of being poiſoned. He was no ſooner dead, but the vicar-general cauſed all the people to depart the room where he lay, and then proceeding to rip up his bundles, took thence, as we are credibly inform'd, four ſilver chalices, two cenſors, with their boats, and two pix's all of the ſame metal, with ſeveral other things, part of which he pre-

tended were given him by the dying miſſioner, and the reſt he promiſed he would ſend to our ſuperior at *Loanda*, but did not.

I report this from the people that were with father *Seſtri* when he died, and who told me moreover, that he took a great quantity of treacle without any relief. This action of the vicar-general hindered his ſon from being admitted into ſacred orders when he ſolicited for it. As ſoon as the old vicar was dead, the chapter of *Loanda* thundered out one excommunication againſt the ſon, then deacon, and the new biſhop another, to the end that he might thereby be obliged to reſtore what his father had ſo unjuſtly got; all which ſerved to little or no purpoſe. The old vicar had ſix thouſand ſlaves at his command, beſides ſubjects, with which he deſigned to have forced his ſon's promotion to the prieſthood, to the end that he might crown him king of *Congo*, without conſidering whether he could get himſelf to be elected, and at that time he was decrepit. But I muſt return to give an account of the further progreſs of my journey.

Journey to Congo *continued.*

The firſt day after I was got over the river, I had a very ſteep mountain to go up; which being impoſſible to do in my net, I was fain to perform it on foot, being ſupported all the way by two men, by reaſon of my weakneſs. We came at length to a village, where I obſerved colwarts planted like ours in *Europe*, brought thither it may be by ſome miſſioners. There are of them in the kingdom of *Angola*, but they produce no ſeed, and are multiplied by planting the ſprouts, growing to a great height. This village was called *Bungù*, where I baptized fifteen children.

The morning of my departure hence, thoſe that had the care of me being gone back again, as it is the cuſtom in theſe countries to do, being aſſigned freſh conductors by the *mani* of the place, they would not ſtir a foot forwards till they were paid, tho' it be our privilege to travel always at the charge of the town where we came laſt. In anſwer to their demands I told them, That I was going to wait on their king upon this account, and therefore if he would have me to come, he muſt bear my charges. They replied, in great fury, *We will be paid*, clapping their hands, and ſtamping with their feet as if they had been mad. This action I confeſs made me ſmile, whereupon I told them, that if they would repeat the ſame three times over they ſhould be paid. This made them to laugh too, when ſhrugging up their ſhoulders, and performing what I required, they ſtooped and took me up. It ſeems this ridiculous action of theirs was to have frighted me into a compliance; but however they were diſappointed in the manner of procuring it, tho' they ſucceeded in what they expected. MEROLLA

In my ſecond day's journey I was carried to the city of *Norchie*, where I baptized one hundred and twenty ſix perſons. This place is the beſt ſituated of any hitherto ſeen in *Ethiopia*. Here the king's ſon met me, being come for that purpoſe, and I ſtaid a day and a half to baptize the people.

Here, as I underſtood, had never yet been any prieſt, and that becauſe this town was ſomewhat out of the road, the people having been us'd to carry their children about ſix days journey off, to a place where the miſſioners commonly reſided. The crowd that gathered here about me was very great, and the court of the houſe where I was but very little, ſo that I determined, for my greater eaſe, to perform my office in the market. This the *mani* obſerving, told me, that if I pleaſed I might go to the church, which was not far off. I was glad to hear there was one, and therefore immediately went to it. When I came near it, I perceived it was a pretty large one, and had a great wooden croſs ſtanding before it, which I was glad to ſee. Fixing my eyes upon the door of the church, I found it was quite different from what others had; whereupon calling to the *mani*, with a great deal of concern, I deſired him to cauſe it to be opened. But he, inſtead of gratifying me in my requeſt, immediately fled, together with all the reſt of the company, which were very numerous. Being thus left to my reſentments, I clapt my foot againſt the door, and broke it open, when I ſaw what I could never have believed, had it been barely related to me: Inſtead of an altar there was a great heap of ſand, wherein was ſtuck a ſtreight horn about five ſpans long, and on one ſide another of a leſſer ſize. On one part of the wall hung two coarſe ſhirts, ſuch as I had before ſeen in the kingdom of *Angoij*. Being aſtoniſhed at this ſight, my hair ſtood an end, my tongue cleav'd to the roof of my mouth, and I began to cry out aloud, enhancing the offence as much as poſſible, *Are theſe the effects of the inſtructions ye have learnt from our miſſioners? Is this the fruit of ſo much toil and anguiſh as has been undergone in your converſion?* with ſeveral more expreſſions of the like nature. I deferred adminiſtring the ſacrament of baptiſm for ſome time, giving for reaſon, that it was by no means proper to baptize the children of thoſe parents that had rejected the worſhip of the true GOD, for that of an abominable idol, ſuch as their execrable *Cariabemba* was, for ſo they called their devil. I afterwards told them that I would not ſtir a foot from their town till they

MEROLLA they had utterly thrown down and deſtroyed that temple of idolatry.

Retiring to recommend my ſelf to GOD, and to pray for the illumination of his Spirit, I ſaid to my ſelf, *If I ſhould now clap fire to this building, and burn it down, what damage may it not do to the inhabitants, whoſe houſes are all adjoining, and moreover built with reeds?* I concluded therefore to execute my purpoſe more mildly at my return, after I had been ſecure of the king's favour; for ſhould I now have done it, I might have incurred the ſame damage or danger as others have done. Amongſt the reſt, father *Bernard da Savona*, a few days before he came to *Sogno*, was left with his baggage, by his conductors, in a large foreſt, where, for fear of being torn to pieces by wild beaſts, he was forced to leave his bundles, and wander alone in great haſte; till at laſt coming near the ſea, he was diſcovered by fiſhermen, who giving us at the convent notice of it, we ſent ſpeedily out for him, and had him conducted ſafe to us. He was travelling, on account of his miſſion, to *Emcaſſu* in *Congo*.

The like misfortune befel father *John Baptiſt da Malta*, as he travelled thro' *Bamba*; who perceiving himſelf forſaken by the perſons that were to attend him, had recourſe to the father of *miracles*, the glorious St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, for aſſiſtance. When he had watched in a tree almoſt a whole night for fear of becoming a prey to the wild beaſts, he heard himſelf all of a ſudden called by his name. The poor father thinking ſome of his companions had called him, beg'd for the love of GOD, to be conducted to ſome road. A little while after two gentlemen coming by that way with ſervants, and obſerving the father alone, and ſo much miſuſed, took him upon their own backs, and carry'd him to the city of *Bamba*, not ſuffering any of their ſervants to take turns with them, for fear of being deprived of the entire benefit of ſo charitable an action. The poor father coming to the vicar of *Bamba*'s houſe, and being kindly entertained by him, after ſome time enquired after his companions; and meeting with them not long after, he demanded of them how they could be ſo cruel as to leave him alone in ſuch a foreſt? Alſo, why they did not come to aſſiſt him when he called to them, and they heard him? Their anſwer was, That as for hearing him they took care not to do that from their firſt leaving him, flying from him as faſt as they could, and had not been near him ſince till then. By their anſwer the *Malteſe* eaſily perceived that it was the ſaint to whom he had recourſe, that had both called and delivered him. This was told me by the ſaid father himſelf in our convent at *Loanda*, in the kingdom of *Angola*.

A Capuchin devoured by wizards.

I was likewiſe afraid ſuch an accident might have befallen me, as happened to one of our order, father *Philip da Saleſia*, a miſſioner, into the kingdom of *Congo*. The ſtory is this: After the death of the pious *Don Alvaro* king of *Congo*, a new king was choſen, who was no leſs zealous and devout than his predeceſſor. This prince putting out a proclamation to have all the wizards that ſhould be found within his dominions burnt, thoſe wicked wretches gathering together in the dukedom of *Sundi*, ſtill perſiſted to exerciſe their damnable callings in their huts, notwithſtanding the prohibition. To prevent this, the duke's forces marched thither in great haſte, carrying along with them the aforeſaid father. Being arrived at the place, they began to ſet fire to the huts: As ſoon as the wizards perceived the flames about their ears, they came out in great fury; whereat the duke's people immediately fled, leaving the poor father to ſhift for himſelf. The wizards perceiving him alone, ſoon ſeized, and murdered, and devoured him, both to ſatisfy their revenge and appetite. The truth of this was atteſted and told us by the perſons that fled, who ſaid, they had obſerved it by the light of the blaze of the houſes. We were then at our convent in the city of *San Salvador*.

The father comes to Congo.

The young prince of *Congo*, who was about eighteen years old perceiving I ſhewed him little reſpect, eſpecially after what I had diſcovered in the church, having drawn up his men in order, departed. I was told I had not done well to ſhew ſo little regard to their king's ſon, and was therefore deſired to ſend for him back again. My anſwer was, That ſince his departure was voluntary, ſo ſhould be his return for me; but withal, that if he would come back he ſhould be well received. In ſhort, he did come back, and at length both he and his were well ſatisfy'd, and tarry'd with me till next day at noon, when we went all away together.

Having travelled another day's journey and a half with the aforeſaid prince, we met with the king's uncle, and a relation of his, who had drums, and trumpets, and a great train of followers. When we came within half a mile of the *banza* of *Lemba* where the king was, I was told I muſt not go any nearer till farther order, and therefore was forced to remain behind alone with my interpreter. At laſt the order came, attended with ſeveral perſons, to bring me to court. When I came near the city, I was ſtopt again to wait for the ſecretary, who was to receive me there. He preſently came and conducted me into the market-place, where the people, almoſt innumerable, and divided into two choirs, were

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ſinging of the *Roſary* in the *Congheſe* tongue. At the upper end ſat the king with a long cloak upon his ſhoulders, a ſatin waſtcoat ſtriped with ſilver on his back, and his lower parts from the middle were clothed with a fine veſt after the mode of the country. Being led up into his majeſty's preſence, he reached out an ivory crucifix a ſpan and a half long, on an ebony croſs of a proportionable length, for me to kiſs. When I had done it, and he had delivered it to a favourite, he would needs kiſs my crucifix; which he did, and afterwards falling on his knees, received benediction. In the mean time the people were marching in great order towards the church, whilſt the king and I brought up the rear. When I came into the church, after a ſhort prayer, I went up to the altar, and preached a ſermon to them upon theſe words of the apoſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies ſalutis.* Declaring, that I came amongſt them for no other end, than to revive in their hearts the love and fear of God, and of his Son Christ.

My ſermon being ended, I waited on the king back to his palace, where he entertained me lovingly, and gave me a hearty welcome into his dominions. After we had ſpent ſome time together, I took my leave, but his majeſty would needs ſee me out to the ſtreet. His nobles had orders to accompany me further, for they conducted me to a houſe belonging to the king's uncle, where I was to reſide. I muſt needs ſay I was not a little ſurprized to obſerve how punctually thoſe lords would come every morning wraped up in their long cloaks, and walking two by two, to receive and conduct me to church, and after maſs march back again with me in the ſame order as they came.

After the reciprocal viſits between the king and me were pretty well over, I one day aſked his majeſty for what reaſon he had ſo earneſtly and ſo often ſent for me from *Sogno*. He anſwered, That he might have a prieſt and preacher of the holy Goſpel within his dominions. *That I believe* (reply'd I) *but I preſume your majeſty had ſome other end.* Tho' he made me no anſwer to this, yet I could eaſily perceive he had ſome thought thereupon that pleaſed him, and that by his ſmiling. *Your majeſty muſt give me leave to gueſs at it*, (reply'd I) *and therefore I fancy you ſent for me to put the crown of* Congo *upon your head.* Theſe words were ſcarce out of my mouth, but I heard a clapping of hands, and humming (which are tokens of great joy among theſe people) together with a confus'd noiſe of prating among the courtiers, and drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and other noiſy inſtruments playing; all which were only grateful to my ears, as they proceeded from pleaſure conceived at what I had ſaid. Merolla

The kings of *Congo* have a bull from pope *Urban* VIII. which gives them leave to be crowned by the *Capuchin* miſſioners after the catholick manner, and which in former times their firſt king was by the ſaid authority. And afterwards the miſſioner, father *Januario da Nola*, did the ſame office for *Don Garcia Alphonſo*, who was crowned in the time of pope *Innocent* X. The like were others down to this preſent king. I told his majeſty that his election having been by votes, and that in writing, by reaſon the electors lived ſo far off, I deſired to ſee them. He readily complied with my requeſt, and among the reſt I found the count of *Sogno*'s name, which I was glad to ſee, there having been ſome differences formerly between thoſe two princes.

A miraculous victory.

Having gone thus far, my next buſineſs was to procure the regal crown of *Congo*, which had been formerly ſent hither by the aforeſaid pope *Urban*, and remained at preſent in the cuſtody of the *Portugueſes*. It may not be amiſs to tell how they came by it: The manner in ſhort was this, *Don Garcia* II. and 17th chriſtian king of this country, being deſirous to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of his throne to his children, amongſt other tyrannous actions, extirpated ſeveral of the chief families of his kingdom; and at laſt to ſhew that he was reſolved to die as wickedly as he had lived, inſtead of invoking the aſſiſtance of heaven in his ſickneſs, he had recourſe only to wizards, necromancers, and ſuch kind of ill people. Theſe wretches bearing a more than ordinary hatred to the then prince *Don Alphonſo*, as well knowing and fearing that if they ſuffered him to come to the crown, he would not only perſecute, but baniſh them; poſſeſs'd the mind of his ſick father, that to make his way the ſooner to his dominions, he had deſigned to poiſon him.

Garcia thereupon blinded by their ſubtilties, immediately declared his ſon unworthy of his throne, and conſequently got him murdered, recommending for his ſucceſſor *Don Antonio* I. his ſecond ſon. Not long after *Garcia* died, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, leaving his ſon *Antonio* to ſucceed him: but no body can imagine the wickedneſs of his reign; beſides the murder of his brother, wherein he was not a little concerned, he put to death all his relations. He cauſed his wife to be murdered, giving out, tho' falſly, that ſhe was guilty of adultery; and afterwards married a near kinſwoman, whom he had

MEROLLA formerly been in love with, againſt all law and reaſon. Then he proceeded to extend his cruelty towards her relations, as unjuſtly as he had done towards his own. Thus began the reign of that monſtrous tyrant *Don Antonio*, who having ſcarce wraped himſelf in his purple, dyed it in ſcarlet, and became abhorred and hated by the *Portugueſes* and *Whites*, who having ſignify'd their diſlike to his practices, and which coming to his ears, he vow'd he would ſpeedily have them beat and whipt out of his dominions.

To effect this, confiding more in his multitudes, than their knowledge in military affairs, he raiſed a prodigious army of nine hundred thouſand men; the truth whereof I know not whether it may be queſtioned by the reader; but beſides my own, I have the authority of father *Cavazzi* for it, who in his ſecond book, *pag.* 286. and eighth book, *pag.* 868. affirms the ſame thing. Moreover it may appear credible, if we conſider the exceſſive largeneſs and populouſneſs of theſe countries, as likewiſe that all this king's ſubjects are not only obliged, but accuſtomed voluntarily to follow him to the wars at his leaſt command.

Before this army marched, the king was adviſed by father *Francis de San Salvador*, his chaplain and relation, not to hazard the lives of ſo many poor ſlaves, againſt ſo warlike a people as the *Portugueſes*. This friar had received the habit of our order from father *Giacinto dà Vetralla*; he was a learned man, and was admitted by order of the ſacred college.

The king not caring to hearken to his chaplain's advice, the army marched againſt the *Portugueſes*. On the very firſt day of their march, the heavens let down ſuch a deluge, as one would have thought ſufficient to have drowned all *Æthiopia*, and mourned in thunder for the dreadful ſlaughter that was to enſue. The good friar perceiving the diſpleaſure of heaven, renewed his former petition and advice to the king; *Obſerve* (quoth he to the king) *theſe drops are as ſo many tongues, that exhort you not to fight againſt the* Whites; *and theſe claps of thunder are as ſo many groans, that good heaven ſends forth for the woeful effects of your obſtinacy*. The haughty king nevertheleſs perſiſted in his reſolution and marched forwards: when at length ſtepping aſide a little way from his army, with a few followers to repoſe himſelf, beheld a dreadful tiger, as it were, for a ſecond warning, leaped ſuddenly out of a foreſt, and ran full drive at him. Father *Francis*, who never went from the king's ſide, ſeeing this, drew out a ſcymitar he had at his girdle, and oppoſing the furious beaſt, at one ſtroke cleft him in two. The king little moved at this action of his preſerver, rather attributed his ſafety to magick, than to his kinſman's valour.

The *Portugueſes* being reſolved to find thoſe mines of gold which the *Moci-Congolans* had ſo long promiſed, and ſtill delayed to diſcover to them, got together about four hundred brave *Europeans*, with near two thouſand *Blacks* their ſlaves, and lodged themſelves in the marquiſat of *Pamba*, where they not long after were aſſaulted by above eighty thouſand *Æthiopians*. The *Portugueſes*, though they ſaw their enemies march as thick as locuſts, and tho' they ſaw themſelves were but a handful in compariſon of them, and had but two pieces of cannon, yet were they not diſheartned, even when they ſaw them encompaſs and ſurround them. The *Capuchin* placed himſelf in his veſtments between the two armies, endeavouring to make peace, which was approved of by the *Portugueſes*. But the obſtinate king would not hearken to his mediation, but forthwith gave the ſignal of battle, and ſeeing a woman with a child in her arms, ſuppoſed to be the Virgin *Mary*, ſtanding by the *Portugueſe* general, he ſhewed her to his men, aſſuring them of victory, becauſe the *Portugueſes* had the impediment of their women with them. Then began the ſhot to fly like hail from the *Portugueſe* guns, eſpecially from two pieces of cannon they had, which made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter among the *Blacks*, that one part of the army giving way, the other was not long before it followed. In ſhort, the *Portugueſes* got the victory; which the proud king perceiving, he thought to ſecure himſelf behind a huge rock; which being overthrown by a cannon ball, buried and killed both the king and his chaplain, the good friar. Thoſe few that ſaved themſelves by flight, left nevertheleſs behind them all the baggage, with the king's utenſils of pure gold. Now becauſe this memorable ſlaughter was chiefly occaſion'd by gold, the natives have never ſince cared to dig it for fear of loſing their country, and becoming ſlaves thereby.

The head of the dead king was immediately lopped off by the conquerors, who carry'd it to *Loanda*, together with the crown and ſcepter. There they buried it, the whole chapter aſſiſting at the obſequies. This battle, commonly looked upon to have been miraculous, I my ſelf have ſeen painted upon the wall in the church of our lady of *Nazareth*, where the head is buried; and have alſo had it related to me, after the manner as I have told it, by a *Portugueſe* captain that was preſent at it. He alſo told me, that after the battle, while they were in purſuit of the enemy, he happened to come into a houſe where he ſaw

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two breaſts of meat roaſting by the fire. Having driven out the people, according to the military cuſtom, and being exceeding hungry, he fell to taking them off the ſpit, but had no ſooner touched them than he perceived them to be man's-fleſh. By this may be ſeen, that tho' generally ſpeaking there be no *Anthropophagi* (man-eaters) in *Congo*, yet the neceſſities of war drove the people to great ſhifts in this marquiſat.

The *Portugueſes* did not pretend to any right to the crown of *Congo*, having been ſent by the pope, tho' they had taken it in war, but ſaid, they were ready to reſign it whenever they ſhould be ſo requir'd. Now becauſe by the death of *Don Antonio*, ſo many diſorders aroſe, and every one thought it his right to command, rather than duty to obey; thence inſued innumerable ſlaughters, and great deſtruction. I propoſed to the king to go with his army and take poſſeſſion of *San Salvador*, a city where formerly his anceſtors reſided, whence he might ſend an embaſſador for the crown and ſcepter to the governor of *Loanda*, without a letter, and thro' the province of *Pemba*, for otherwiſe he might be hindered by the duke of *Bamba* his enemy: and if he happened to be ſtopped by thoſe people, he ſhould have orders not to tell them he was an embaſſador, leſt they ſhould detain and put him to death, which inſtead of preventing miſchief, would cauſe more. The king hearkening attentively to all I ſaid, after I had ended my propoſition, turned about to his relations and friends, and ſpoke after this manner: *The father* (ſays he to them) *knows all*; meaning, that I had diſcovered the deſigns of the *Æthiopians*; and adding moreover, that he approv'd of my propoſal, but that it could not be well put in execution till the corn was off the ground; but as ſoon as harveſt was in, he promiſed that he would march with his troops to *San Salvador*, to grub up the woods, and take poſſeſſion thereof, together with the lands and habitations thereabouts. In times paſt that city had been a metropolis and capital of *Congo*, where the king reſided with his court. There alſo lived a biſhop and his chapter, a college of jeſuits, and a monaſtry of our order, all maintained at the coſt of the king of *Portugal*. In our convent always reſided the father ſuperior of our order in theſe parts. But ſince, through frequent wars, both this city, and the country about it, was become a den of thieves and robbers.

Market of man's-fleſh. Without this city is the *Pombo*, or great market, built by the *Giahi*, where man's fleſh was accuſtomed to be ſold like to that of ſheep and oxen. The *Portugal* merchants, who reſided here in great numbers on account of traffick, refuſed to buy this fleſh, and rather choſe to have the ſlaves alive, whereby to fill their purſes with gold, than to have their bellies ſtuffed with ſuch barbarous food; and on this account they pretend they have a licence to buy ſlaves, which however they could never produce to this day. The *Giaghi* abovementioned are the moſt barbarous people in nature, of whom, or of the converſion of the queen of *Singa*, I ſhall not treat, becauſe that ſubject is handled at large by F. *Francis Moria Gioja* of *Naples*. MEROLLA

I told the king likewiſe I would go to *Sogno*, and expect the return of the ſmack from *Loango*, and therein tranſport my ſelf to *Loanda*. I advis'd him not to let *Auguſt* paſs before he diſpatched his embaſſador, aſſuring him he ſhould no ſooner arrive at *Loanda*, but have all the reſpect paid him which was due to his miniſter; and the preſent *Portugueſe* governor being almoſt out of his time, would deliver the crown for a ſmall preſent, which perhaps another would not; and that the F. ſuperior and I would crown him, which being done with the *Portugueſes* conſent, none would dare to queſtion it.

I then aſked two favours of his majeſty; firſt, That he would pleaſe to pardon a certain rebel that had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Congo*, but was now a fugitive in the dominions of *Sogno*, and that ever ſince his army had been routed by that of his majeſty; I requeſted him likewiſe not only to forgive him, but alſo to afford him the government of ſome city, paſſing my word that he ſhould prove an obedient and loyal ſubject for the future. The king gave his word preſently that he would do all I deſired; but I not caring to truſt altogether to that, cauſed him to give me his oath upon the crucifix to perform it, to the end the criminal might not afterwards be diſappointed and puniſhed. My other requeſt was, That his majeſty would reſtore to the count the country of *Chiovachianza*, to the end that having that prince for his friend, as well as the *Portugueſes*, he might reign ſecure for many years. This likewiſe without any ſcruple he conſented to.

Sacrilegious contrivance. How little reaſon I had to aſk any favour on behalf of the aforeſaid rebel, may appear by what follows. This mock-king *Don Garcia* (for ſo was his name) coming to viſit a miſſioner of our order, one F. *Michael da Torino*, then in the city of *Cuſſu* in *Congo*, after he had been very courteouſly received by him, and whilſt the father and he were walking together, a fire ſuddenly broke out in the church: The mock-king ſoon perceiving it, immediately ordered all his followers to do what they could to extinguiſh it, which yet gained

MEROLLA ed ſo far upon them, that in a ſhort time not only the church was burnt to the ground, but the ſacriſty or veſtry. *Don Garcia* ſeem'd extremely concern'd, which nevertheleſs was all but feign'd, he having been the contriver of all, as I was afterwards told by father *Michael*, who by a ſtratagem got out of one of the followers, that *Don Garcia* made the wiſp of ſtraw himſelf, and giving it to one of the *Negroes*, order'd him to fire the church. This he did to make his zeal appear the more by his endeavours to quench the fire, not thinking the flames would have increaſed as they did. As a reward for this great diligence of his he was forthwith excommunicated by the ſaid miſſioner, who ſoon after departed that country. *Don Garcia* not long afterwards coming to *Sogno*, was abſolved of his fault by my companion F. *Benedict*, upon his repentance.

Whilſt I continued in *Lemba*, which was about twenty days, the church was very much frequented: At day-break the third part of the *Roſary* was ſung by thoſe that were going journeys, eſpecially by the women who went to work in the fields: Three hours after the ſame was performed by the better ſort of people, adding moreover the ſaints litany; and ſometimes as often as ever I could, I ſaid maſs: At night was ſung the other part of the *Roſary*, together with the litany of our Lady. This preſent year they kept *Lent* fifteen days before ours, by reaſon they regulated it according to the courſe of the moon, but which they did not let me know for fear I ſhould put it off fifteen days longer; they nevertheleſs obſerved the ordinary courſe of forty days. To prevent my coming to know the concluſion of it, the ſaturday before they came to me with an amuſement, ſaying, *If your reverence hears a great ſhooting and ſhouting to-morrow morning, you muſt know it is on account of ſome new acquiſition added to our king's dominions.* I could not but believe them, tho' I knew what they ſpoke of happen'd the night I came into the city; for then the marquiſs of *Mattari* enter'd in triumph for having ſubdued two princes, whoſe dominion bordered on the kingdom of *Micocco*; and the ſame night the ſaid marquiſs came to give me welcome, looking upon my arrival as a good omen. The next morning according to my information, whilſt we were in the ſaints litany, I heard a great firing of muſquets, beating of drums, ſounding of trumpets, and other noiſes of various inſtruments. GOD *forgive you* (cry'd I) *for having thus impos'd upon me: If I had but known that your* Lent *was at an end, I could have bleſſed the palms laſt Sunday, and all ſhould now have been done that was neceſſary for a preparation for* Eaſter; *Nevertheleſs I have that charity as to diſpenſe my bleſſings to all ſuch as have obſerved this holy time faithfully.*

The mentioning of *Micocco* puts me in mind of a memorable ſtory told me by the ſuperior father *Thomas de Seſtola*, concerning a certain miſſioner who travelled into this country, and after having baptized about fifty thouſand ſouls died there. His name I have forgot, but the particulars of his labours are known to all.

This perſon would needs go to wait on the king of *Micocco*, by whom having been courteouſly and kindly received, he began to treat with him about introducing the chriſtian religion into his dominions. At the very firſt propoſal the king ſhewed an inclination to believe that was the true faith which the miſſioner propoſed, and conſequently offered to be baptiſed: the prieſt told him that before he could admit him to the font, he muſt ſubmit to be catechiſed: he ſeemed very willing to comply with what was required, and after having been well inſtructed, prepared himſelf to receive baptiſm; when all of a ſudden a thought came into his head, ſuggeſted no doubt by the devil, which he delivered after this manner: *Father, before I am baptiſed I would beg two favours of you, which you muſt not deny me, and they are, firſt, to grant me half of your beard: and ſecondly, To afford me a ſucceſſor from your loins, for which purpoſe I will cauſe all my women to be brought before you, to the end you may chuſe her you like beſt: we are all mortal you know* (proceeded he) *and therefore if you ſhould either die, or take a fancy to leave us, who ſhall ſupport or maintain the new religion which you have planted among us? To what purpoſe ſhould I ſubmit to entertain a new law, if I have no proſpect of its continuance; Grant therefore that I may have a ſon of your body, who poſſeſſing his father's rare qualities, may be a means to tranſmit this doctrine more ſecurely to poſterity. I muſt beg of you not to refuſe me, for I cannot conſent to be baptiſed if you do.* The modeſt father was much ſurpriſed, and ſmiling, anſwered, That the ſtrangeneſs of his requeſt was ſo extraordinary, that he could neither gratify him in one nor the other of his deſires. The king's reaſon for his firſt requeſt was, only that he might lay up the hair, and ſhew it upon occaſion to have belonged to the introducer of the chriſtian religion into his country; and who knows but his ſubjects out of blind zeal might have worſhipped it? The ſecond needs no explaining. 'Tis certain we have been always exceeding cautious how we let the *Negroes* have any thing from us, that they might probably pay adoration to. As concerning the beforementioned bull called

A comical ſtory.

by the *Conghefes* of the bleſſed ſacrament, and their lighting candles when they open it, the *Portugueſe* nuncio was acquainted with it, and anſwered, that that venerable effigies being on it, the people might be permitted in their ſimplicity to worſhip it.

When I had been about eight days at *Lemba*, I was ſeized with a double tertian ague, and moreover broke out from the navel upwards in ſo many boils and ſcabs, that I had not the leaſt reſt either night or day. But my greateſt trouble was, the want of an interpreter to adminiſter the ſacrament of penance, which I had not provided, becauſe the letters ſent me were well writ, and the language good. The ſecretary was old, and a boy I had with me too young to be truſted with confeſſions. Whilſt I was thus ſick, I was not only frequently viſited by the king himſelf, but he would likewiſe ſend every ſix hours to know how I did: the queen alſo, and the infanta *Donna Monica* ſent often to enquire after my health, and withal preſented me with ſeveral refreſhments. Having a mind to be let blood, the king's uncle would needs do that office for me, not caring to truſt any body elſe, which he performed with that niceneſs that I ſcarce felt the lance enter my vein: this, with the help of a certain purge I brought from *Venice*, did me a great deal of good. Being ſomewhat recovered of my indiſpoſition, I forthwith reſolved to be gone, and in order thereto made the king acquainted with my intentions: he ſeemed much diſpleaſed, but notwithſtanding, perceiving my reſolutions was fain to acquieſce. I told him I did not intend to go by the way of *Boma* for ſeveral reaſons, but deſign'd to go by *Sogno*, to the end I might meet with the ſmack if I could poſſible: I begg'd of him he would ſend ſome of his people along with me to conduct me as far as *Chiova*, a country belonging to *Sogno*, or to *Zariambala*, an iſland of the ſame dominions. His anſwer was, that he would willingly comply with any reaſonable requeſt of mine, but much wonder'd at my ſo ſudden departure, eſpecially if I deſign'd to go without taking leave of his mother. I told his majeſty, that the reaſon I had not hitherto done it was on account of my indiſpoſition, of which I was but juſt then recovered, but then I deſigned to wait on her, God willing, that very night. Purſuant to my promiſe I went not long after towards her majeſty's court, and at my firſt entrance I met two ſervants with torches, in the ſecond room two more with four ſervants, and two in the third with more attendants, it being night: They introduced me into the queen's preſence, whom I found ſitting wrapt up in a cloke, which was likewiſe thrown under her arm, having nothing but her ſmock under it, and her daughter ſitting on a carpet by her. After having addreſs'd my ſelf briefly to her by way of taking leave, ſhe ſtarted up in a paſſion, and ſetting her hands to her ſides, ſaid, *What will the world ſay, if after having obtained a miniſter of the goſpel with ſo great difficulty, we ſhould part with him ſo eaſily? No, no, it muſt not be: I will ſpeak to the king my ſon, that he by no means ſhall ſuffer you to go. Madam* (replied I ſmiling) *if your majeſty has done me the honour to buy me, I deſire to know in what* pombo *or market it was, and what you gave for me, that I may reſtore the price to you, with thanks, for be gone I muſt.* The hearing of this cauſed no ſmall laughter in the company, eſpecially in the queen herſelf. I added further, *If I am not ſuffered to tranſport myſelf to* Loanda, *how can I pretend to bring about what I have promiſed, and you ſo earneſtly deſire?* This ſaid, I was immediately diſmiſs'd. The name of this queen was *Donna Potentiana*, her nature agreeing therewith, having always endeavour'd to be powerful, and a great enemy to the queen-dowager *Donna Anna*, and to *Donna Agnes* another queen. Theſe three women have often put this poor kingdom into a flame, each having deſir'd to have her huſband crowned, and for that purpoſe did all ſeparately endeavour to get a *Capuchin* miſſioner amongſt them, which has occaſioned the death of ſo many prieſts, and made our ſuperior not very ready to let any miſſioners go to *Congo*.

MEROLLA

The progreſs of the father's journey.

Being juſt upon ſetting out on my journey, the king offered me a preſent of ſlaves, which I refuſed, telling his majeſty that we had more than ſufficient in our convent at *Sogno:* I nevertheleſs accepted one to wait on me during my journey, tho' I had thirteen at home whom I employ'd in the ſervice of the church, and in that of thoſe that came to viſit us. His majeſty ſeeing I had refuſed his offer of ſlaves, reſolved to ſend ſome people to accompany me, which indeed I deſir'd, among whom were two of his relations, to the end that I might be the better receiv'd where-ever I came. Over and above the two things formerly mention'd, I requeſted two favours more of the king, and they were, firſt, That I might have leave to level that obſcene and ſacrilegious place beforementioned, if it were yet in being, where ſo many ſorceries and villanies had been practis'd: And, ſecondly, That I might take away the banners from the burial-places in the fields, being both ſuperſtitious and blameable. Having obtained theſe my demands, I took my leave of his majeſty and departed.

MEROLLA When we were got as far as the river which bounds the kingdom of *Congo* that way, my companions and followers being many, ſome armed with guns, and others with long pikes, after the manner of the country, by reaſon we had no boats on that ſide, we made ſigns to the inhabitants of the other to come and fetch us over in their canoos. When this was done, our people call'd three aſſemblies among themſelves, I not being able to gueſs at the concluſions of either, tho' I partly thought that the reaſon muſt have been, either that they were afraid of being render'd ſuſpected by coming arm'd, or elſe that they did not care to venture themſelves in the dominions of *Sogno*, out of a diſtruſt they had of the people. At laſt three canoos came over, but not near ſufficient to tranſport all of us: Into one of theſe having put me with my interpreter, they promiſed they would ſoon follow, but were worſe than their words; for leaving me to the mercy of the winds and tide, they went their ways, and having reached the other ſide of the river, the *mani* of the place propoſed to me to ſtay there all night to baptize ſome children, and next morning I ſhould be going as early as I pleaſed onwards of my journey. This propoſal was not at all diſpleaſing to me, eſpecially ſince I had a more than ordinary deſire to ſee whether the *Congheſe* people would follow me or not; thoſe two that were of the king's relations having promiſed me that they would conduct me as far as our convent in the *banza* of *Sogno*. As ſoon as morning came, the *mani* thunder'd in my ears, *That if I would needs be gone I muſt unlooſe my purſe-ſtrings before I entered the boat again: With all my heart* (quoth I) altho' I had already ſatisfy'd thoſe watermen that brought me over. *Tell me* (ſaid I) *how much you demand, and you ſhall have it. Fifteen* libonchi (reply'd he) which are about ten *Roman giulios*. When I was about to pay him what he demanded, he cry'd he muſt have thirty *libonchi*, having been miſtaken before. *There are thirty for you* (anſwer'd I) which having laid down, up ſtarts a fellow and cries, *'Tis a ſign the* mani *has not been very converſant in wateridge, ſince he takes thirty for what he ſhould have threeſcore. Be they ten times as much I will pay them* (reply'd I) *ſince once paying goes for all.* This ſaid, I laid down the full of what they demanded, and went into the boat. Towards night when I thought we were got near the land of *Sogno*, I diſcovered an iſland where the watermen immediately run aſhore. I was not landed when a monſtrous fellow, with a countenance like to a great ugly wizard, came up to me, and told me in a haughty tone, that he had orders from the ſecretary of *Congo* to bring me aſhore. *How can that be* (reply'd I) *when I left the ſecretary of* Congo *in* Congo *my ſelf, how then ſhould he come here? I ſay* (reply'd he) *the ſecretary of the kingdom of* Congo *requires your preſence.* Now it ſeems the *mani* of this place laid claim to that title. I anſwer'd then this proud meſſenger, *Pray tell the ſecretary your maſter, that I deſire to be excuſed from waiting on him, being not well, and beſides going to* Sogno *for recovery of my health.* He came a ſecond time, and more importunately than before commanded me to come aſhore: Whereupon I deſired him with that meekneſs that became me to acquaint his lord that I was a miſſioner, and, tho' unworthy, ſuperior of the miſſion into *Sogno*, being juſt come from *Congo*, where I had three hundred arm'd men aſſign'd me by the king *Simantamba* for ſafe conduct, all whom I had nevertheleſs ſometime ſince parted with, for the truth whereof I appeal to the watermen that brought me. The *mani* or ſecretary hearing this, call'd for the watermen to inform himſelf of the truth, who atteſting what I ſaid, he then ſent for a *Sogneſe* to ſee if he knew me, who confirming what he had heard before, he immediately diſpatched away this *Muſcilongo* or *Sogneſe* to me, to beg of me for GOD's ſake that I would come to him; or that if I ſo pleas'd, he would come in perſon to fetch me, excuſing himſelf for having ſent ſo ſaucy and ill-bred a meſſenger at firſt, who having exceeded his orders ſhould be ſurely puniſhed. *This language is ſomething like* (quoth I) *and ſince he intreats me for* GOD's *ſake, in* GOD's *name will I go to him.* Then after having recommended my ſelf to the protection of the Almighty, I went aſhore. The *mani* gave me to underſtand that he would come forthwith to pay me a viſit, but I deſir'd the perſon that brought me the meſſage, to acquaint his maſter that betimes in the morning I would wait on him without giving him the trouble of incommoding himſelf by a night-viſit to me. He treated me with a goat, fruit, and a pot of the country wine, together with a flaſk of brandy mixt like a julep, which I could not imagine how he could get, and for the thirty *libonchi's* I had paid his ſubjects he reſtored me ſixty. The ſame hour of my arrival I began to baptize near a houſe where the miſtreſs was a bed. In the court of this houſe were planted ſeveral gourds with leaves like unto ours, but the fruit was green and pulpy, and of an excellent taſte. This court being not well able to contain the great concourſe of people that throng'd thither, they muſt neceſſarily exceedingly trample the woman's ground: She began to bawl out therefore as if ſhe were mad, but the people

A witch defeated.

ple taking little or no notice of her, crowded rather the cloſer. Whilſt I was adminiſtring the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, this woman cry'd out with greater vehemence than before, which cauſed me to hold out my ſtaff to her, wherewith I ſupported my ſelf, being ſcarce able to ſtand, to make her quiet, not knowing at that time that ſhe was the real miſtreſs of the houſe: When ſhe, either taking that ſign for a threat, a thing always abhorred by me, or elſe moved by ſome other wicked deſign, catch'd up a ſpade angrily, and fell to digging round her ground where the people were (an action always ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved by them) without any body ſo much as ſpeaking a word againſt it: After ſhe had ſo done, ſhe began to bawl out again as if ſhe had been bewitched. I perceiving her to perſiſt in her obſtinacy, made the ſame ſign to her as before to be quiet, whereupon ſhe immediately run as hard as ſhe could drive to call a witch to bewitch me: as ſhe ran along ſhe cry'd to her ſelf, *What ſhall a ſtranger thus abuſe a native? Muſt I be drove out of my own houſe by I know not who? No, no, if I cannot get him away by fair means, I will have his ſoul out of his body by foul.* She ſoon after appeared again, bringing along with her a witch and a ſcholar of hers. As ſoon as the people were gone, theſe two laid themſelves down on the ground, leaning againſt a wall. I knew them well enough to be what they were by the faſhion of their clothes: On their heads they had a piece of cloth folded round like a turban, ſo that one eye was only to be ſeen; with this the old witch looked ſtedfaſtly upon me for ſome time, grumbling after a brutiſh manner to herſelf all the while: Then with her hand ſhe proceeded to ſcrape a ſmall hole in the ground; at the ſight of this I immediately order'd my interpreter to be gone, being more concerned for him than my ſelf; for as a prieſt that had always truſted in God, I doubted not but to render her charms ineffectual as to my ſelf. I commanded the devil that he ſhould not come near, but ſhe little regarding what I did, went on with her ſorceries. I order'd the evil ſpirits a ſecond time to be gone, which ſhe perceiving, giving her ſcholar a luſty ſlap over the face, ſhe bid her be gone and leave her alone: At my third command ſhe departed alſo, but return'd next morning betimes, practiſing over her deviliſh arts as before. I reſolved not to ſtand long in one place, thereby to avoid the deſign ſhe had upon me to bewitch me to death, that having been the reaſon of her making a hole in the earth. It ſeems their cuſtom is, that when they have a mind to bewitch any one mortally, they put a certain herb or plant into the hole they have ſo dug; which, as it periſhes and decays, ſo the vigor and ſpirits of the perſon they have a deſign upon will fail and decay. I propoſed to my ſelf to ſpend my time in baptizing, till the watermen that belonged to my boat returned to me; but it ſo happened that I had done all that I had to do before any one of them came. I then went down to the river-ſide a little way diſtant, whither the witch followed me: When I had gone down thrice, endeavouring all along to avoid her, and finding I could not, I ſat me down by the water-ſide in expectation of the watermens coming: This the hag perceiving, ſhe likewiſe ſquat herſelf down over againſt me. The people being curious to know what would be the event of this conteſt, had hid themſelves in an adjoining field of millet, which grew about ten or twelve hands high, which I knew nothing of. Whilſt I was thus ſitting, and obſerving that vile wretch ſo near me, it put me in mind of the ſaying of the wiſe man, *Mulier nequam plaga mortis: A wicked woman is a deadly wound.* Then I addreſs'd my ſelf to God, ſaying, *O Lord, the cauſe is thine, thy honour lies at ſtake, and ſo much the rather by reaſon that the inhabitants of this iſland are but very little acquainted with thee! As for me, I am but a poor worm in reſpect of thy majeſty: Do thou work in me, for without thee I can do nothing.* This ſaid, I commanded her once more in the name of the bleſſed Trinity and the holy Virgin to be gone, and withal blowing gently towards her, ſhe all of a ſudden giving three leaps, and howling thrice, fled away in a trice. The ſwiftneſs of her motions were ſo extraordinary, that they were wonder'd at by all that ſaw them, and thought impoſſible to be performed by any human power. When the witch began to fly, the people came forth of their holes, and running after her with ſeveral reproachful exclamations, cry'd out, *The devil is fled and the prieſt not moved: The devil take all witches and witchcraft.* I being ſurprized at the hearing of ſo great a number of voices in my favour, gave immediate thanks to the ſupreme Diſpoſer of all things, and more eſpecially when I heard them cry further, God *proſper Chriſtianity!* God *proſper Chriſtianity!*

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Soon after the watermen appeared, whom I thought to have hid themſelves likewiſe as the others had done, but it ſeems they had not: I gave them all the good words I could, that they might go off preſently, which they did not long after. The ſecond night after our leaving this place, we came to the iſland of *Zariambola* belonging to *Sogno*, where I thought my ſelf ſecure: As I went up the canal, before I landed, I met with a nephew of the count's, whom

The father returns to Sogno.

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I acquainted that I was juſt come from *Congo* with good news for the county of *Sogno*. This was not ſpoken to a deaf perſon, for it was immediately carried to the count's ears. Next morning the *mani* of the place pretended that he would provide me another boat to tranſport me farther, but after a good deal of time loſt none appeared. It was my good fortune that the aforeſaid relation of the count's happen'd to return again that way, who perceiving that I had been made a fool of and abuſed by the *mani*, fell into a great paſſion, and kicking againſt the ground, began to reprove him after this manner; *Is it thus that you behave your ſelf in my uncle's buſineſs? I will take care that as ſoon as I get to* Sogno *you ſhall be ſure to be deprived of your government.* The *mani* began to excuſe himſelf, affirming that he had aſſigned me a ſufficient number of watermen, and that if I were not gone it muſt have been their fault. Coming to an anchor afterwards about midnight in the port of *Pinda*, my boats-crew fled, not giving me an opportunity to return their kindneſs. I then landed, and went ſtraitway to our convent. Next morning the count, with a greater attendance than ordinary, came to ſee and welcome me home. As ſoon as I ſaw him, I broke forth into theſe words, *Did not I tell your excellency, that if I could not well accompliſh my miſſion by land, I would do it by water?* When he, without anſwering me a word, fell down immediately on the ground to kiſs my feet, which he would needs do, tho' I hinder'd him all I could, and my brethren that were then preſent much wonder'd at it. Being much aſhamed of what he had done, I preſently lifted him up, and we afterwards ſtepp'd aſide to diſcourſe of the particulars of my expedition. I acquainted his excellency with what had paſs'd between me and *Don John Simantamba*, concerning the reſtoring of *Chiovachianza*. He ſeemed very well pleaſed with the news, and ſaid, that was what he had moſt deſired. I then adviſed him to re-eſtabliſh *Don Garcia*, who at that time lived within his dominions. Which council of mine he readily agreed with, having been all along hitherto forced to maintain him at his own charge, and contrary to his inclinations, only through policy. As ſoon as our private diſcourſe was at an end, father *Andrew da Pavia*, one of the two miſſioners that I had left behind me, told me, that there was a *Dutch* ſhip ready to ſet ſail for *Loanda*, and that if I thought fit I might take that opportunity to carry ſo much good news to our ſuperior there, and the governor. To which I anſwered, that I did not much care to go ſo quickly to ſea again, deſiring rather to repoſe my ſelf till the return of the ſmack from *Loango*, according to my promiſe given the commander thereof. Hereupon father *Andrew* undertook himſelf what I refuſed, and in order thereto took leave of the count that very minute. Making this voyage in a *Dutch* ſhip, which are commonly pretty good ſailors, he returned to us again in leſs than a month's time. Having brought the news to the governor, he ſaid, he embraced him heartily, and told him, he could never have wiſhed for any thing better, ſince the way would probably be now opened to *Congo*, to the great benefit of the *Portugueſes*.

In confirmation of this I muſt further add, that when I was going a ſecond time to *Sogno* from *Loanda*, as I was taking leave of the governor, he earneſtly recommended to me to procure leave from the count for the *Portugueſes* to trade within his dominions. When the farmers of the king's revenue that ſtood by, anſwer'd; *A free trade with* Sogno *can ſignify little or nothing to us, that country being like a large tree, where nothing is to be met with but branches and leaves; when a voyage to* Congo *would furniſh us with not only leaves but fruit.*

Diſappointment in the affairs of Congo.

Lobo the late governor of *Loanda*, whilſt he was in office, acquainted the *royal chamber*, that he deſired to have the crown of *Congo* in his poſſeſſion; but whatever diligence was made uſe of for that purpoſe, it could by no means be found. Then he commanded a new one to be made of ſilver gilt, to the end that when the *Congheſe* embaſſador came for it, he might have it ready to give him. The king of *Portugal* coming to the knowledge of the crown's being loſt, writ both to the biſhop and governor, that they ſhould make it their buſineſs to find out in whoſe hands it was laſt, and puniſh him as if he had ſtolen it. Father *Andrew*, through the ſhort warning he had of his journey, was not able to give any account when the *Congheſe* embaſſador was to arrive; but afterwards, at the return of the ſmack from *Loango*, I going to *Loanda* in it, acquainted the governor that it would be in the month of *Auguſt*. *Auguſt* came, yet no embaſſador appeared, which made us miſſioners not a little concerned, having given out every where that he would certainly come then.

A little after meeting with ſome *Negroes* newly come from *Congo* to this city, they informed us that they had met the embaſſador on the road with a great retinue. The *Sogneſe* embaſſador being likewiſe in this city at that time, to congratulate the biſhop's acceſs to the biſhoprick, had information that he was ſtopp'd by the duke

of

of *Bamba*'s orders, as he came thro' his dominions, that prince having been always an enemy to *Congo*, on account of his pretences to that crown, founded on his deſcent from *Donna Anna*, one of the beforementioned rival-queens. The *Portugueſes* were ſatisfy'd with his ſending, and all things had taken effect, but for ſome troubles that enſued: For the new governor was about making war on the queen of *Singa*, who had deſtroyed a territory belonging to the *Portugueſes* with fire and ſword, and carry'd away the *ſova*, or lord of it, and his wife into ſlavery.

Amongſt other ſervices done the king of *Portugal*, by *Lewis Lobo* the former governor of *Loanda*, one was, that he laid the firſt foundation of a communication with *Congo*, and rendered that kingdom dependent upon *Portugal*, as likewiſe made a crown for the king thereof, at his own proper coſts. The crowning of this king we did not doubt ſhortly to effect, notwithſtanding what had happened, eſpecially ſince father *Andrew da Pavia* was negotiating earneſtly about it.

Whilſt this was in agitation, the father ſuperior, with the reſt of us, did all that in us lay to promote the replanting of Chriſtianity in *Cacongo*, calling in to our aſſiſtance the governor himſelf, and the *Royal Chamber*, who were ſo well affected to our propoſals, that they told us, that whatever ſmall benefit they could propoſe to themſelves by traffick with this kingdom, yet would they aſſiſt us to their power in the introducing of Chriſtianity there; and that the firſt ſhips they had at liberty ſhould be employ'd in that miſſion. The new governor was extremely diligent in furthering this affair, and the biſhop rather more than he. I told them that not only *Portugueſe*, but likewiſe *Italian* prieſts would be neceſſary to alienate the minds of that people from jealouſies and ſuſpicions. To the ſame purpoſe I had formerly writ to the then vice-ſuperior, father *Joſeph Maria da Buſetto*, when I was ſent for by the king of *Cacongo*, and he had ſent my ſaid letter to the ſacred college. Our father ſuperior likewiſe had diſpatch'd my ſecond letters to the ſame college, which I ſent to him on the ſame account.

Another attempt for the converſion of Cacongo.

Matters being thus diſpoſed, a certain head of a convent in this city, having been fully informed by *Ferdinand Gomez* of the king of *Cacongo*'s inclinations to embrace the chriſtian faith, reſolved to take the taſk of preaching it to him upon himſelf. For this end he gave out, that he had received orders from his ſuperiors to tranſport himſelf to *Capinda*, well knowing that I could not go by reaſon of an infirmity I then laboured under. He alſo procured letters from our ſuperior, to recommend him to our convent at *Sogno* where he was conſequently very courteouſly received. Thence he ſent a *Portugueſe* prieſt, his companion, to *Cacongo*, enjoining him to ſpeak with the king. Without this perſon he could never have had any hopes of the ſucceſs of his miſſion, being not at all ſkill'd in the *Congheſe* language, which this prieſt ſpoke very well. He nevertheleſs could not obtain the ſpeech of the king, which cauſed him to write to him in his ſuperior's name; but getting no anſwer, he began to deſpair: Whereupon returing back, they both came again with ſhame to *Loanda*. MEROLLA

Afterwards father *Andrew da Pavia* took upon him to write to the ſaid king, ſignifying to him that he would come and baptize his majeſty, whenever he ſhould pleaſe to appoint him. It was reported about this time that all foreign miſſioners were to depart by order of the king of *Portugal*, and that all our convents were to be ſurrendered to thoſe (a bad report for us *Capuchins*, as you ſhall hear more hereafter) of the aforeſaid order. Whereupon the aforeſaid ſuperior, tho' he did not well care that *Pavia* ſhould go, yet that he might prepare the way for him, and build a convent there, he earneſtly preſs'd him to it. At *Pavia*'s arrival the king ſent him word, that he could not conſent to ſee him, having formerly given his promiſe to me whom he expected; and that with me he looked not only for an exerciſe of the ſacred miniſtry, but likewiſe for trade and commerce, by means of a merchant I was to bring along with me to ſettle in his dominions for that purpoſe.

Among all the kingdoms which I have ſeen in this part of *Æthiopia*, none pleaſed me ſo much, either for commodiouſneſs or profit, as this of *Cacongo*; which good qualities enclined not a few beſides my ſelf to be deſirous of going thither. The commodiouſneſs of it conſiſts of its lying between three ports much frequented by ſtrangers. The firſt and moſt famous of theſe is that of *Loango*, the ſecond that of *Capinda*, and the third and laſt that of *Cacongo* it ſelf, but which is not very ſecure. This kingdom for the moſt part is flat, with an air indifferently wholeſome, and a ſoil not unfruitful, by reaſon of frequent ſhowers, and the mould being generally black, whereas in other parts of *Æthiopia* is is either ſandy or chalky. The inhabitants of this country, conſidering they have been born pagans, are more courteous and humane than ordinary; and tho' they are infidels, they cheriſh and reſpect our prieſts. Whilſt the plague was amongſt them, they burnt their idols, ſaying, *If they will not help us in ſuch a misfortune as this, when can we expect they ſhould?* This paſſage I heard

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whilſt I was in *Sogno*; and it grieved me extremely that I had not opportunity to go, and further ſuch good motions in them for their ſouls ſakes. Thus much for *Caconga* and its inhabitants.

An account of Angola.

I muſt now give ſome ſhort account of the kingdom of *Angola*, tho' I have been only perfectly acquainted with the provinces of *Dante* and *Bengo*.

Loanda.

Before we proceed, let us ſtop a while in the city of *Loanda*, where I have been three times, once upon buſineſs, and the other two times I lay there a great while ſick. To ſpeak only of what I know, *Loanda* is the metropolis, not only of this, but of all other neighbouring kingdoms that belong to the *Portugueſes*. Here reſides the biſhop of *Congo* and *Angola*, together with a chapter of about eight or nine canons. The governor of this city precedes all others in any of the *Portugueſes* conqueſts in *Ethiopia*. Here are three convents of religious perſons, *viz.* one of jeſuits, another of bare-foot *Carmelites* and a third of friars of the third order of S. *Francis*. As to theſe two laſt, the *Carmelites* have a miſſion out of the city in the ſaid kingdom, where at preſent lives a ſecular prieſt, thro' the great ſcarcity of regulars. Among the jeſuits there was a famous miſſioner, adorned with many good qualities, and a virtuous life, who travelling about indefatigably into all parts of the kingdom, to throw down and grub up the idols and trees that the pagans worſhiped, was thought to have been made away by ſome of thoſe people. Here is likewiſe a houſe of our order, where our father ſuperior reſides, who is thence to ſupport the miſſions by the charity of the good people there. Our church here is more than ordinarily frequented on account of its being dedicated to the glorious St. *Anthony* of *Liſbon*, ſo called by the *Portugueſes*; as likewiſe that there are ſeveral martyrs bodies kept in it, which have been tranſported hither from *Rome*. It is a royal chapel, and has two congregations of the *Roſary*, allowed by the *Dominicans* who have no abode here. Here three times a week is ſung a third part of the *Roſary*, and three times more throughout the year *diſcipline* is uſed. The brotherhood has built a chapel eight ſquare, with a large *cupola* of an extraordinary height; which being a thing uncommon here, is extremely admired. Under it there is a vault for burial, which is cuſtomary in the other churches. This vault was firſt built for the body of father *Francis Licodia*, a bare-foot friar of the province of *Syracuſe*, who died ſometime before my arrival here. A great concourſe of people aſſiſted at his burial, his death having been proclaimed throughout the city by boys. The people's devotion was ſo remarkable at his funeral, that though a prodigious whale was caſt aſhore at that time, yet did it not in the leaſt raiſe their curioſity. The jeſuits with whom we entertain an affectionate correſpondence, put him under ground, and father *Ribera* of the ſame convent preached his funeral ſermon. This father was zealous in breeding up children in the fear of GOD; for he had got a great company of white boys, whom he habited like *Capuchins*, teaching them the principles of the chriſtian religion adays, which they repeated and ſung over anights. Of thoſe in my time I found to the number of ſixty, tho' father *Francis* was dead. While I was here, this good perſon's body was diſcovered on account of burying our ſuperior, father *John da Romano*, in his vault. His corps was entire in the coffin; on the lid of which his picture was painted to the life. When it was opened, ſome body out of zeal took out two of his teeth, and the point of his hood. How extremely devout theſe citizens are towards our bleſſed patron S. *Francis*, is fitter for another pen to expreſs than mine.

Great charity.

All I can ſay is, that without carrying our wallet at our back, which is not here the cuſtom, we rather abound with neceſſaries than want them, in ſuch manner, that he that has a mind to beſtow his charity upon us, muſt ſend it betimes or he will have it back again. Theſe good citizens not only ſupport our convent in this city, but likewiſe ſeveral other miſſions into divers kingdoms, otherwiſe we could not be able to ſubſiſt. True it is, we endeavour to make ſome return of what is rare in thoſe places.

To give farther inſtances of the goodneſs of this people, I will add a word of the governor. When we came hither, we found *don John di Sylva* in poſſeſſion of the government of this kingdom, who ſhewed ſo entire affection towards us, that whatever memorials and petitions we preſented to him, he forthwith granted and ſigned, ſcarce reading them. It happened that a certain prieſt of his own nation coming to aſk a favour of him on account of a friend, the governor would by no means grant it. Whereupon the prieſt broke out into theſe words. *You ſcarce read the petitions of the* Capuchins *who are ſtrangers, but beſtow favours on them; and to us your countrymen you deny all we aſk.* To which *Sylva* replied, *I do neither open nor read the* Capuchins *petitions, becauſe I am well aſſured they will aſk nothing but what is fit for me to grant; and beſides, what they require of me on other peoples accounts, I know well to be done merely out of charity, and without any expectation of a return from thoſe they oblige.*

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The ſame favour we found with the late biſhop, and the preſent. And to conclude with this matter, I will here tell you a ſtory of the foreſaid father *Francis*: two fellows going to be hanged, father *Francis* moved by mere charity, told the governor, that in caſe he would pardon one of them, he would ſuffer death in his ſtead. The governor anſwered, that if he would be as good as his word, one of them ſhould preſently be unlooſed and ſent away; and if he could find another would do the like good office for the other, they ſhould both be freed though they were great offenders. But though this proffer was made on father *Francis*'s ſide, none would appear on the other; ſo that one muſt unavoidably die for want of a friar to releaſe them. When they came to the place of execution, the governor ſent to take the halter off from father *Francis*'s neck, when he was diſpoſed to die, and knew nothing of any mercy deſigned him; and if father *Leonard de Nardo* his companion would have done the ſame, they had both eſcaped, but for want of it one was hanged.

Let us now come to the cuſtoms and manners both of the *Portugueſes* and ſtrangers that live in this city. They are of three ſorts: Firſt, Thoſe that come merely on account of GOD's ſervice, and for no worldly intereſt, though theſe are but few. The ſecond ſort are ſuch as come to command or trade there who are many. The third kind are likewiſe no ſmall number, though nothing comparable to the foregoing, and they are thoſe condemned perſons that are ſent hither by courts of juſtice, amongſt which the ſpiritual courts ſend ſeveral deſcended from the *Jewiſh* race, which are named by the citizens *new Chriſtians*; theſe are kept from coming to the ſacred function for ſeveral reaſons, amongſt which one is for a crime frequently practiſed by them, which I ſhall forbear to name for fear of offending chaſte ears. Notwithſtanding this, theſe people are the greateſt frequenters of churches, and give the moſt liberally to our convents and the poor.

Inhabitants of Loanda.

Women.

The women being bred among *Blacks*, ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much perverted, that they ſcarce retain any thing white about them except their ſkins; but be this ſpoken with a reſervation of the good of that ſex, whereof there are ſome few. The worſer ſort take upon them to lord it over their huſbands, inſomuch that if they will not live according to their fancies, they do all they can to drive them out of their houſes, or elſe humble them ſo far, as never to go out nor take their pleaſure in their net, and under their umbrella, according to cuſtom. But ſtill the worſt is, that while they are under this confinement, they may choke for want of water, this city having none freſh but what comes from an iſland about two days journey diſtant. This makes good the ſaying of the wiſe man, *Melius eſt habitare in deſerto, quam cum muliere rixosâ*; *'Tis better to live in a deſert than with a ſcolding wife.* Likewiſe in eating, the wife and the ſhe *Black* generally ſtarve the huſband; upon which occaſion I hear him, methinks, to cry out with the poet,

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O conjux male grata ſeni, male grata marito,
Sola tuis, conjux, dedita deliciis.

Some of theſe women keep their huſband's clothes from them, out of a pretence that they do not belong to them alone, but to their family in general. The law here is, that what comes by the mother deſcends to the daughters, and that becauſe the ſons have wherewithal to maintain them by marriage. When the maids are marriageable, if their mothers carry them to church, they are ſaid to do ſo to ſell them, and therefore for the moſt part they keep them cloſe. When they are married, they alſo generally keep themſelves up for one reaſon or other, either on account of being big with child, heat, wet-weather, or the like. When they come to be old, they don't care for being ſeen for fear of diſcovering their wrinkles. The better ſort go to take the air in their nets, with a carpet thrown over them, and attended at leaſt by twelve perſons: two of theſe carry the net, and two more bear umbrella's on each ſide, and eight *moccama's* (*Negro* waiting-maids) four of which hold each a corner of the carpet, and four walk before to ſpread the carpet to kneel on when their miſtreſs goes into the church. Whenever there is any ſtage-play, or tilting, the women, all without exception, go to it even though they were ſick. On *Holy-Thurſday* they always walk on foot, and without attendance, which they never do at any other time. To obviate ſuch diſorders, father *Paul da Vareſe*, and our ſuperior, obtained of the biſhop that maſs ſhould be ſaid in three different churches, *viz.* in the cathedral, the pariſh by the ſea-ſide, and thirdly in our church, two hours before day; at which great numbers aſſiſted, which was continued in my time. At laſt a certain perſon happening to be killed coming out of a ſuſpicious houſe, ſome ill people took thence an occaſion to get this pious and good cuſtom ſuppreſſed.

Mulattoes

Of the *Mulattoes*, born of a *White* and a *Black*, whereof there are great numbers here, I can never ſay enough. They hate the *Negroes* mortally, nay even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themſelves with the *Whites*; which

MEROLLA which is not allowed them, they being not permitted to ſit in their preſence.

The *Mulatto* women wear no ſmocks nor petticoats, and have only a piece of cloth girt under their arms; but this is nevertheleſs to be meant of ſuch as have no known fathers. The male *Mulattoes* wear ſtockings and breeches, and become commonly either prieſts or ſoldiers, above which condition they never riſe. It was no ſmall trouble to me to obſerve, that wherever theſe *Mulattoes* were born, they were preſently deſigned for prieſts. There are great numbers of them, who not knowing how they came into the world, or whether they are deſcended from *Jews*, cannot be expected to be able to inſtruct others. To remedy this diſorder therefore, the new biſhop brought orders from *Rome*, that none ſhould be diſpenſed with as to their irregularity. Of this theſe *Mulattoes* believing us *Capuchins* to have been authors, by reaſon that we had frequently preached againſt theſe abuſes, they bore us a mortal ill-will, nevertheleſs it has never hitherto been in their power to do us any harm.

Thoſe among theſe people that are ſoldiers, and travel about the kingdom, exact as much ſervice and reſpect from the *Negroes* as the *Whites*, cauſing themſelves to be carried about in nets; and if it ſo happen that the *ſova*, or *mani* (governor) be not immediately ready to provide them with people fortheir ſervice, or do not treat them as they require, they will preſently draw their ſwords, and take whatever they can find in this governor's houſe, though they are going, not about their king's, but their own buſineſs. If perchance they have occaſion to eat on the road, they take whatever eatables they can meet with, without thanking the *Negro* they have them from; and if he ſhould happen to murmur but in the leaſt at their injuſtice, inſtead of making him ſatisfaction, they will pay him with baſtinadoes and blows.

Others that turn *pombros* (buyers of ſlaves) and go up and down in the country for that purpoſe, commit a great many unjuſtifiable actions, amongſt which this one ſeems to me moſt unpardonable: They will lie with the *Negro*-women, and get them with child; and ſome years afterwards returning that way, will take thoſe very children they have ſo got from their mothers, under pretence of better educating them in the city of *Loanda*; but inſtead thereof, at a certain age, do ſell or barter them away for ſuch commodities as ſlaves are wont to be exchanged for, and thereby grow rich by trading in their own fleſh and blood. A barbarous cuſtom in truth, and not to be ſuffered amongſt Chriſtians, eſpecially where Chriſtianity is in its infancy, as it is in theſe parts. This is the reaſon likewiſe why the pagans do not come in faſter to be converted, becauſe they obſerve how many ill actions the *Mulattoes* are guilty of, and yet go unpuniſhed.

To prevent in ſome meaſure this bad cuſtom, the governor in my time forbad the *Mulattoes* to trade any more this way, and ordered, that if they had a mind to travel any whither, they ſhould pay for the carriage, both of themſelves and their baggage, affirming, that if they went on the king's buſineſs, they would infallibly be paid again; but if on their own, they ought to reſt ſatisfied with the expence. By theſe means this miſchief was for a while diſcontinued.

But this abuſe would not have been ſo much if it had lain only among the *Mulattoes*; the *Whites* alſo had their ſhare in it, and traded like the others in their own fleſh. This comes to paſs when their black miſtreſs brings them forth a child, and being of that hue it is naturally a ſlave, which coming afterwards accidentally to offend, is forthwith ſold according to cuſtom: but the worſt is, this is done upon the ſmalleſt offence, and without any regard to nature or relation.

A father had two daughters, the one a widow, the other a marriageable *Mulatta*; having a mind to marry the latter, he took away the other's goods, and all ſhe had to give with this *Mulatta:* the widow in my hearing ſaid, 'I will not diſpleaſe my father, let him do what he pleaſes, I will never oppoſe him; but when he dies I will ſell his daughter, becauſe ſhe is born of my ſlave, and thus without trouble or conteſt will recover what is taken from me, giving her father to underſtand as much in a civil way. In ſhort, unleſs the father declare one of theſe to be his lawful ſon or daughter, they are ever looked upon ſlaves.

Blacks. As to the *Negroes* which inhabit this city and kingdom, except ſome few that are free as being natives, they are all ſlaves to the *Whites:* ſome are ſent to the *arimi* (farms) about one or two days journey off from the city, as to *Bengo* and *Dande*, which are well watered with rivers, when the other provinces are almoſt parched up for want of rain, and conſequently not fit for tillage. The way of manuring the ground here is this: they caſt up the earth with ſpades into a ridge, leaving thereby a furrow on either ſide, into which when the rivers are well filled by rain from the mountains, they cut their banks and let in the water: after it has remained there ſome time, and the earth is pretty well moiſtened, they let it out again into their canals, and cloſe up their banks. When this is done, after a little

little while the earth becomes proper for their ſeed, which when ſown after three months time is fit to be reap'd. Others of theſe ſlaves are ſent to fiſhing, whereby their maſter maintains his family, and ſells what he has more than ſufficient for that purpoſe. It is not to be imagined what a great quantity of fiſh they have in theſe ſeas, and how cheap they are to be bought. A great providence truly! for otherwiſe it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſubſiſt here, eſpecially in this city. I muſt confeſs in all my travels I never met with the like, tho' I have read in *Peter Cobero*'s voyages, written in *Spaniſh*, that he had been in a country bordering upon a river wherein there were ſuch great abundance of fiſh, that the inhabitants dry'd and made bread of them, bones and all. Upon theſe fiſh the *Blacks* generally live together, whereof the *Whites* eat ſometimes, eſpecially a-nights, affirming they are much eaſier to be digeſted than fleſh. Altho' theſe fiſh have not that pleaſant taſte which ours in *Italy* have, yet are they nevertheleſs well enough liked by the inhabitants for want of knowing better.

Theſe ſlaves are likewiſe employ'd in building, which is commonly very ſlow. Whenever any of their maſters have a child born, a houſe is begun, and goes on no faſter than that child grows. I ſpeak this of thoſe *Whites* that are able to build a houſe for every child they have. The plaiſter here is made of ſea-ſhells, whereof there are great quantities on theſe ſhores. They have furnaces of much the ſame make with ours, wherein they burn the ſaid ſhells, which make as white and good lime as ours.

Many of theſe ſlaves do the office of barbers, wherein they are more expert than the *Whites*, and that not only in the uſe of the ſciſſars and razor, but likewiſe in that of the lancet to open a vein. In ſhort, ſome follow one trade, and ſome another; and when they have no buſineſs to do for their maſters, they are hired out at ſo much a week or month, the profit whereof goes to their maſters; ſo that he that has moſt ſlaves here is always accounted the richeſt man.

Money. The current coins here are the *maccuta's*, being certain pieces of ſtrawcloth of about the largeneſs of a ſheet of paſt-board each, and which are equivalent to our braſs money in *Europe*. Thoſe that correſpond to our ſilver are the *intaga's*, being pieces of thick cotton-cloth, and of about the bigneſs of two large handkerchiefs, and worth about 18 *d.* of our money. They have another ſort of money call'd *folingas* of cotton likewiſe, but of a finer ſort, and like that which ſeamen uſe to tie about their waſtes: Theſe are worth 3 *s.* 6 *d.* each. Thoſe coins that are of greater value, and anſwer to our gold, are the *birami*, made of fine linen, whereof each parcel goes for 7 *s.* and 6 *d.* or 8 *s.* No braſs, ſilver or gold coins are made uſe of either by foreign merchants or others in theſe countries. MEROLLA

Cuſtoms of ſlaves. From the great variety of ſlaves of different nations in theſe countries muſt needs proceed the like variety and difference in humours and cuſtoms; and altho' they are all chriſtian, yet I obſerved that the law of GOD was not ſo religiouſly obſerved amongſt them as it ought to be; for that they ſeemed to me to perform the duties of their religion more out of fear of their maſters that had inſtructed them, than out of any value they had for divine worſhip. The ſhe-ſlaves are commonly guilty of a fault, which is partly occaſion'd by the white women, not caring to be deprived of their *moccamas*, will not ſuffer them to marry, and therefore they ſteal from their miſtreſſes to maintain men to ſatisfy their brutal appetites. If they happen to become with child, no ſhame is imputed either to them or their miſtreſſes. For our parts we do all we can to prevent it, and ſome ladies ſay upon this occaſion, that they cannot be always a looking after their ſhe-*Blacks*; and if any of them chanc'd to be now and then with child, they conceived it no great matter of harm: Nevertheleſs we often have them chaſtiſed both in publick and private for theſe and the like faults, and afterwards force them to marry the perſon that had debauch'd them. But O what pains do we take to bring them to it, and how many ridiculous arguments and reaſons do they bring to excuſe themſelves from this duty and reſtraint!

There are thoſe among theſe ſlaves that after they are thus married, will exchange their wives with each other for a certain time, alledging, in caſe of reproof, that they are not able to eat always of the ſame diſh. Thoſe of the women likewiſe that live out in the country in their maſter's farms, will hire each of them a man, upon condition that he ſhall not leave them till they have a child by him, tho' they are to maintain him all the while he is with them. It is mighty ridiculous to obſerve that the women here, contrary to the cuſtom of other nations, buy and ſell, and do all other things which the men ought to do, whilſt their huſbands ſtay at home and ſpin or weave cotton, or buſy themſelves in ſuch other effeminate actions. Theſe women alſo are ſo jealous of their huſbands, that if they ſee them but ſpeak to any other women they are preſently in a flame, and make the place ring where they ſo diſcover them. The biſhop order'd that all maſters of

MEROLLA *Blacks* ſhould oblige them to perform the *Eaſter*-duty under pain of forfeiting a certain quantity of wax for every one, obliging them to bring the certificate of their receiving and confeſſing to their maſters, and then all together to the curate. Theſe becauſe they are often involved in the immediate occaſion of ſin, make uſe of a crafty deceit to extort abſolution from their father confeſſor: which is, that the firſt day of *Lent* the men part from the women, leading a chaſte life for the preſent, and then appearing before the prieſt, tell him they have left off their lewd courſes, and promiſe never to return to them. A week or fortnight after *Eaſter* they go about till they are provided with one to ſatisfy their luſt all the year, without having any more to do with thoſe they forſook before confeſſion.

Burials. Let us come now to the death and burial of theſe people, who being of ſo many different nations, and the remains of the pagans, differ likewiſe in their rites and ceremonies. As to the manner of their deaths, that may be gueſs'd at by their lives, according to the proverb, *Qualis vita, finis ita.* And for what relates to their burials, I have been an eye-witneſs, that in the kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoij* they do not bury any of their relations, till all the reſt of the kindred be gather'd together, tho' that be ſometimes many days in accompliſhing: Being once met, they begin the ceremony with ſeveral ſuperſtitious actions, as killing of hens, with the blood of which they beſprinkle the houſe of the deceaſed both within and without, and afterwards throw the carcaſes of the ſaid fowl upon the top of the houſe, affirming that thereby they prevent the ſoul of the dead perſon from coming to give the *zumbi* to any of the future inhabitants. The word *zumbi* in the language of the country, ſignifies an apparition of the deceaſed perſon, they being of opinion, that to whomſoever it ſhall appear, that perſon will preſently die. This perſuaſion has been ſo deeply rooted in the minds of theſe poor ignorant people, that the imagination alone oftentimes brings them to their ends. We have ſeen ſeveral accidents of this kind, inſomuch that a perſon that was before very well in health, ſhall of a ſudden die miſerably through the impreſſion of theſe vain deluſions. Thoſe that ſurvive affirm, that the dead perſon had ſummon'd him that died, eſpecially where there had been any difference betwixt them whilſt both were living.

The ceremony of the hens being ended, they proceed to lamenting over the dead perſon; and if it ſo happens that any amongſt them be not able to weep naturally, they have recourſe to art by holding *ſiliquaſtro*, or *Indian* pepper to their noſes, which cauſes the tears to flow plentifully, which without wiping they ſuffer to trickle down their cheeks as faſt as they pleaſe. When they have howl'd and wept for ſome time, they all of a ſudden paſs from ſorrow to mirth, feaſting heartily at the expence of the perſon that is neareſt akin to the deceaſed, who all that while lies unburied in the houſe. When they have fully ſatisfy'd their ungodly guts, they ſoon forget their deceaſed friend, and never think of him more: Then the drum beats, and they go from the table to dancing, and ſo the ball begins: when one company is weary another begins, and not only the kindred, but likewiſe any others are admitted to dance. After they have done dancing, they retire into appointed places, where being lock'd up together in the dark, they practiſe all manner of abominable pleaſures, alledging, that at ſuch a time it is lawful for them to intermix with each other at liberty. This ſound of the drum ſeems to be the devil's ſummons to aſſiſt at theſe execrable ceremonies, and which theſe people run to with a more than ordinary inclination. It is almoſt impoſſible for the mothers to hinder their daughters, and leſs poſſible for maſters to prevent their ſlaves, who will break down walls, or force iron-bars to come at them. As ſoon as this is done, they apply themſelves to ſuperſtitious and idolatrous practices, and ſo from one to the other for ſome time. When any maſter of a family dies, his principal wife expoſes herſelf to all that have a mind to enjoy her; on this condition nevertheleſs, that none offer to ſpeak the leaſt word in her chamber.

That theſe abominations are practiſed among pagans is not to be wonder'd at; but would to GOD that theſe *tambi* (funeral ceremonies) were not uſed among ſome depraved Chriſtians, not only in the kingdom of *Angola*, but even in *Loanda* it ſelf. At the time of my reſiding here I was told, that not far out of this city ſuch enormities were committed. Our ſuperior accompanied with one only companion and ſome truſty perſons, immediately ran to prevent them; but being by night (the propereſt time for theſe helliſh practices) he met with the guards, who well knowing that it was not our cuſtom to go out of the city at that time, unleſs upon account of doing GOD ſome ſervice, preſently offer'd themſelves to accompany them, which being refuſed by our ſuperior, they perſiſted in their reſolutions, alledging that otherwiſe ſome hurt might happen to him, and therefore they went along with him. Being arrived at the place where theſe ceremonies were performing, the ſoldiers, to the end they might the better take the offenders,

ranged

ranged themſelves about the walls, which conſiſting only of mud and ſtakes they eaſily broke down, hooping and hollowing like mad while they were doing it. The wicked wretches that were not few in number, perceiving their walls broke down, and their houſe ſurrounded, immediately betook themſelves to flight, leaving only the wife of the deceaſed behind them, who being obliged by her infernal prieſt not to ſtir nor ſpeak, was eaſily taken, and by the governor afterwards, who very well knew what ſhe and her company had been doing, order'd to be publickly whipt thro' the city.

In *Maſſangano*, a gariſon of this kingdom, ſo many ſtones were hurl'd at a companion of mine for endeavouring to oppoſe theſe people in their wicked ceremonies, that he very narrowly eſcap'd having his brains beat out by them.

When any great Lord, or conſiderable perſon dies, the pagans are accuſtomed to ſpread the way where the corps paſſes with leaves and branches. He muſt likewiſe be carried in a ſtreight line to his grave; and therefore if any houſe or wall happened to hinder his paſſage, it is immediately pull'd down. To ſhew themſelves kind to the dead, they are commonly very cruel to the living, ſhutting up both together in a tomb with meat and drink, to the end (ſay they) that the dead lord may want for nothing in his grave: in this they imitate the tyrant *Mezentius* king of the *Tyrrhenians*, who in *Virgil* is ſaid to join dead and living people together, till the ſtanch has brought them to one condition.

The *Giaghi* offer up human ſacrifices to the dead, as they do likewiſe oftentimes to the living, when they can ſuppoſe the perſon they intend to honour to have occaſion for aſſiſtance either in war, or any other urgency.

Some buried alive with the dead.

One of our fathers having underſtood that within a certain ſepulchre of a great perſon among theſe pagans, there were two people immur'd alive, went thither in great haſte to free them from their infernal and noiſome dungeon, but found to his great grief that they had ſome time before periſhed. But the wickedneſs of theſe people ſometimes goes further; for at the death of any of their friends they have been accuſtomed to kill one of their ſlaves, to the end that he may go and ſerve them in the other world: To this ſin they will moreover add a lie; for when we accuſe them and get them corrected for ſo doing, they will excuſe themſelves and pretend innocence, affirming they know nothing of the matter, even tho' we had never ſo plain proof of it. An inſtance of this follows: One of our order having been adviſed that a poor *Negro* was juſt going to be ſacrificed as a victim to his dead maſter, this father immediately ran to the wife of the deceaſed perſon to prevent it, who perceiving her villany was diſcovered, tho' ſhe at firſt deny'd it, yet afterwards confeſs'd it, and gave orders to have thoſe inhuman proceedings ſtopt. In my time alſo there were ſeveral of theſe wicked actions done, but the perſons concerned in them always found ſo many ſhifts and ſubtile evaſions to conceal their offences, that we could never proceed methodically againſt them in order to bring them to puniſhment. Now if theſe things are practiſed among Chriſtians, how can we expect they ſhould be omitted among thoſe *Negroes* that have ſcarce heard of the name of Chriſtianity? MEROLLA

The burial-places among the pagans are for the moſt part in the fields, with ſomething or other placed over them, according to the quality of the perſon that is buried: Some have a long and ſtreight horn of I know not what beaſt fixed over them; others have a large heap of earth raiſed upon them; ſome have an earthen platter or pipkin, or any other veſſel made of earth ſet over them; others make arbours over their graves, with a thouſand ſuperſtitious interlacings and interweavings that are performed by their wizards: They do not make uſe of a coffin, cheſt, or any other wooden thing to put the corps in, but wrap it up in good cotton linen ſewed cloſe together, and adorned without ſide with ſeveral ſuperſtitious fooleries, being at an expence ſutable to the quality of the perſon deceaſed. As for the poorer ſort they make uſe only of a ſort of ſtraw mats, after the mode of the country, to wrap their dead bodies in.

Within the dominions of *Sogno* every city and province has a certain peculiar place with a croſs in the middle, where thoſe that have not ſatisfy'd the *Eaſter*-command, or that die before they are confeſs'd, are buried by themſelves without the miſſioners concerning themſelves therein. But as for thoſe who have received all the ſacraments before their deaths, and have been found to have religiouſly obſerved the laſt *Lent*, they are allowed chriſtian burial, without its being any manner of charge to them. Alſo during their ſickneſs, and after they are confeſs'd, we frequently furniſh them with refreſhments out of charity, ſuch as confections of tamarins, a fruit of the country, and the like, both cooling and cordial juleps. Beſides this we have ſeveral ſlaves belonging to our church which are ſkilled in phlebotomy, ſurgery, phyſick, and what not, who all do what lies in their power to recover theſe people when ſick, or out of order: This we take care is done for them *gratis*, to the end they may have

MEROLLA no occaſion to run to the wizards for help. For thoſe that are poor and old, fatherleſs, lame, blind or the like, there is an hoſpital built near to our convent, where both their ſpiritual and temporal wants are ſupply'd by us as often as there is found occaſion, or that it conſiſts with our abilities. This is a charity which has not a little promoted the increaſe of Chriſtianity in theſe parts.

A barbarous ſacrifice.

Let us conclude ſpeaking any farther of the *tambi*, or funeral rites among the pagans, with a paſſage that happened ſome years ſince in *Benin*, a kingdom lying on the back coaſts of *Africa*, and towards *Guinea*, being very near the equinoctial line. Father *Francis da Romano* ſuperior in the kingdom of *Ouueri*, and father *Philip da Figuar*, being both here on a miſſion, they endeavoured to diſturb a certain abominable ſacrifice accuſtomed to be performed every year to the devil, for the benefit, as they alledged, of their dead anceſtors. This ſacrifice conſiſted of above three hundred men, but at preſent there were only five to die, yet thoſe all of the better ſort. Theſe miſſioners under the conduct of a certain *Negro* their friend, came to the third incloſure capable of holding many hundreds of people: Here perceiving a great multitude gather'd together dancing and ſinging to divers inſtruments of their muſick, they clapped themſelves down in a private place, the better to obſerve what they were going to do. This place happened to be that where they kept the knives deſigned to perform ſo inhuman an action. Not being able to conceal themſelves long, they were quickly diſcovered by theſe wicked wretches, who coming towards them leaping with great indignation, they ſoon drove the poor fathers out of the place they had ſo taken poſſeſſion of. Father *Francis* hereupon was ſo little diſmayed, that crowding boldly through the thickeſt of the *Negroes*, he was not afraid to reproach their king of unheard of cruelty: Some courtiers hearing this, immediately flew upon him, and beating, and uſing him very unmercifully, tore him out of the crowd; when cloſing up their ranks again, they performed their inhuman ſacrifice. Afterwards they gave the fathers to underſtand, that it was their king's pleaſure that they ſhould forthwith depart his kingdom. Which command they being not very ready to comply with, the next morning they ſet upon them again, with intention to have killed them; which they nevertheleſs did not do, by reaſon they were informed by two of the courtiers there preſent, that the king would have them brought alive before him. Going therefore courageouſly to the palace, they were notwithſtanding admitted to no other audience but ſtripes and reproaches in great plenty; and afterwards told, in reviling terms, that it was the king's expreſs order that they ſhould forthwith be gone out of his dominions. Notwithſtanding which, great numbers of theſe inſolent *Negroes* flew upon them like ſo many hornets, and hurry'd them away to a noiſom priſon. Here they remained no leſs than three months, being buffeted, ſcoffed and ſcorned at all the while. At laſt, not contented with this ill uſage, they ſold them for ſlaves to the *Hollanders*; who taking more pity upon them than theſe infidels had done, ſet them aſhore not long afterwards, ſafe and ſound, in the *Prince*'s iſland. Hence they writ to the ſacred college to inform them of what had happened to them; but were anſwered, that the church had already martyrs enough, and but two miſſioners in that kingdom, and therefore they ſhould not for the future expoſe themſelves ſo much in its ſervice, but proceed warily among thoſe new converts.

Converſion of the kingdom of Ouueri.

Another perſecution was undergone with chearful countenances, and undiſturbed ſouls, by two other friars in the iſland of St. *Thomas*, in their journey to the kingdom of *Ouueri*, contiguous with that of *Benin*, in both of which there were new miſſions eſtabliſhed, and the father ſuperior, at that time father *Francis da Monteleone*, lived in the aforeſaid iſland. The vice-ſuperior, father *Angelo Maria d'Aiaccio* the province of *Corſica*, together with father *Bonaventura da Firenze*, having but juſt ſet footing in the kingdom of *Ouueri*, they were very courteouſly received by that king. This prince was better bred than ordinary, having been brought up amongſt the *Portugueſes*, whoſe language he was an abſolute maſter of, and could beſides write and read a qualification, unuſual among theſe *Ethiopian* princes. Almoſt at the firſt ſight of the king, the vice-ſuperior broke out into theſe words; *If your majeſty does deſire to have me to continue within your dominions, you muſt lay your injunctions on your ſubjects, that they embrace the holy ſtate of matrimony, according to our rites and ceremonies; and moreover, that whereas now the young men and women go naked till they are marriageable, I deſire your majeſty to command that they may all go covered.* To which the king anſwered, that as to what related to his ſubjects, he would take care they ſhould comply with his requeſt; but as for himſelf, he could never conſent to do it, unleſs he were marry'd to a *White*, as ſome of his predeceſſors had been. But what *White* would care to marry with a *Black*, even tho' he were a crowned head, eſpecially among the

the *Portugueſes*, who naturally deſpiſe them? Nevertheleſs the pious father truſting in God's providence to promote his own glory, gave no repulſe to the obſtinate monarch, but ſeemed to approve of all he ſaid. To bring this good work to effect, he immediately departed, taking his way towards the iſland of St. *Thomas*, ſituate under the equinoctial line, and reckoned one of the nine countries conquered by the *Portugueſes* in *Africa*. There he made it his buſineſs to enquire after a *White* woman that would marry a *Black* that was a crown'd head. Whereupon he was informed that there was one in that iſland, tho' of mean condition, whoſe poverty and meanneſs were nevertheleſs ennobled by a virtuous education, and a comely perſonage. Notwithſtanding he was told that this woman was proper for the purpoſe, yet had he not the courage to ſpeak to her uncle about her, under whoſe care and protection ſhe was; but contriving how to bring about his deſign, with a lively faith in God, one day while he was ſaying maſs, he turn'd himſelf about to the aforeſaid perſon, conjuring him, in the preſence of all the people, in the name, and for the ſervice of the moſt high God, not to deny him one requeſt, which was, that he would let his niece marry the king of *Ouueri*, which would greatly contribute to, if not totally effect the converſion of that kingdom. At the hearing of this, the good man being wrought upon by the pious miſſioner's reaſons, could not prevent weeping, and bowing down his head, as a token of his conſent.

The young lady not long afterwards, having firſt taken leave of her relations, ſet out with ſome few *Portugueſes*, and the miſſioner, for the aforeſaid kingdom.

Being juſt entered the confines, ſhe was joyfully and univerſally ſaluted by the people for their queen, having triumphal arches raiſed to her, and ſeveral other demonſtrations of joy paid her by the inhabitants.

Being arrived at the king's palace, ſhe was received by that monarch like another *Rachel* by *Jacob*, *Eſther* by *Abaſhuerus*, or *Artemiſia* by *Mauſolus*; and afterwards marry'd by him after the chriſtian manner, thereby giving a good example to his ſubjects, who ſoon forſook their former licentious principles, and ſubmitted to be reſtrained by the rules of the goſpel, that is, were all married according to the rites and ceremonies of the church.

Malice againſt the miſſioners.

After four years miſſion into theſe parts, the aforeſaid two fathers tranſported themſelves into the iſland of St. *Thomas*, partly to proceed further in the duties of their office, and partly to oblige the king who commanded it. This good intention of theirs, it ſeems, the devil envied, for he raiſed up a certain eccleſiaſtical perſon there againſt them, who extremely envy'd our two miſſioners. This perſon had been accuſtomed, before their arrival, to go every ſix months to the kingdom of *Ouueri* to baptize that people, which brought him in the profit of a ſlave a month, and another from the king, in conſideration of his charge and trouble; but now finding himſelf deprived of this gain for four years, he, together with others not well affected to religion, rais'd the cruelleſt perſecution againſt theſe poor fathers that could poſſibly have been thought on. He accuſed them to the governor of the iſland for enemies to the crown of *Portugal*, and that they travelled about thoſe countries with falſe paſſes; and moreover, that to his knowledge, and in his hearing they had debauch'd the minds of the king and queen of *Ouueri*, and beſides held correſpondence with the enemies of the *Portugueſe* dominions. All this the governor heard patiently, yet did not immediately reſolve to have theſe innocent fathers ſeiz'd; whereupon one of thoſe that had accompany'd the queen to *Ouueri*, ſaid to him, *Take care, my lord, of what you do, leſt apprehending theſe apoſtolical miſſioners, you create a difference between the crown of* Portugal *and the ſee of* Rome. We are much obliged to theſe holy men for raiſing our country-women to a crown. The governor would not meddle with theſe holy men, but ordered them to be ſent to *Loanda*, where there were likewiſe great complaints made againſt them by the aforeſaid prieſt and his adherents. MEROLLA

Hence they were ſent to the tribunal at *Liſbon*, where being declared innocent, in that they had ſufficient authority from the crown for what they had acted, their accuſers were cited to appear to make good, if they could, their allegations; which not being able to do, the chief calumniator, the eccleſiaſtic, fled to *Braſil*, and the others to other places for protection.

Father *Bonaventura da Firenze*, on account of his great indiſpoſitions, returned to *Italy*; but father *Angelo Maria* directed his courſe anew towards the iſland of St. *Thomas*, where having performed the part of a good miſſionary, and a good Chriſtian, teaching by his exemplary life what his tongue omitted, he returned after ſome time to *Liſbon*, and died there. Until our coming into this part of *Ethiopia*, theſe kingdoms had not ſeen the face of any other miſſioner; and every time any ſhip came to anchor in their harbours, the natives would aſk the ſeamen if they had any *Capuchin* on board? And if they were anſwered that they had

MEROLLA not, then would they fly into a paſſion, and cry out, *Muſt we then always lead our lives thus like beaſts, and never have any prieſts come to teach us better?*

Whilſt I was at *Loanda*, they writ to our ſuperior, father *John da Romano*, to ſend them ſome ſpiritual labourer. He ſent their letter to the ſacred college, who writ back, that for the preſent father *Monteleone* ſhould go to the iſland of St. *Thomas* and build a convent there, to the end that whenever any miſſioners came thither, they might the eaſier tranſport themſelves into theſe kingdoms. If there were miſſioners ſufficient ſent, eſpecially from the ſacred college, and the apoſtolick ſee, I dare be poſitive they would find the converſion of this part of *Ethiopia* eaſy enough, the people thereof confeſſing already, that they believe the ſucceſſor of St. *Peter* to be a moſt holy perſon, and one that cannot err; and conſequently thoſe that are ſent by him are like him, and therefore they have no ſuſpicion of the *Italians*, which would not be in reſpect of other nations, in regard to their political ſtate. This happineſs, peculiar to our nation, gives us authority to go in our habits into their innermoſt receſſes, which prieſts of other countries would not be permitted to do. Nevertheleſs the devil, the author of all ill, does oftentimes work ſo by his miniſters, that he gives us ſome diſturbance, which notwithſtanding ſignifies little or nothing, great numbers having been in few years converted here. If I ſhould ſay myſelf, that I have done that good office for thouſands and thouſands, I'm ſure I ſhould not lie; for I can be poſitive that of men, women, and children, I have baptiſed no leſs than thirteen thouſand, and cauſed very many to marry. The ſhort time I did this in will be the leſs wondered at, if the great numbers of people here be conſidered; and, that, as I have ſaid before in another place, one of our order alone baptized upwards of fifty thouſand. Alſo father *Jerom da Monteſarchio* of our province of *Naples* (whoſe painful travels and good qualities have already been made known to the world by another hand) told me himſelf, before his death, that within the ſpace of twenty years continuance in theſe parts, he baptized above one hundred thouſand perſons, and amongſt the reſt, the king, or rather duke of *Congobella*, tributary to the king of *Micocco*, together with his nephew, and ſeveral other perſons of quality.

Converſion of an obſtinate Black.

That theſe ſort of people have been given to idolatry, and the eating of man's fleſh, I cannot deny; but then I muſt affirm, that they readily imbrace Chriſtianity, and reap the fruit of it, as may appear by what happened to me. Our interpreter had a certain black ſlave, a very ſtrong fellow, but blind and obſtinate to the good advice was given him by his maſter to abjure paganiſm, and embrace the chriſtian faith. His anſwer in defence of his principles was, That the elephant never eats *ſalt* (ſo they call *baptiſm* in their language) and yet he became fat and large, and lived a long while. It ſeems the holy baptiſm in their dialect is called *minemungù*, which is as much as to ſay, *to ſeaſon the bleſſed ſalt.* If any one ſhould aſk, if ſuch a one were a Chriſtian or a pagan? if a Chriſtian, they would anſwer, He is a Chriſtian, for he has taſted of the ſalt that has been bleſſed by the prieſt. You muſt obſerve, that if any of theſe had been baptiſed with water alone, he would not have been very well ſatisfied. Now this ſlave ſpoken of before, happening to be grievous ſick, I went to viſit him, and uſing a great many ſpiritual arguments to him, found it not difficult to convert him. He yielded to my propoſals, and was baptiſed, to the great ſatisfaction of his maſter, as well as himſelf, and afterwards married to a chriſtian woman there preſent. The third day after, he died, changing his ſlavery in this life for a glorious liberty in the other.

To ſay that the *Negroes*, and eſpecially *Giaghi*, are always obſtinate and perverſe, and man-eaters, is not to be made an objection againſt them, becauſe our Saviour ſays, *Thoſe that are well do not ſtand in need of a phyſician*; and the worſe the diſtemper, the more need of cure. This will appear by the only inſtance of the converſion of the queen of *Singa:* this queen, with the greateſt part of her people, was converted by the great pains of father *Anthony Laudati da Gaeta* of our order; the manner whereof was told me by a *Portugueſe* captain that was preſent when it was done. He ſaid, the queen and the aforeſaid father *Anthony* were ſtanding together diſcourſing, when all of a ſudden the friar thus beſpoke the queen; *Madam, when I behold ſo many large and fruitful valleys, enriched and adorned with ſo many cryſtal ſtreams, and defended from the injuries of weather by ſuch high and pleaſant hills, all under your majeſty's command, I cannot forbear being ſo bold, as to aſk you who was the author of all theſe? Who fecundated the ground, and afterwards ripens the fruit?* To which the queen, without the leaſt heſitation, readily anſwered, *My anceſtors. Then* (replied the *Capuchin*) *does your majeſty enjoy the whole power of your anceſtors? Yes* (anſwered ſhe) *and much more, for over and above what they had, I am abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom of* Matamba. The pious friar hearing this ſtooped to reach a ſlender ſtraw that lay upon the ground, and

and having taken it up, cried to the queen, *Madam, pray do me the favour to cauſe this to hang without holding in the air.* The queen turned away her face, and looked ſcornfully at a requeſt ſo inſignificant and inconſiderable. The friar re-inforced his petition, earneſtly entreating her majeſty to comply with his deſires; whereupon proffering to put it into her hand, ſhe let it fall. Father *Anthony* ſtooped again to take it up, but the queen being the more nimble of the two, got hold of it before him; *The reaſon* (quoth the friar) *why the ſtraw fell was, becauſe your majeſty did not command it not to fall; but now be pleaſed to order it to hang of itſelf, without help, in the air.* She did ſo, but it would not obey. Whereupon the zealous friar broke out into the following expreſſions, *Be it known to your majeſty, O queen, that your anceſtors have no otherwiſe been authors of theſe fair fields and ſprings, than you are of the ſupport of this ſtraw; but that the great Creator of heaven and earth,* CHRIST JESUS, *the only Son* GOD, *and the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity, whoſe image you have here upon this crucifix, made thoſe and all things elſe, that is, was the firſt cauſe of all.* Then the queen humbled herſelf, and bowing her royal head, ſubmitted to own the truth, embracing the holy faith, wherein ſhe not long after died; and which ſhe had before received in her younger days, but apoſtatized from it.

Cunning of the Blacks.

The *Ethiopians* are not ſo dull and ſtupid as is commonly imagined, but rather more ſubtle and cunning than ordinary, as may appear by what happened to a certain *French* ſea-captain at *Mina*, on the coaſt of *Africa*, which he told me himſelf, and was confirmed to me by a *Portugueſe* of the iſland of St. *Thomas*, who was an eye-witneſs to it. This captain ſailing along the coaſts where the mines are, and thinking to exchange his merchandize for gold, was unfortunately made a prize by a *Hollander*, who ſeizing his ſhip, and putting the ſeamen into irons, carried their captain, under a ſtrong guard, aſhore before the governor, who for a welcome, ordered him to a cloſe priſon, loaded with irons, and to be looked after by about thirty ſtrong *Blacks*, where he expected nothing but death. The chief of theſe *Negroes* perceiving the priſoner to bear ſo manfully what was ſo wrongfully offered him, by an earneſt and ſtedfaſt look on him, diſcovered both his pity and concern for ſo great injuſtice done him. At laſt being encouraged by the gravity and modeſty of his countenance, which promiſed a great deal of prudence and diſcretion, he approached him, and ſaid to him, *Since you have done no body any harm, and your enemies have behaved themſelves immoderately rigorous towards you, not only in impriſoning, but likewiſe in depriving you of your goods and life, I offer myſelf, led thereunto by a principle of abhorrence of ſuch actions, to free you.* The captain taking heart at this proffer of the *Negroes*, anſwered him, *If thou haſt courage ſufficient to deliver me from death, and conduct me in ſafety to my ſhip, I will in recompenſereward thee with whatever thou canſt aſk. But how* (continued he) *is it poſſible for me to have ſo good fortune, when there are ſo many appointed to look after me? Leave that to me* (replied the *Ethiopian*) *for I do not doubt but I ſhall be able, by the help of ſix of my companions whom I have already engaged, to carry you off ſafe to your ſhip. The way I have propoſed to do it is, by making the reſt of my companions dead drunk with good wine, which will give us that are your friends a liberty to act as we pleaſe.* He was not long afterwards as good as his word, and the ſucceſs of his endeavours anſwered his expectation. The captain looked upon his deliverer to be rather an angel ſent from heaven to his aſſiſtance, than a black *Ethiopian.* As ſoon as they were got out of the priſon, they made all the haſte they could, directing their ſteps all that night through thick woods and unfrequented paths, till at length they got ſafe to the port. The *Negro* went aboard the ſhip, where he acquainted the *Dutch* guard, that the governor had ſet at liberty both the captain and his crew, and therefore adviſed them to free their priſoners from their fetters, and ſet them at liberty. The *Hollanders* immediately obeyed this order, giving credit to what word the *Negro* had brought them, he having been always looked upon for an honeſt fellow; and receiving a ſmall reward, departed.

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The captain ſeeing himſelf maſter of his ſhip, returned his unfeigned thanks to heaven for his preſervation, and then ſetting open all his cheſts, offered his preſerver what recompence he would have: all which the *Negro* refuſed, alledging that what ſervice he had done him, was wholly on account of his being a man of honour, and in commiſeration of his condition, and not out of any intereſt or advantage which he propoſed to himſelf thereby: and further, that if he pleaſed to accept of his and his companions ſervice, they would follow him whereſoever he went. *If that be your intentions* (replied the obliged *Frenchman*) *let us ſet ſail and be gone, and I ſhall always endeavour to proportion my gratitude and acknowledgments to your merits.* This ſaid, the ſeamen did not weigh their anchors, but cut their cables, and hoiſting ſail at the ſame time, to avoid falling afreſh into the *Hollanders* hands, ſtood their courſe directly for *France.* The great civilities ſhewed both to this *Negro* and his companions

MEROLLA throughout the whole voyage, are not to be expreſſed: the ſeamen would often compliment them, and eſpecially their chief, calling him their *deliverer*. When they came to land, the captain's relations and friends ſtrove which ſhould oblige theſe *Blacks* moſt. When they had been about three months aſhore, the *Negroes* adviſed the captain to freight his ſhip anew with ſome rich merchandize and curioſities, and Chinea. to ſail towards a place called *Chinea*, where they could conduct him to a port not ſubject to the *Hollanders*, and known to them, where he might gain what profit he pleaſed without any danger. Who now could have miſtruſted the preſervers of their lives? The captain therefore conſidering of the propoſal, and knowing it to be as they had told him, the place they named being below the mines, freighted his ſhip accordingly, and ſet ſail again towards the eaſtern coaſts of *Africa*. Coming to an anchor in the iſland of St. *Thomas* to take in freſh proviſions, where the wind and current are always fair for *Chinea* or *Mina*, he made what haſte he could to put again to ſea: at his firſt coming out he had a very gentle gale, but ſtood ready againſt the trade or ſettled wind came up, which the *Portugueſes* call *Viracao*, which there riſes and falls every ſix hours with the tide. Then ſpreading their ſails, the mariners, except the pilot, ſteerſman, and another perſon, together with the ſubtle *Negroes*, who watched for ſome ill purpoſe, fell aſleep. One of theſe *Negroes* ſet himſelf to cutting of wood, to the end that with the noiſe of the ax he might drown what the others intended to do. The others knocked out the brains of four of the ſeamen, together with the pilot, and their deſigns were to have murdered all; but as Providence would have it, the captain hearing of what had happened by means of a little boy, ſnatching up a cutlace and two brace of piſtols, and finding the door bolted without, he was forced to get out at a port-hole: when he came upon deck, and ſaw ſome of his men lying dead, and others defending themſelves, he called out to wake the reſt of the ſeamen, and then falling on ſoon diſpatched four of the *Negroes*, amongſt whom was their chief, whoſe head was inſtantly cut off, and his body ſent to feed the ſharks. The three that remained, having firſt confeſt, that their plot was to have murdered all the ſhip's crew, and afterwards to have run away to their own country with the veſſel, boaſting what a trick they had put upon the Chriſtians of *Europe*, paid the merit of their folly, for they were immediately hanged up at the yard-arm. This happening in ſight of the iſland of St. *Thomas*, the people from the ſhore fired upon the ſhip to know the occaſion of it; but the captain hanging out a white flag, ſent his boat aſhore to acquaint them how he had been uſed by the *Negroes*, which extremely ſurpriſed both the iſlanders and ſome others that heard it; but they more eſpecially wondered how thoſe ſubtle *Blacks* could harbour ſo ill a deſign ſo long. The captain further told me, that after this he would needs go to *Sogno* to ſee the river *Zaire*, and try if he could thereby get into the kingdom of the *Abyſſines* belonging to *Preſter-John*. He was informed that that river by reaſon of the great number of iſlands in it, and the ſeveral canals and rivers that run into it, was not at all ſafe for great ſhips to ſail in: he nevertheleſs was reſolved to venture to ſatisfy himſelf in what he had propoſed. Being obliged to paſs by the kingdom of *Angoij*, which lay on the other ſide of the river, the inhabitants thereof perceiving a ſhip coming along with ſuch people on board as they had never ſeen or heard of before, ſent out a canoo to them to tell them they muſt come and anchor in *Capinda*, a port of the ſaid kingdom. And likewiſe having further underſtood, that they were going to make diſcoveries up the river, they let them know, that if they would comply with their requeſt, and come to harbour in their port, they ſhould thence be conducted in their diſcovery, and buy as many ſlaves and as much ivory as they pleaſed. But above all things they adviſed them not to touch upon *Sogno*, affirming that people were enemies to the *Whites*, and not many years before had made a great ſlaughter among them. The captain, to ſatisfy theſe people, left a boat laden with goods with two mariners in it, and ſailed away. The *Negroes* carried them up into the country, and divided the merchandize among themſelves. Fifteen days paſt, and no news was heard of the ſaid two ſeamen, nor even of any trade or traffick ſettled by their means, and yet the *Negroes* gave good words, and went daily aboard the ſhip to preſerve a good correſpondence, drinking and carouſing at the captain's expence. At length the *mani* or governor of *Capinda* coming on board himſelf, accompanied with five or ſix followers, the *French* captain on a ſudden cauſed them to be ſeized and clapt under hatches in irons, threatning that unleſs the two mariners with their merchandize were ſpeedily reſtored, he would not only carry them away for ſlaves, but likewiſe as many others of that kingdom as he could meet. We *Capuchins* perſuaded the count of *Sogno* to do the captain juſtice, who upon the apprehending the *mani* and his companions, recovered the ſeamen and part of the goods. To ſatisfy for the reſt, the *Angoij* were ordered to pay twelve

ſlaves,

ſlaves, which not coming, the captain ſet ſail with the ſeven he had got, putting the eighth aſhore to conduct the twelve ſlaves aſſigned to *Sogno*, where he traded for three hundred ſlaves, whom he carried to ſell in the iſland *Hiſpaniola*. The captain himſelf told me he was extremely pleaſed that he had got a *Negro* governor to preſent to his king clothed after the faſhion of that country.

By this relation the reader may perceive that the *Negroes* are both a malicious and ſubtle people, and I likewiſe muſt allow that they ſpend the moſt part of their time in circumventing and deceiving; yet I cannot allow, that becauſe they are a ſtubborn ſoil, they muſt be left uncultivated: being of ſo perverſe a nature as they generally are, they require the greater application of inſtruction. But this ſtill is to be ſaid for them, that when you come once to eradicate their vitious principles, they ſeldom or never return to their ſtate of damnation again.

Sufferings of miſſioners.

Grievous no doubt are the ſufferings of the miſſioners in theſe parts, whether you conſider the length of their travels, their frequent want of neceſſaries, the various climates of the countries they paſs through, the ſuffocating and inſupportable heats, eſpecially to us *Europeans*, who fry within our woollen clothes, the travelling over rocks and frightful precipices, the often ſleeping upon the bare ground, the being perſecuted by wizards and ſuch ſort of wretches, and ſometimes by bad Chriſtians; and laſtly, the loſing ſo much blood as we are fain to do to preſerve our healths, and a thouſand other inconveniences in life, which cannot be here enumerated: all which are nevertheleſs pleaſing to thoſe who undergo them on account of its being for God's ſervice that they ſuffer, who being a *remunerator animarum*, both can and will reward them.

The author's return to Europe.

As to my return from *Africa*, it was truly through mere neceſſity, and at which I was not a little concerned when I conſidered, that I muſt leave ſo much work undone behind me, and whereof thoſe poor kingdoms have ſo much need to conduct them in their way to heaven. My departure was principally occaſioned by my illneſs; but had I recovered my health in *Braſil* whither I was going, as I propoſed to myſelf, my intentions were to have returned once more to *Ethiopia*; but my recovery proved ſo very ſlow, and I found myſelf ſo exceeding weak, that I laid all thoſe thoughts aſide. Arriving not long after at *Baia* the principal city of *Braſil*, I was for a ſhort time entertained very courteouſly in a *French* convent of our order, whoſe friars uſed their utmoſt diligence to procure me a good captain to tranſport me ſick as I was to *Liſbon*. They firſt ſpoke to a countryman of theirs, and who offered to carry and provide me a convenient cabbin becauſe I was ſick, but I muſt go as a paſſenger, and not as chaplain, and that becauſe he would not ſubmit to the laws of *Portugal*, which make it a crime for any ſhip to ſail without one. I told him, as I had formerly done the other captain at the beginning of my voyage to *Africa*, that if he would needs exclude me from the duties of my function, I muſt neceſſarily refuſe his offer, being willing to earn my diet and paſſage, and ſo we parted. I was afterwards requeſted by the governor of *Maſſangano*, who came with us from the kingdom of *Angola*, and from whom I had received ſeveral civilities in our voyage, to go along with him to *Portugal*; I thankfully accepted his offer, and in three months time in company of a fleet of twenty eight ſhips laden with tobacco and ſugars, by the aſſiſtance of a favourable wind and good weather, we reached the height of *Liſbon*. MEROLLA

It being almoſt night before we got near the port, but three of our ſhips could get in, *viz.* that I was in, the *Frenchman*, and another, the reſt being obliged to keep out at ſea all that night, and the greateſt part of the next day, by reaſon the tide was againſt them. At day-break the phyſician came on board us three, to ſee what ſtate of health we were in; but before he approached, the *Frenchman* thinking it had been a cuſtom-houſe felucca, went to hide a certain quantity of tobacco he had in his powder-room, but through a fatal miſcarriage letting a ſpark from the candle fall on one of the barrels, the powder took fire and blew up the poop of the ſhip, whereby the water flowing into the reſt of the ſhattered veſſel, it ſunk in a trice: None of the people that were in her eſcaped, but only ſuch as could ſwim, and they made ſhift to get to ſhore, or elſe were taken up by boats. If this ſhip had not ſunk as ſhe did after ſhe was blown up, what damage might ſhe not have done us that were very near her? Having obſerved the great eſcape I and my fellow-voyagers had, I fell on my knees, and returned my unfeigned thanks to the moſt High for our preſervation, and eſpecially in that I happened not to go in that unfortunate ſhip. This accident was reported about among the vulgar to have been a judgment on the ſaid ſhip for not having a chaplain on board her.

At length we landed, which we had no ſooner done, but I and father *Francis da Pavia*, a chaplain in another ſhip, and my companion all the way from *Ethiopia*, fell down on our knees again to return

MEROLLA heaven thanks for our ſafe arrival in *Portugal:* we then went immediately to wait on the king, who being gone that day out of the city to viſit the *infanta* his daughter, we were fain to defer that intention. At his return his majeſty being informed of our deſigns, and having ſcarce alighted, ſent preſently for us; but the meſſengers not finding us in the city, came to our convent, where they met us and gave us to underſtand, that we might go to court whenſoever we pleaſed, the king being very deſirous to ſee us. We loſt no time, but immediately repaired to court, and were admitted to audience.

The king's countenance was extremely pleaſing, and his reception of us very friendly, ſtanding out of reſpect to us with his hat all the while in his hand: he kiſſed our habits, and then began to ſpeak of our order and miſſion, and eſpecially of us *Italian* miſſioners, for whom he ſaid he had a very particular reſpect, having been often informed how much good we had done, and did daily in *Ethiopia* for GOD's ſervice; and that although it was true, that he had forbid any foreign prieſt to exerciſe their function within his conqueſts in thoſe parts, yet he did by no means deſign to exclude his *Italian Capuchins* thereby. Theſe words he ſpoke not only once, but repeated as often as any opportunity offered in diſcourſe.

I muſt not forget the civilities ſhewed me here by ſignior *Nicolo Bonacurſi*, a gentleman of *Florence*, who took me from our convent at *Liſbon* to tranſport me to *Leghorn*, proffering me withal a neceſſary ſubſiſtence for the whole voyage. Herein nevertheleſs the captain of the ſhip oppoſed him, telling me that I ſhould eat at his table; but ſignior *Nicolo* notwithſtanding would not be refuſed the ſending a ſervant along with me to wait on me, which I muſt own the fellow did with a great deal of obſequiouſneſs and diligence. Signior *Nicolo* would alſo have hired a felucca to carry me to *Naples*; which I refuſing, he recommended me to the marqueſs *Pucci* at *Leghorn*, to the end that he might ſee me provided with neceſſaries for my further voyage to *Genoa*, whither I was bound. We not long after ſet ſail, and arrived at *Leghorn* in a ſhort time, whence in a few days I went on board again a ſhip called *The Holy Roſe*, and with a proſperous gale ſoon got to *Genoa*. As we were going to enter the port about midnight, the wind all of a ſudden chopt about full in our teeth, forcing us back to ſea again. About break of day, while we were making for the mouth of the bay to get in, a *French* man of war was juſt coming out, who perceiving us ſailed, made up to us, keeping to windward: her captain as he came nearer hauled us to ſend our boat on board, but ours taking little or no notice of him ſailed on: whereupon the *French*-man came up to the windward of us again, giving us to underſtand, that being we were a man of war like himſelf, he was obliged by an expreſs order from his king either to force us aboard, or to ſink us. At the hearing of this all our ſhip's company were extremely concerned, and that eſpecially becauſe the day before at the diſcovery of *Genoa* we had diſcharged all our cannon except thirteen, which we reſerved to ſalute the holy croſs in the ſaid city. Our muſkets likewiſe were all laid up in the gun-room, and our ſeamen had put on their beſt clothes to go aſhore: nevertheleſs laying aſide all fear or delay, two of our officers got ready what arms they had, and ranged both paſſengers and ſeamen, except only thoſe that were quartered at the aforeſaid great guns on the decks, in expectation of the enemy's being as good as his word, ſince we had abſolutely refuſed to comply with his commands. What a buz and rumour was to be heard every where then amongſt the armed ſoldiers and ſeamen! For my part I almoſt thought I was in hell, and which put me in mind of that verſe of *Virgil*'s in his ſixth *Æneid*.

——*Stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ.*

At length, to prevent what inconveniences might have enſued ſo raſh an engagement, the *French* captain ſent his brother on board us to ſee who we were, who coming near us, and perceiving what preparations we had made for a fight, and moreover hearing from us that we were *Genoeſes*, cried out, *To what purpoſe are all theſe warlike preparations, ſince there is peace between us and* Genoa? We anſwered him, that at ſea we ought always to be on our guard againſt accidents we might meet with, and for ought we knew his ſhip might be no *French* man of war, becauſe it was a common thing to put out falſe colours. He then demanded what number of men we had on board, having perceived a great many on the deck: we told him we were four hundred, and in truth we were ſo many. At laſt he acquainted us, that he had orders from his maſter to demand all *French*-men he could meet with except merchants on board any veſſel whatever, and deſired to know if we had any ſuch among us; ſearch was made, and all that were found delivered immediately, except a drummer who hid himſelf ſo that much time was ſpent before he could be found, but at laſt he went with the reſt. This done, the *French*-man departed peaceably, and left us to purſue

ſue our entrance into the port, which we immediately did, and being ſafely got in, caſt anchor before the city.

It might have proved a more than ordinary damage to us had we engaged this *French* veſſel, by reaſon that over and above a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds which we had on board, we had likewiſe above a million and a half of money belonging to merchants, as alſo a great deal of uncoined and unwrought ſilver. Our ſhip carried beſides all the money that had been collected that year in *Spain* by the commiſſary of the croiſade, as likewiſe ſeveral other ſums given in charity towards the canonizing of two ſaints at *Rome*.

As I obſerved ſome things in my way through the city of *Liſbon* when I went to *Congo*, ſo I cannot help taking notice here of another particular which I heard there as I came back: it was about a law made by the king of *Portugal* concerning exceſs in apparel. It ſeems the *French* merchants had before been accuſtomed every year to introduce new faſhions in clothes after their own fancies, and dreſſing babies in them, to expoſe them to the view of the people, who preſently bought up thoſe garments, and ſo had a new faſhion every year, whereby the ſellers were enriched, and the buyers impoveriſhed; ſo that moſt of the coin of *Portugal* fell into the hands of the *French*, to prevent the exportation whereof the king raiſed the value of it. But this he was nevertheleſs diſappointed in, for the *French* merchants obſerving what had been done, raiſed the value of their goods proportionably, and the people were ſo far infatuated, that they were reſolved to have them whatever they coſt them. The king ſeeing this, publiſhed another proclamation to prohibit his ſubjects the wearing of any ſilk, gold or ſilver, and withal commanded them to confine themſelves to bays, or ſuch ſtuffs as were the manufacture of the country, prohibiting alſo foreign hats and ſtockings. And the more to encline his ſubjects to the obſerving of this law, he himſelf firſt ſet them an example. As for what ſilk, gold, or ſilver the church required, he ordered certain commiſſioners to procure what was neceſſary for that purpoſe from *Venice*, and elſewhere, but which was to be ſealed to prevent any greater quantities being imported. By theſe means ſuperfluous expences have been wholly baniſhed this kingdom and its conqueſts; and if other nations would take example by them, luxury would not be ſo rampant, nor vice ſo triumphant. More might be ſaid upon this ſubject, but I fear I have ſufficiently tired my reader already, and therefore ſhall here conclude the relation of my voyage into ſouthern *Africa*.

MEROLLA

An Appendix to the Voyage to *CONGO*, &c.

A Letter from the King of Congo *to the Author, upon his arrival at the Port of* Angoij. *Written in* Portugueſe, *and thus in* Engliſh.

The Superſcription.

To the very Reverend Father, Father *Jerom da Sorento*, a *Capuchin* and Apoſtolick Miſſioner, whom God preſerve.

Moſt reverend father,

I *Received your reverence's kind letter, with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction for the favour your reverence has done me. Having underſtood your ſafe arrival at* Capinda, *I was very glad of it, and do beſeech* God *always to preſerve you in the like ſtate of health for the future, to the end that we the unworthy ſervants of* God *may reap the benefit of it. For my part I ſhall ever be ready to obey all your reverence's commands as your ſpiritual ſon, as will likewiſe your ſpiritual daughter* Donna Potentiana *my mother. We both earneſtly deſire to our power to ſhew our readineſs to ſerve you. Moſt reverend father, I have comprehended all your reverence writ to me, extremely well; but, O my father, I know not how I ſhall be able to be ſufficiently thankful to* God *for his mercy, in promiſing me the ſight of your loving countenance! Come then ſpeedily and perſonally to the aſſiſtance and relief of thoſe poor ſouls that deſire to receive benediction from your ſacred hands. It is moſt true what I tell you, for our ſouls are all on a fire to ſee your reverence as they ought; and therefore, moſt holy father, haſten your reverence's journey, purſuant to your promiſe by your meſſenger, that we may receive you with joy*

and

MEROLLA *and feſtivals. I conjure you, proſtrate at your holy feet, as an apoſtolick miſſioner and ſon of the bleſſed St.* Francis, *to hearken to my words. I beſeech you let me hear from your reverence from* Loanda, *for I have ſeveral important matters to communicate to you, which will extremely contribute towards the encreaſe of Chriſtianity. For this purpoſe I ſent my favourite* Garzia Michael *to wait upon and conduct your reverence to my palace. He will bring a ſlave along with him, whom I beg your reverence to accept, tho' but an inconſiderable preſent. I ſhall trouble your reverence with no more;* GOD *preſerve you, and I humbly recommend my ſelf to your holy ſacrifices.*

Lemba, *Feb.* 22. 1688. *Your reverence's ſpiritual ſon the prince of* Congo,

Don John Emanuel Gritho,

Who treads on the lion in the kingdom of his mother.

Manner of feaſting of the Blacks.

I believe I ſhall not greatly diſpleaſe my reader, if I add here the cuſtoms of theſe *Ethiopians* in their eating and drinking at feaſts, which they commonly celebrate with great numbers, and at night. A great company being got together, they ſit round in a ring upon the green graſs; which having done, a large thick round wooden platter is placed in the midſt of them, this platter is called by them *malonga:* the eldeſt of them, whom in their language they call *maculuntù*, or *cocolocangi*, is to divide and diſpenſe to every one his portion, which he performs with that exactneſs, that if there happen to be a bit better than ordinary, that is likewiſe divided proportionably among the company. By theſe means there are no complaints or murmurs to be heard amongſt them, but every one is contented with what is allotted him. When they drink, they make uſe of neither cups nor glaſſes, to the end that every man may have what is judged ſufficient for him and no more. The judge of this is the *maculuntù*, who holds the *moringo*, or flaſk, to the perſon's mouth that drinks; and when he thinks he has drank ſufficient, he pulls it away. This is practiſed all along even to the end of the feaſt. That which ſeems ſtrangeſt to me is, that if any perſon whatſoever, man or woman, great or ſmall, though not known to them, happens to paſs by where the gueſts are eating, he or ſhe thruſts into the ring, and has an equal ſhare with the reſt, without the trouble of making any complement, or ſpeaking a word. If this ſtranger happen to come after the portions are allotted, then is the carver to take ſomething from every man's meſs to make up a ſhare for him. If it ſo chance that many uninvited gueſts come, they all have the aforeſaid liberty, and may eat and drink as freely as if they had been invited. When the travellers perceive the platter empty, they riſe up and go their ways without taking their leave, or returning thanks to the company. And tho' theſe ſtrangers have never ſo great plenty of proviſions along with them of their own, as it very often happens they have, yet do they forſake their own for that of theſe people. Another thing I much wondered at is, that they never aſk theſe intruders any queſtions, as whence they come, whither they go, or the like, but all matters paſs with ſo great ſilence, that one would think that they therein imitated the antient law among the *Locri* a people of *Achaia*, reported by *Plutarch*, which imported that if any one demanded of another what was done, what was ſaid, or the like, the perſon that aſk'd thoſe queſtions was to pay a fine. *Locrenſium lex quæ ſiquis peregre recurſus rogabat; Nunquid novi, eum mulctâ afficiebat.* Plut. *de curioſit. laudandâ.*

It has happened to me, that being about to entertain ſome perſons that had been ſerviceable to me, at dinner-time I obſerved the number of my gueſts greatly encreaſed; whereupon aſking who thoſe new-comers were? They anſwered, they did not know: Which cauſed me to reply, *Then do ye allow of thoſe to eat with ye, who have had no ſhare in your labour?* To which all the anſwer I could get from them was, that it was the cuſtom ſo to do. This charity of theirs ſeemed to me ſo commendable, that I ordered their commons to be doubled, being not a little pleaſed to find ſo great love and amity even amongſt pagans. If the like good cuſtom were practiſed among us, we ſhould not have ſo many poor indigent wretches die in the ſtreets, and other places, merely for want, as there almoſt daily do in all countries.

Hard uſage of the women.

If this cuſtom of theirs be ſo well worthy of commendation, another they have no leſs deſerves blame, that relates to their behaviour towards their wives, who being enjoined to work in the fields till noon, whilſt their huſbands enjoy themſelves at home, are obliged at their return to get all things ready for dinner; and if they happen to want any thing, they muſt either buy it out of their own money, or barter cloaths for it according to the cuſtom; I ſay out of their own money, or otherwiſe at their expence, by reaſon that the wives here are obliged to find their huſbands with meat, and they are to provide

vide wine and clothes for them. Dinner being got ready, it is firſt ſet before the huſband as maſter of the family, who ſits alone to table, while the wife and children wait diligently about him to ſerve him in what he wants. When he has eat as much as he can, the remainder comes to the wife and children, who may ſit down if they pleaſe; yet they generally ſtand, looking upon it to be their duty ſo to do. But if after all the huſband has a mind to eat the whole dinner, he may do it, and no body can call him to account. I having aſked ſeveral of theſe people, Why they did not admit their wives to ſit with them at table? They anſwered me, That women had a portion given them to that purpoſe, and that they were born to ſerve and obey the men: Which perhaps they would not have ſaid, if they had known what the poet *Claudian* affirmed, That women were born to keep up the race of mankind, and not to be ſlaves to men.

Naſcitur ad fructum mulier prolemq; futuram.
Claud. *in Eutrop. l.* I. *v.* 330.

A monſtrous ſerpent.

Theſe are good things for travellers, to eat free-coſt at other peoples tables; but ſometimes it happens that many are eaten and devoured themſelves by a ſort of ſerpent as big as a beam, which they meet in the road in their way to *Singa*, which by looking on them only kills and conſumes them. A perſon that was aſſaulted by one of theſe prodigious ſerpents, happened by a luſty ſtroke of a ſcymitar, to cut him in two. The monſter having been thus cruelly uſed, and yet not killed, being you may imagine not a little enraged, lay upon the catch among the thick buſhes, to revenge it ſelf on its enemies; and ſoon after two travellers happening to come by, it immediately crawled out, wounded as it was, and ſeized upon them, devouring them almoſt whole. The neighbours thereabouts hearing what had happened to thoſe two men, reſolved to ſally out in a numerous body upon this maim'd monſter; which they not long afterwards did, but could never meet with it. At laſt a *Portugueſe* captain taking a conſiderable number of men along with him, armed with muſkets, ſet forth in ſearch of the ſerpent; but not diſcovering it, preſently he let all the company march on before, and ſtaid himſelf behind a little. The ſerpent perceiving him alone, confiding in his remaining force, crept out of his hole to leap upon him; the affrighted *Portugueſe* cried out at the ſight of it, and moſt of the people that were gone before, returning in great haſte, ſent ſo many bullets into the monſter's body, that they ſoon diſpatched it, after it had been the death of ſo many unfortunate paſſengers. MEROLLA

From the death of this monſter, I proceed to ſpeak of the ſufferings of two of our miſſioners, cauſed to be dragged by the count of *Sogno*, and then expelled his dominions. Theſe two fathers were, father *Andrew da Buti*, and father *Peter da Seſtola*. The then count's name was *don Pedro de Caſtro*, who ſending for them into his preſence, and they obeying his commands, he thus ſpoke to them; *How comes it to paſs, fathers, that amongſt the pagans there is rain enough and to ſpare, and we Chriſtians have not had the leaſt drop? What can the cauſe of this be, and whence does it proceed?* The people affirmed that the want of rain proceeded from ſome relicks father *Andrew* had by him, and that they could expect none as long as he kept them. The count upon this immediately commanded him to throw them away, and that if during all the next day there were not ſome rain fell, both he and his companion muſt look to themſelves, and expect to be very ill us'd. At that time the ſky was extremely clear, and ſo continued till about midnight; when all of a ſudden the heavens began to be overcaſt, and the clouds poured down ſo plentiful a ſhower, as was ſufficient alone to prepare the earth for ſeed. Notwithſtanding this which had happened through the ſole prayers of the two miſſioners, the count not caring to have them any longer within his dominions, ordered them to undergo the oath of *Chilumbo*, to prove that they were innocent; but they thinking ſuch a trial the moſt diabolical that could poſſibly be imagined, abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to it; whereupon they were immediately ſeized, and moſt inhumanly miſuſed, dragged about, and all they had taken from them. He that was handled worſt was father *Buti*, who died not long after of his hurt in the kingdom of *Binquella* the place of his miſſion. This relation is to be found confirmed by father *Cornelius van Wouters* a *Dutch Franciſcan* friar, who affirms it as an eye-witneſs,

The explanation of ſome few Congheſe *words inſerted in this work, and made* Engliſh *for the eaſe of the reader.*

MEROLLA

A.

Acala, A man.
Affuà, a dead corps.
Agariaria, a ſort of wood and fruit that ſerves to relieve a pain in the ſides.
Alacardo, a ſmaller ſort of crocodile.
Alcatrici, birds each as large as two hens.
Aliconde, a ſort of exceeding large hollow tree.
Almeſega, a tree which diſtils a liquor like unto frankincenſe.

B.

Badas a kind of unicorn.
Baia, the city of *San Salvador*, or St. *Saviour* in *Braſil*.
Bicoma, a ſort of nutmeg-tree.
Birame, cotton-cloth that goes current for money.
Bolungo, a ſort of oath, or way of trial among the wizards.
Boma, a very large kind of ſerpent.
Bonghi, or *Libonghi*, a ſort of money.
Bordoni, plants ſomewhat like vines.

C.

Caboccos, children born of a *White* and a *Braſilian*.
Cacchio, a bunch of fruit as large as a man can carry.
Cacazumbu, a wizard.
Candoua, a boat.
Capaſſa, a wild cow.
Cappaiva, a tree which yields oil.
Cariabemba, the devil.
Caſciù, a fruit like an apple.
Cazacaza, kidney-beans.
Chegilla, precepts to be obſerved, impoſed on children by parents.
Chicheras, a ſort of tree with leaves of a drying nature.
Chigongo, a ſort of phyſical purging wood.
Chilumbo, another oath or manner of trial among the wizards.
Chinſu, a pot or pipkin.
Chiſecco, wood of a cooling nature.
Cocco, the palm-fruit.
Cocalocangi, the oldeſt of the company that carves at meals.
Colas, a red fruit which is to be eaten before one drinks.
Copras, a ſort of venomous ſerpents.
Coricas, hen-parrots.

D.

Dongo, all ſorts of fleſh or fiſh.
Donno, a ſort of fruit that ſmells like cinnamon.

E.

Evanga, a prieſt.
Eguandà, the mother.
Emba, a ſort of palm-tree that yields oil.
Embambi, a ſerpent which kills with its tail.
Embetta, a ſort of palm-wine exceeding refreſhing.
Embuchi, a kind of muſical inſtruments.
Engulamaſi, a ſiren or mermaid.
Engulo, a wild-boar.
Euguſſu, a parrot.
Eutaga, cloth girt about the waſte.

F.

Fuba, millet-flower.
Fumù, tobacco.

G.

Ganga, a ſort of ſuperſtitious oath or trial.
Giaghi, a people who practiſe ſorcery more than ordinary.
Gnam, a great root that is eaten.
Guaiavas, a fruit like a pear.
Guria, eating.

I.

Impallanche, beaſts with long wreath'd horns.
Impamguazze, wild-cows.
Incubù, a goat.
Inzangù, a ſpade.

M.

Mabocche, plants like unto orange-trees.
Maccacchos, monkeys or apes.
Maccutas, ſort of ſtraw-cloth which goes current for money.
Maculuntù, the oldeſt in the company that carves to the reſt.
Mafucca, a governor.
Malongà, a wooden platter.
Mamao, a fruit like a melon.
Maneba, a ſort of palm.
Mandiocha, a root whereof flower is made for bread.
Mangas, a tree whoſe boughs hang down to the ground, and take root again therein.
Mani, a lord or governor.
Manimunchù, baptiſm.
Maſa, water,
Maſſamambala, the great millet.
Maſſamambuta, *Indian* wheat.
Mattari, ſtones.
Melaffo, palm-wine.
Migna-Migna, a tree good againſt poiſon.
Miſangas, glaſs-coral.
Modello, a garment.
Molecches, a general name among the *Negroes*.
Mondelli, white.
Moringo, a flaſk.
Muana, a ſon or daughter.
Muccacamas, *Negro* waiting-maids that wait on the *Portugueſe* women.
Mulatto, one born of a *White* man and *Negro* woman.

N.

Ncàſſa, a ſort of tree.
Ncocco, a kind of large beaſt.
Neubanzampuni, wild nut-megs.
Ngramba, a ſort of little drum.
Nicefi, a fruit with a crucifix marked in the middle of it.
Nſambi, a kind of wind-muſick.

O.

Oluchuche, an oath among the wizards.

P.

Pompero, a buyer of ſlaves.
Pompo, a market-place.

Q.

Quilumbo, a market.

S.

Sagoris, little apes or monkeys.
Somacca, a ſmall ſhip or ſmack.
Soua, lord of any place.
Surfu, the hen.

T.

Tamba, funeral ceremonies for dead relations.
Toto, the earth.
Tubarcos, inhabitants of *Braſil*.
Tuberone, a fiſh not unlike the ſhark.
Tubia, the fire.

Z.

Zabiambunco, God.
Zacre, a large ſpacious river.
Zerba, an animal like unto a wild male.
Zimbo, money of ſhells.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

Sir THOMAS ROE,

Embaſſador from his Majeſty King *JAMES* the Firſt of *England*.

TO

ICHAN GUIRE, the Mighty Emperor of *India*.

Commonly call'd the *GREAT MOGUL*.

Containing an Account of his Voyage to that Country, and his Obſervations there.

Taken from his own Original Manuſcript.

THE PREFACE.

ROE. *SIR* Thomas Roe *has before appeared, in part, in* Purchas *his collection of travels, and ſince tranſlated into* French, *and publiſhed in the firſt volume of* Thevenot. *Now he comes abroad again with conſiderable additions, not foiſted in, but taken from his own original manuſcript, which it is likely* Purchas *had not, but ſome imperfect copy of it. It is true, the additions here are not great in bulk, as any will judge that ſhall compare this with the other edition, but they are valuable for the ſubject; and becauſe this being a journal they are here more continued, and ſeveral matters that in the other were brought in abruptly, are here more methodical. His ſailing table is inſerted to ſatisfy their curioſity who have not ſeen the like, to ſhew the method of ſetting down thoſe obſervations at ſea, that theſe volumes might not want any thing of information. His account at the latter end, of all the provinces ſubject to the* Mogul, *and of the extent of his dominions, is not to be rejected; for, tho' time and experience have produced more ample and exact relations, yet his are juſt as to the main, ſuch as he received upon the ſpot, and pleaſing to thoſe that read of this mighty monarchy. Some extracts of letters are added out of a vaſt multitude, ſtill preſerved in two volumes; and in theſe extracts all that is remarkable, or of uſe at this time, the reſt being only buſineſs of trade, as directed to the ſeveral factories in thoſe parts, and to the* East-India *company in* England. *But that nothing might be omitted to ſatisfy the moſt curious, there is one liſt made out of many of his, containing all things that are fit for preſents in* India, *and conſequently they are good ſaleable commodities. In fine, here is all that is valuable of Sir* Thomas Roe, *and nothing that may cloy the reader.*

The 6th of *March* $16\frac{4}{5}$. at seven in the morning, the *Lizard* bearing N. W. by N. 5 leagues off, I began this course.

March.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. N.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
Noo.	6	5	S. W. ½ W.		6½	50° 10′	00° 1′	S. E.			*Lizard.*
		8	S. W.		16½			E. S. E.			
	•	10	S. W. *by* S.		17			E.			
Noo.	7	6	S. W.		10½			E. N. E.			
		8	S. W. ½ W.		17½			N.			
		10	S. W.		18	46 15		N. N. W.			
Noo.	8	6	S. W. *by* S.		5½			N. W.			
		8	S. W.		5½			E. N. E.			
		12	S. W. *by* S.		13½			E. S. E.			
		2	S. W. ½ S.		2½			S. S. E.			
Noo.	9	2	0000		000			0000			
		6	S. W. *by* S.		5			S. E.			
		2	S. W.		1½			S. E. *by* S.			
		10	0000		000			0000			
		4	S. W. *by* S.		4½			N. W. *by* W.			
Noo.	10	2	S. E. *by* S.		1	44 50		S. W.			
		1½	S. E. *by* S.		1½			S. W.			
		4	W. *by* S.		5½			S.			
		12	N. W.		9½			S. W. *by* W.			
Noo.	11	6½	S. S. W. ½ W.		6½			S. S. E.			
		8	S. W. *by* S.		7½			S. E.			
		4	S. E.		2½			S. W. *by* S.			
Noo.	12	12	W. ½ N.		13			S. *by* W.			
		12	W. N. W.		12½						
		1	S. E.		1			S. S. W.			
Noo.	13	11	W. *by* N.		11						
		6	W. N. W.		6½			S. W. *by* S.			
		1	S. E. *by* S.		1½			S. W. *by* W.			
		4	S. E.		5			S. W.			
Noo.	14	13	S. E. *by* E.		4½			*A Trye.*			
		1½	S. E. *by* S.		½			*A Trye.*			
		6½	S. E.		4½			S. W. *by* S.			*Finister.*
		9	S. S. E.		6½			S. W. *by* W.			
Noo.	15	7	S. *by* E.		10½			W. *by* S.			
		6	S. *by* E.		7			W. *by* S.			
		8	S. S. E.		10			W. S. W.			
		4	S. E. *by* E. ½ E.		5			S. W. *by* W.			
Noo.	16	6	N. W. *by* W. ½ W.		5			S. W.			
		8	N. W.		7			S. W.			
		14	N. W. *by* W.		10			S. W. *by* S.			
Noo.	17	2	N. *by* E.		⅔						
		6	W. *by* N. ½ N.		+			S. S. W.			
Noo.	18	18	N. W. *by* N.		4½			*A Trye.*			
		3½	N. W.		1			*A Trye.*			
		1	N. *by* E.		½			W. S. W.			
		14	S. S. E. ½ E.		17½			W.			
Noo.	19	5½	S. *by* E.		10½	43 8	350 50				
		2	S. *by* E.		3						
Noo.	20	22	S.		41½			W.			
		4	S. *by* E.		8			W.			
Noo.	21	20	S. ½ E.		44½			W. N. W.			
Noo.	22	24	S.		47	35 58		N. N. W.			
		23	S.		36			N.			
Noo.	23	1	0000		000			By the Lee.			
Noo.	24	24	S.		28	32° 45′		N. *by* W.			
Noo.	25	24	S.		47	30 22		N. N. W.			

March.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. N.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
Morning.	26	24	The Main.		36	27 50	354 50			11 fat. 16 fat	
Noo.	27		S. W. *by* S.			26	353 50				*Bojador.*
		18	S. W. ½ S.		30½			N. N. W.	S. S. W.		
Noo.	28	6	0000		000	24 49		0000	8 Leag.		
		4	0000		000			0000	S. S. W.		
		10	S. W. *by* S. ¼ W.		11			E. N. E.			
Noo.	29	10	S. W. ¼ W.	E. 3 d.	10	24 2		E. *by* S.	6 Leag.		
		4	0000		000			0000	S. S. W.		
		8	S. W. *by* S. ¼ W.		11½			N. E.			
Noo.	30	12	S. W. ¼ W.		20	22 15		E. *by* N.	5 Leag.		
Noo.	31	24	S. W. *by* S. ⅓ W.	E. 4 d.	34	21 34	349 40	N.	S. W. *by* S.		*Blanco*
								N. E. *by* E.	4 Leag.		28 E.
April.		8	S. W. ⅓ W.		16½			N. N. E.	S. W. *by* S.		
		13	S. W. *by* S. ⅓ W.		26						
Noo.	1	3	S. S. W. ⅓ W.	E. 4 d.	6	19 48			4 Leag.		
		1½	S. S. W. ⅓ W.		3			N. E.	S. W. *by* S.		
		22	S. ⅓ W.		60						
Noo.	2	½	0000	E. 3 40	0000	16 35	347 30	By the Lee.	4 Leag.		
		2	S. ⅓ W.		4				S. S. W.		*Verde*
		16	S. *by* E. ⅓ S.		34			N. E.			
Noo.	3	6	S. S. E. ⅓ S.	E. 340	13	14 7			3 Leag.		50 leag. E.
Noo.	4	24	S. S. E. ⅓ S.		40			N. E.	S. S. W. 3 Leag.		
Noo.	5	24	S. S. E. ⅓ S.		25			N. E.	S. 3 Leag.		
Noo.	6	24	S. S. E. ⅓ S.		30			N. *by* E.	S. 2 Leag.		
		18	S. E. *by* S. ⅓ S.		20						
Noo.	7	6	S. S. E. ⅓ S.		5½	8 10	350 20	N.	S. *by* E. 2 Leag.		
		18	S. E. *by* S. ⅓ S.		24						
Noo.	8	6	S. S. E. ⅓ S.	E. 350	8			N. *by* W.	S. *by* E. 2 Leag.		
		17	S. S. E. ¼ S.		24⅓						
		2	S. ¼ W.		2	6 18		N. N. W.			
Noo.	9	5	S. *by* E. ¼ S.		5						
		6	S. E. *by* S. ¼ S.		6						
Noo.	10	18	S. S. E. ¼ S.		18			W. N. W.			
		18	S. S. E. ¼ S.		24						
		4	S. E. *by* E. ¼ S.		4			N. W.			
		1	S. *by* W. ¼ W.		2						
Noo.	11	1	E. *by* S. ¼ S.		1⅓			W. S. W.			
		18	S. S. E. ¼ S.		18			W. S. W.			
Noo.	12	6	0000	E. 340	0000	1 50		0000			
		4	S. *by* E. ⅓ S.		3			W. S. W.			
		7	S. S. E. ⅓ S.		5						
Noo.	13	13	0000		000			000			
		7	S. ⅓ W.		6			W. *by* S.			
		1	S. *by* W.	E.	1			W. S. W.			
		6	S. S. E. ⅓ S.	4 10	6			S. W. *by* W.			
Noo.	14	10	S. *by* E.		10	0 16		0000			
		5	0000	E.			353 30	0000			
Noo.	15	19	S. S. E. ½ E.	4 10	13½	00 20		S. W. S. S. W.			
		8	0000		000			0000			
Noo.	16	16	S. *by* E. ½ S.		16½			S. W. Variable.			

April.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. So.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
		12	S. E.		5½			Variable.			
		8	W. *by* S.	E.	4						
Noo.	17	4	oooo	4 00	oooo	1 20		oooo			
		6	oooo		ooo			oooo			
		14	S. *by* E. ⅓ S.		8						
Noo.	18	4	S. W.		2½			Variable.			
		7½	S. ⅔ W.		4½						
		12	S. *by* W. ⅔ W.		6½			Variable.			
Noo.	19	4½	S. S. W.		3						
		2	S. *by* W.		2½			Var.			
		5	S. S. W.	E.	6½			S. E. *by* E.			
		15	S. W. *by* W.		14½			the general			
Noo.	20	2	S. S. W.	4 50	1	3 45		winds.			
		5	S. S. W.		7			S. E. *by* E.			
		13	S. W. *by* S.	E.	19						
		5	S. W.	5 50	7			By the Lee.			
Noo.	21	1	oooo		oooo	5 10	352				
		8	S. W. *by* S.		12½						
Noo.	22	16	S. S. W. ½ W.	5 57	26	6 50		S. E. *by* E.			
		3	S. S. W. ½ W.		4½			S. E. *by* E.			
		13	S. *by* W. ½ W.		19½						
Noo.	23	8	S. ½ W.	6 10	12½	8 40	350 30	E.			
		8	S. *by* W. ½ W.		12						
Noo.	24	16	S. ½ W.	6 35	22	10 28		E.			
		5	S. *by* W. ⅔ W.		8						
		17	S. ⅔ W.		30			E. *by* N.			
Noo.	25	2	S. *by* E. ⅔ S.	7 15	4						
		18	S. ⅔ W.		28½						
Noo.	26	6	S. *by* E. ⅔ S.	8 40	9½	14 28	349 4	E. N. E.			
		5	S. *by* E. ⅔ S.	10 8	7½	14 54		E. N. E.			
		11	S. *by* W.		16½						
		6½	S. S. W.		9½			E.			
Noo.	27	1½	S. W. *by* S.	10 30	3½	16 12		E. *by* S.			
Noo.	28	24	S. *by* W.		38	18		E. *by* S.			
		3	S. W. *by* S.		4						
		11½	S. S. W.		18						
Noo.	29	9½	S. *by* W.	13 30	17	19 54	348 15	E.			
		14	S. S. W.	14 40	20			E. *by* S.			
Noo.	30	10	S. *by* W.	15	14	21 30		E.			
May.											
Noo.	1	24	S. S. W. ½ W.	14	35	23		E. *by* S.			
		20	S. S. W. ⅓ W.					E. S. E.			
Noo.	2	4	oooo	14 30	oooo	24		oooo			
		4	oooo					oooo			
Noo.	3	20	S. ½ E.	15 10	28	25 35	346 30	E. *by* N.			
		3	S. S. E. ¼ S.		6⅓			N.			
Noo.	4	21	S. E. *by* S. ¼ S.		39	27 20		N. W.			
		6	S. E. *by* S.		26	28 43		N. W.			
Noo.	5	18	E. S. E.	15 20	14		349 10	S. *by* W.			
		13	E. ¼ S.		18			S.			
		7	E. N. E. ½ E.		8						
Noo.	6	4	W. S. W. ½ W.		3			S. E. *by* S.			
		12	S. W.	15	10			S. E. *by* E.			
Noo.	7	12	S. W. *by* S. ½ W.	14 56	14	29 40		S. S. E.			
		4	S. W.		6			S. *by* E.			
Noo.	8	20	S. *by* E. ⅓ S.		25	31 7		N. E.			

May.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. S.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
		12	S. E. $\frac{1}{3}$ S.		14			N. N. E.			
		8	S. E. *by* E. $\frac{1}{3}$ S	16	9			N.W. *by* W.			
Noo.	9	4	0000		000	31 59		0000			
		6	0000		000			0000			
Noo.	10	18	S. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.		17	32 45		E. *by* N.			
		12	S. E. *by* S.		14						
Noo.	11	12	S. S. E.		15			N. E. *by* E.			
		4	S. *by* W.		4			E.			
		14	S. W. *by* S.		14			S. E. *by* E.			
		2	E. N. E.		3			S. E.			
Noo.	12	4	N. E. *by* E.		5	34 25		E. S. E.			
		$10\frac{1}{2}$	N. E. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.		11			Variable.			
		8	N. *by* W. $\frac{1}{3}$ W.		7						
Noo.	13	$5\frac{1}{2}$	S. E. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.		6			N. N. E.			
		16	S. E. *by* E. $\frac{2}{3}$ S.		18			N. N. E.			
Noo.	14	8	S. E. $\frac{2}{3}$ S.		8			N. E. *by* E.			
		4	S. S. E.		4			S. S. E.			
		7	N. *by* W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		8						
		8	N. *by* E.		9			E.			
Noo.	15	5	N. W. *by* W.		2			*A Trye.*			
		19	N. W.								
Noo.	16	5	S. S. E.	16 40	2			*A Trye.*			
		11	E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.								
		5	E. S. E.								
Noo.	17	8	E.	15 40	9			N. N. W.			
		16	E. N. E.		17						
Noo.	18	8	E. *by* N.		8	74 50	355 20	N. N. W.			
Noo.	19	24	E. N. E.		35			N. W. *by* N.			
		15	E. *by* N. $\frac{1}{3}$ E.		28						
Noo.	20	9	E.		17	34 7		N. N. W.			
		4	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		6			N. N. W.			
		4	E. *by* N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		4			0000			
		3	0000		000			N. N. W.			
Noo.	21	13	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		14	33 48					
		18	E. $\frac{1}{3}$ N.		22						
Noo.	22	6	E. $\frac{2}{3}$ S.	12 30	10	33 50	1 30	N.			
		8	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.		18			N.			
Noo.	23	16	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		30			N. N. W.			
		12	E.		$22\frac{1}{2}$			N. N. W. / W. N. W.			
Noo.	24	12	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	8 40	$22\frac{1}{2}$	33 35	6 30	W. S. W.			
		14	E. $\frac{1}{3}$ N.					W. S. W.			
Noo.	25	10	E. $\frac{2}{3}$ S.	7 30	15			S. W.			
		19	E.		11			S.			
Noo.	26	5	0000	6 40	000			0000			
		12	0000		000			0000			
Noo.	27	12	E.	6 30	12	33 73	13 50	N. *by* W.			
Noo.	28	24	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.		63			N. N. W.			
		23	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	4	33			N. N. W. / S. W.			
Noo.	29	1	0000	3 40	000			By the Lee.			
Noo.	30	24	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.		30	33° 40	20 53	W.			
		12	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	1 30	18			S. W.			
Noo-	31	12	E. N. E.	1 20	18	33 10		S. E. *by* S.			

June.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. S.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
		6	N. E. *by* E.	1 20	6						
Noo.	1	18	S. S. E.		16	33 43		S. S. E.			
		16	S. S. W. $\frac{1}{3}$ W.		$17\frac{1}{3}$			S. E. *by* E.			
Noo.	2	8	N. E. *by* N. $\frac{1}{3}$ N.	1 15	$8\frac{2}{3}$			E. S. E.			
		16	N. N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		16			E. S. E.			
		4	S.		3						
Noo.	3	4	S. E. *by* S.		3	33 34		E. N. E.			
								N.		35	
Noo.	4	24	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.		31	33 35	26 20	N.W.		60	
	5										*Saldanha.*
	6										
	7										
	8										
	9										
	10										
	11										
	12			*Var. W.*		33 45	28 10				
	13										
	14										
	15										
	16										
	17										
	18										
	19										
	20										
	21										
		12	S. E. *by* S.		26			N. N. W.			
Noo.	22	12	E. *by* S.		22	36	29 4	N. W.	S.W. *by* S.		*de Agulhas.*
		18	E.		26						
Noo.	23	6	N. E. *by* E.		10	35 4		N. W.	S.W. *by* W		
		10	E. N. E.		$15\frac{1}{2}$			W. N. W.			
Noo.	24	14	E.		24	35 20		S. *by* E.	S.W. *by* W		
								S.			
		12	E. *by* N.		16			S. E. *by* S.	S.W. *by* W	65	*Formosa.*
Noo.	25	12	N. E. *by* E.		16	34 36	34 40	S. E.			
		4	N. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		4			E. S. E.			
		4	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.		2			E. *by* S.			
		4	0000		000	34 25		0000	S.W. *by* W		
Noo.	26	12	E.		14			W. *by* N.			
								W. *by* N.			
Noo.	27	24	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	8	28	34 73		S. *by* W.			
		14	E.		28						
Noo.	28	10	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.		21			S. *by* W.			
Noo.	29	24	E. N. E.	9	44	33 46	41 30	S. *by* W.			*Arracife.*
Noo.	30	24	E. N. E.		33	38 8		S. W.	N.		

July.											
		12	N. E. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		22						
Noo.	1	12	N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	11 30	23	31° 30′		S. W.	N.		
Noo.	2	24	N. E. *by* N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	13 40	28	30 10		S. W.	N.		
Noo.	3	24	N. E. *by* N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	14 21	$25\frac{1}{2}$	28 50		N. W. *by* N.	N.		
Noo.	4	24	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		35	27 10		N. W. *by* W.	N.		
Noo.	5	24	N. *by* E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	16	24	26	48 30	N. W. *by* W. S. S. W.	N.		
Noo.	6	24	N. *by* E.	16 5	28	24 49		S. S. W. S. E. *by* E.			

July.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. S.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
Noo.	7	24	N. E. *by* N.	15 25	25	25 39	49 10	S. E.			*S. Auguſt.*
Noo.	8	24	N. E.	16 45	28½	22 36		S. E. *by* S.			
Noo.	9	24	N. E. *by* E. ½ N.	16 57	15	22 15		S. *by* E.			
		12	E.		9						
Noo.	10	12	0000		000			W. S. W.			
		12	N.		8			Variable.			
Noo.	11	12	0000		000	21 45	50 20	0000			
		16	N. W.		10			N. E.			
Noo.	12	8	N. *by* W.	16 5	6	21 10		E. N. E.			
Noo.	13	24	N. ½ W.	15 34	34½	19 24	49 30	S. S. E.			
Noo.	14	24	N. *by* W. ⅔ W.		20	18		S. S. E.			
		2	0000		000			0000			
Noo.	15	22	N. *by* W.	14 34	11	17 30		E.			
		2	N.		1			E.	S. S. W.		
Noo.	16	22	0000		000			0000			
		20	0000		000			0000			
Noo.	17	4	N.		2	18		E. S. E.	S. S. W.		
		6	0000		000						
Noo.	18	18	N. E. *by* N.		8	17 30		S. S. W.	S. S. W.		
		6	N. N. E. ⅓ N.		3						
Noo.	19	18	N. E. ⅓ N.	14 46	22	17 10		S.	S. S. W.		
Noo.	20	24	N. E. ½ N.		49	15 7		S. W. *by* S.			
Noo.	21	24	N. N. E. ½ N.		48	12 57	51 10	S.			
	22										
	23										
	24										
	25										
	26										
	27										
	28										
	29										
	30										
	31										

Auguſt.											
	1										
	2										
Noo.	3	24	N. E. *by* N.		22	11 16	51 55	S. W.	E.		
		18	N. E. *by* N. ½ N.					S. W.	W. N. W.		
Noo.	4	6	0000	15 16	18	10 50		0000			
Noo.	5	24	N. W.		4½	10 49		S. S. W.	E. S. E.		
Noo.	6	24	N. *by* W.		12	10 10	50 50	S. W. *by* S.	W. S. W.		
Noo.	7	24	N. N. E.	14	23	9 4		S. W.	W. S. W.		
								S. E.			
Noo.	8	24	N. N. E.	14 18	25	7 57		S. S. W.			
Noo.	9	24	N. N. E. ¼ E.	14 30	42	5 42	52 40	S.			
Noo.	10	24	N. N. E.		58	3 4		S.	N. *by* E.		
Noo.	11	24	N. N. E. ½ E.		41	1 20	53 40	S.			
						Lat. N.					
Noo.	12	24	N. E. *by* N. ¾ N.	15 24	36	00 30		S. S. W.			
Noo.	13	24	N. E. *by* N. ½ N.		43	2 28	55 35	S. W. *by* S.			
		19	N. E. *by* N. ½ N.		36						
Noo.	14	5	N. E. *by* E.	16 5	7½	4 10	57	W. S. W.		18 fat.	*de Buſſos.*

August.	*Day.*	*Hour*	*Course.*	*Var. E*	*Leag.*	*Lat. S.*	*Longit.*	*Winds.*	*Curr.*	*Sound.*	*Capes.*
Noo.	15	24	N. E. ¼ N.		55	6 17		S. W. *by* S.			
Noo.	16	24	N. E. *by* N. ¾ N.		59			S. W. *by* S			
		6	N. ½ W.		16						
		2	E.		2						
		8	N. E.		18						
Noo.	17	8	N. W.	17	19	11 55	61	W. S. W.	N. E.		*Guardafu.*
	18										
		1½	E.		1½						
		3½	E. *by* S.		10½						
Noo.	19	2	E. S. E.	17 15	3	12 20	61 50	S. W.	S. E.	40 fat.	*Abdalacor.*
										40	
Noo.	20	6	E. N. E.	17 50	13	12 50	63 15	S. S. W.		6 fath.	*Socotora.*
	21										
	22										
	23										
	24										
	25										
	26										
	27										
	28										
	29										
	30										
	31										

Septem.											
Noo.	1	12	N. E. *by* E.	19	27⅓	13 45	64 25	W. S. W.	E.		
Noo.	2	24	E. N. E. ¼ N.		49⅓			W. S. W.			
Noo.	3	24	E. N. E. ¼ N.		42	15 55	68 28	W. *by* S.			
Noo.	4	24	E. N. E. ¼ N.	18 30	27	16 45	69 40	W. *by* S.			
Noo.	5	24	N. E. *by* E.		21	17 27		W. *by* S.			
Noo.	6	24	N. E. *by* E.	17 10	22	18 8	71 30	W. *by* S.			
Noo.	7	24	N. E. *by* E.		19	18 38		W. *by* S.			
		16	N. E. *by* E.		12	19	72 55	W. *by* S.			
Noo.	8	8	0000	17	000			0000			
		11	0000		000			0000			
		8	N. E. ½ N.		5½			Variable.			
Noo.	9	5	E.		3			N. E.			
		16	0000		000			000			
Noo.	10	8	N. E. *by* E.		6	19 35		W. *by* S.			
Noo.	11	24	E. N. E. ⅔ N.	16 30	30	20 21	75	W. N. W.			
Noo.	12	24	E. ½ N.		32	20 30	76 50	W.			
Noo.	13	24	E. ½ S.	16 20	34	20 26	77 4	N.			
		10	E. ½ N.		16			W. N. W.			
		4	0000		000					36	
		4	N. E. *by* N.		3					27	*Diu.*
Noo.	14	6	E.		2			*A Trye.*		20	
		18	E. ½ S.	16 17	18	20 25		W. N. W.		17	
Noo.	15	6	0000		000			N. E.		17	
		18	0000		000	20 24				83	
Noo.	16	6	W. S. W.		3			W. S. W.			
Noo.	17		0000		000			W. S. W.		20	*Daman.*

Sir THOMAS ROE'S

JOURNAL,

Giving an Account of his Voyage to India, *and his Obſervations in that Country, and particularly at the Court of the Great* Mogul, *where he reſided as Ambaſſador from* James *the Firſt King of* England.

ROE. MARCH the 6th we loſt ſight of the *Lizard*, and began our courſe for the cape of *Good Hope*. The 26th we ſaw the coaſt of *Barbary*; the 27th had cape *Bojador* E. by S. whence the current ſets ſwift S. S. W. *April* the 14th we cut the line, *May* the 2d the tropick of *Capricorn*, and on the 5th of *June* came to an anchor in the bay of *Saldanha*, next the cape of *Good Hope*. The land is fruitful, but divided by high inacceſſible rocky mountains covered with ſnow, the river *Dulce* falling into the bay on the eaſt-ſide. The people are the moſt barbarous in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of ſheep about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads, which are curled like the *Blacks*, with the dung of beaſts and dirt; and having no cloaths but ſkins wrapped about their ſhoulders, the fleſh-ſide next the body in ſummer, and the hair in winter. Their houſes are but a mat rounded at the top like an oven, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep it out. They have left off their cuſtom of ſtealing, but know no GOD or religion. The air and water are very wholeſome. Here are abundance of cows, antelopes, baboons, pheaſants, partridges, larks, wild-geeſe, ducks, and many other ſorts. On the iſle of *Penguin* is a ſort of fowl of that name that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging down like ſleeves faced with white. They do not fly, but only walk in parcels, keeping regularly their own quarters; they are a ſort of mixture of beaſt, bird and fiſh, but moſt bird. The commodities here are cattle, nangin-roots, and I believe there is a rock yielding quick-ſilver. The table-mountain is eleven thouſand eight hundred and fifty three foot high. The bay is full of whales and ſeals: the latitude is 33 deg. 45 min. The 21ſt we came up with the cape of *Good Hope*; *July* the 8th with the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and the 22d with that of *Molalia*: this is one of the iſlands of *Comera*, the other three are *Angareſia*, *Juanny* and *Mayotta*, lying almoſt eaſt and weſt of one another, in the ſame meridian with cape S. *Auguſtin*. *Angareſia* bears N. by W. from *Molalia*, it is the higheſt land I ever ſaw, inhabited by *Moors* trading with the main, and the other three eaſtern iſlands, with their cattle and fruits for callico's, and other clothes to cover them. It is govern'd by ten petty kings, and has plenty enough of kine, goats, cows, oranges and lemons. The people are counted falſe and treacherous. *Juanny* lies eaſt from *Molalia* and *Mayotta*, the coaſt between them both. All theſe three iſlands are full of refreſhments, but chiefly *Molalia*, and next to it *Juanny*. Here lived an old woman who was ſultaneſs of all theſe iſlands. Under her there were three deputies in *Molalia*, children of the old woman. The *ſultan* in whoſe quarter we anchored is ſo abſolute, that the people dare not ſell a coco-nut without his leave. Four boats were ſent to this town to deſire his liberty, which was granted; and capt. *Newport* going aſhore with forty men, found the governor ſitting on a mat, under

Bay of Saldanha.

Penguin *iſland.*

Comera *iſlands.*

Apparel of an iſland governor.

under the ſide of a junk that was building, attended by about fifty men. He had on a mantle of blue and red callicoe wrapped about him to his knees, his legs and feet bare, on his head a cloſe cap of chequer-work. Being preſented with a gun and a ſword, he returned four cows, and proclaimed liberty for the people to trade. He gave the *Engliſh* coco-nuts, and himſelf chew'd betel temper'd with lime of burnt oyſter-ſhells, and the kernel of a nut call'd *Areca*, like an acorn: It has a biting taſte, voids rheum, cools the head, ſtrengthens the teeth, and is all their phyſick. Thoſe that are not uſed to it are giddy with it, and the ſpittle is red, which in time colours the teeth, and is counted a beauty. They all uſe this at all times.

Entertainment of the Engliſh.

From the governor's they were conducted to a carpenter's houſe, who was a chief man in the town; the houſe was built with lime and ſtone, plaiſter'd with white-lime, low and little, cover'd with rafters, and over them coco-leaves, the out-ſides wattl'd with canes. They are kept cleanly, and their poor houſhold-ſtuff neat, their gardens incloſed with canes, containing tobacco and plantan trees. For dinner a board was ſet upon treſſels, cover'd with a fine new mat, and ſtone benches about it, on which they ſat. Firſt water was brought to every man in a coco ſhell, and pour'd into a wooden platter, and inſtead of a towel they uſe the rinds of cocos. Then they ſet before them boil'd rice, with roaſted plantans on it, quarters of hens, and pieces of goat broil'd. After grace ſaid they fell to their meat, with bread made of coco's beaten mix'd with honey, and fry'd. Their drink was palmiſo wine and coco milk.

The ſultan.

Thoſe that went to ſee the ſultan, whoſe name was *Amor Adell*, found all things much reſembling what has been ſaid before of the governor; but that in his behaviour he was more light, and made haſte to be drunk with ſome wine the *Engliſh* carried. The people are ſtrict *Mahometans*, very jealous to let their women and moſchs be ſeen: For ſome of the *Engliſh* coming near a village, they ſhut them up, and threatened to kill them, if they came nearer. Many of them ſpeak and write *Arabick*, and ſome few of them *Portugueſe*, as trading to *Moriambique* in junks of forty tun burden, and built, calk'd and rig'd all out of the coco tree. Here we bought oxen, cows fat but ſmall, *Arabian* ſheep, hens, cocos, oranges, lemons, and limes in abundance, for callicoes, hollands, ſword-blades, pieces of eight, glaſſes, knives, and other trifles.

Auguſt the 2d we weigh'd, and ſtood our courſe for *Socotora*, and on the 10th repaſt the equinoctial to the northward. The 18th we made cape *Guardafu* eight leagues to the weſtward, which is one of them that makes the entrance into the *Red Sea*; and came to an anchor in twelve fathom water in a ſmall bay, where we continu'd the 18th, and ſaw ſome people in turbants. Aſhore was a tomb of white ſtone, with a pillar at each end of it. The latitude 11 deg. 55 min.

Roe.

The 24th we came to an anchor in the bay call'd *Delicia* in *Socotora*, having been before ſeparated in a ſtorm, and warn'd by the ſultan not to anchor at *Tamara*, which was too much expoſed to the violence of the winds. *Socotora* is an iſland at the mouth of the *Red Sea*, being the *Dioſcuria* or *Dioſcorida* of the ancients, lying in 12 deg. 55 min. of north latitude, govern'd then by a ſultan call'd *Amar-Ben-Seid*, ſon to the king of *Fortaque* in *Arabia Felix*. The kingdom of *Fortaque* lies from 15 to 18 deg. along the coaſt of *Arabia*. The king was at peace with the *Turk*, on condition to aſſiſt him with five thouſand men, if he requir'd it, and they to be paid by the *Turk*, to whom he made no other acknowledgment. Near the ſea about *Dofor*, was another petty king, whom he durſt not meddle with, becauſe he was under the grand ſeignior's protection.

Socotora *iſland deſcribed.*

The ſultan.

The ſultan of *Socotora* came down to the ſhore with about three hundred men, having ſet up a tent near the bay. He was a horſeback, as were two of his chief ſervants, and another on a camel; the people running before and behind him ſhouting; and two guards, one of his ſubjects, and the other of twelve hired *guzarats*, ſome with *Turkiſh* bows, ſome with piſtols, ſome with muſquets, but all with good ſwords. He had alſo a few kettle drums, and one trumpet. He received the general in a courteous manner, and was ſo abſolute, that no man could ſell any thing but himſelf. His people ſat about him very reſpectfully, his clothes were of *Surat* ſtuffs after the *Arabian* manner, with a caſſock of red and white wrought velvet, and another, whereof the ground was gold. He had a very good turbant, but was barefooted. Every night they all ſtand or kneel towards the ſun, the *xerife* throwing water on their heads. As for religion, they are *Mahometans*. The king's town of *Tamara* is built of lime and ſtone whited over, with battlements and pinnacles, the houſes being flat at the top. At a diſtance it looks well, but when in, it is poor. Mr. *Boughton*, who had leave to ſee the king's houſe, found it ſuch as would ſerve an ordinary gentleman in *England*. The lower rooms ſerv'd for warehouſes and wardrobe, ſome changes of robes hanging about the walls, and with them about twenty five books of their law, religion, hiſtory, and ſaints lives. No man was permitted to go up

Tamara *the chief town.*

ROE. ſtairs to ſee his wives, which were three, nor the other women; but the ordinary ſort might be ſeen in the town, with their ears full of ſilver rings. In the moſque the prieſt was at ſervice. Mr. *Boughton* had for his dinner three hens with rice, and for drink water and *cabu*, black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured. (*This was certainly coffee, which Sir* Thomas Roe *was not acquainted with.*) On a hill a mile from *Tamara* is a ſquare caſtle, but leave could not be obtained to ſee it. The people are of four ſorts; *Arabs* come in by conqueſt, who dare not ſpeak in the ſultan's preſence without leave, and kiſſing his hand. The ſecond ſort are ſlaves, who when they come to him kiſs his foot, do all his work, and make his aloes. The third I ſuppoſe are the old inhabitants of the country, call'd *Bedwins*, tho' not the eldeſt of all, whom I ſuppoſe to be thoſe commonly call'd *Jacobite* Chriſtians; becauſe Mr. *Boughton* going into a church of theirs, which the *Arabs* had forced them to abandon, found images in it, and a crucifix, which he took away; and the *Mahometans* would not ſay much of them, fearing leſt other Chriſtians ſhould relieve or ſupport them. They have had wars with the *Arabs*, and live retir'd from them in the mountains. The fourth ſort are a ſavage people, poor, lean, naked, with long hair, eating nothing but roots, riding on buffaloes, converſing with none of the others, and afraid of all, without houſes, and almoſt as brutal as beaſts, which by conjecture are the ancienteſt natives of the place. The iſland is very mountainous and barren, having ſome beeves, goats, and ſheep, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing elſe of ſuſtenance. All its commodity is aloes, which is the juice of a leaf like our houſleek. The people make a poor ſort of cloth for the ſlaves. The king had ſome dragon's blood, and indigo of *Lahor*, as alſo civet cats and civet. The dead are here all buried in tombs, and the monuments of their ſaints are held in great veneration. The chief of theſe is *Seidy Hachim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being kill'd a hundred years before, they ſaid ſtill appeared to them, and warn'd them of dangers at hand; and they imputed the high winds to his walking, having him in wonderful veneration.

The inhabitants.

Soil and product.

Sir Tho. *departs for* Surat.

The thirty firſt we weigh'd, and ſtood our courſe for *Surat*, where I landed on the twenty ſixth of *September*, and was received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town well attended. Much controverſy was about ſearching my ſervants, but at length they paſs'd free to the city, where we went into a houſe provided for us, and there continued till the thirtieth of *October*, ſuffering much from the governor, who by force ſearched many cheſts, and took out what he thought fit. The thirtieth aforeſaid I departed *Surat*, and travelled but four *coſſes* to *Cumaria*, the firſt of *November* 11 miles to a village, the ſecond to *Biarat* 21 miles, where there is a caſtle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of *Guzarat*, ſubject to the *Mogul*, and belonging to *Abraham Chan*: The third enter'd the kingdom of *Pardaffſha*, a pagan lord of the hills, ſubject to no body, and at fifteen miles end lay in the fields by a city of note call'd *Mugher*. The fourth nine miles rocky way, lay in the fields by a village call'd *Narampora*. The fifth fifteen miles in the fields. The ſixth twenty miles to *Nunderbar* a city of the kingdom of *Brampor* ſubject to the *Mogul*. Here we had firſt bread after coming from *Surat*, becauſe the *Banians* who inhabit all the country make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, eſpecially of cattle, the *Banians* killing none, or ſelling any to be kill'd. One day I met ten thouſand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and moſt days after leſſer parcels. The ſeventh eighteen miles to *Ningul*. The eighth fifteen to *Sinchelly*. The ninth fifteen to *Tolmere*. The tenth eighteen to *Chapre*, where having pitch'd the tents without the town, the king's officers attended me all night with thirty horſe and twenty ſhot, for fear of the robbers on the mountains, becauſe I refuſed to remove into the town. The eleventh eighteen miles, the thirteenth eighteen miles, and the fourteenth fifteen miles to *Brampore*, which I gueſs to be two hundred twenty three miles eaſt from *Surat*. The country miſerable and barren, the towns and villages built with mud. At *Batharpore*, a village two miles ſhort of *Brampore*, I ſaw ſome of the ordnance, which is moſt too ſhort, and too open in the bore. The *cutwall*, an officer of the king's ſo called, met me well attended with ſixteen colours carried before him, and conducted me to the ſeraglio, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his leave at the gate, which made a handſome front of ſtone, but when in I had four chambers allotted me like ovens, and no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the ſide of a wall, ſo that I lay in my tent; the *cutwall* making his excuſe, that this was the beſt lodging in the town, as I found it was; all the place being only mud cottages except the prince's houſe, the chan's, and ſome few others. I was conducted by the *cutwall* to viſit the prince, in whoſe outward court I found about a hundred gentlemen a horſeback, waiting to ſalute him at his coming out. He ſat high in a gallery that went

A Coſſe *is about a mile and a half.*

Brampore *city.*

Note, he ſaid before the country was plentiful.

went round with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. An officer told me, as I approached I muſt touch the ground with my head bare, which I refuſed, and went on to a place right under him railed in, with an aſcent of three ſteps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: So I went within, where were all the great men of the town with their hands before them like ſlaves. The place was covered over head with a rich canopy, and under foot all with carpets: It was like a great ſtage, and the prince ſat at the upper end of it. Having no place aſſigned, I ſtood right before him, he refuſing to admit me to come up the ſteps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my preſents he offered to go into another room, where I ſhould be allowed to ſit; but by the way he made himſelf drunk out of a caſe of bottles I gave him, and ſo the viſit ended.

The twenty ſeventh of *November* I was carried ſick from *Brampore* three coſſes to *Raypora*. The twenty eighth fifteen coſſes to *Burgome*, and the thirtieth ſeven coſſes. *December* the firſt ten coſſes to *Bicangome*, the ſecond ſeven coſſes, the third five coſſes, the fourth eleven coſſes to *Echarpur*, ſtanding on a good river that falls into the ſea near *Barochе*. The fifth paſs'd the river called *Narbodah*, the ſixth travelled eight coſſes, and lay in a wood not far from the king's famous caſtle of *Mandoa*, which ſtands on a ſteep hill, of a vaſt extent including fifteen coſſes within the wall. The ſeventh ten coſſes, the eighth eight, the ninth ten, the tenth twelve, the eleventh ſixteen, the twelfth fourteen, the thirteenth ſix, the fourteenth lay ſtill to reſt, the fifteenth ſix coſſes, the ſixteenth ſix, the ſeventeenth twelve, the eighteenth five to *Cytor*. This is an antient ruin'd city on a hill, but ſhews the footſteps of wonderful magnificence. There are ſtill ſtanding above an hundred churches all of carved ſtone, many fair towers and lanthorns, many pillars, and innumerable houſes, but not one inhabitant. There is but one ſteep aſcent cut out of the rock, and four gates in the aſcent before you come to the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is encloſed on the top for about eight coſſes, and at the ſouth-weſt end is a goodly old caſtle. It is in the country of *Rama*, a prince newly ſubdued by the *Mogul*, or rather brought to own ſubjection. It was brought under by *Ecbar-Sha* father to *Ichan Guire*. The *Indian* prince *Rama* is lineally deſcended from *Porus*, that warlike *Indian* monarch overcome by *Alexander* the great.

Cytor *city.*

Rama *prince deſcended from* Porus.

The nineteenth I proceeded on my journey twelve coſſes, the twentieth ten, the twenty firſt ten, the twenty ſecond nine, the twenty third ten to *Adſmere*. The firſt ſix days journey from *Brampore* towards *Adſmere* were weſt, or north-weſt to compaſs the hills, but after that due north, ſo that they bear from one another almoſt north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt, the whole diſtance two hundred and nine coſſes, which I judge to be about four hundred and eighteen miles *Engliſh*; the coſſes here being longer than near the ſea.

ROE.

A coſſe in this country two miles.

January the tenth I went to court at four in the afternoon to the *Durbar*, where the *Mogul* daily ſits to entertain ſtrangers, receive petitions and preſents, give out orders, and to ſee and be ſeen. And here it will be proper to give ſome account of his court. None but eunuchs come within that king's private lodgings, and his women, who guard him with warlike weapons. Theſe puniſh one another for any offence committed. The *Mogul* every morning ſhews himſelf to the common people at a window that looks into the plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to ſee elephants and wild beaſts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to ſleep among his women. Afternoon he comes to the *Durbar* aforementioned. After ſupper at eight of the clock he comes down to the *Guzelcan*, a fair court in the midſt whereof is a throne of free ſtone, on which he ſits, or ſometimes below in a chair, where none are admitted but of the firſt quality, and few of them without leave. Here he diſcourſes of indifferent things very affably. No buſineſs of ſtate is done any where but at one of theſe two laſt places, where it is publickly canvaſſed, and ſo regiſtred; which regiſter might be ſeen for two ſhillings, and the common people know as much as the council; ſo that every day the king's reſolutions are the publick news, and expoſed to the cenſure of every ſcoundrel. This method is never altered unleſs ſickneſs or drink obſtruct it; and this muſt be known, for if he be unſeen one day without a reaſon aſſigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuſe will ſerve, but the doors muſt be opened, and ſome admitted to ſee him to ſatisfy others. On tueſday he ſits in judgment at the *Jaurruco*, and hears the meaneſt perſons complaints, examines both parties, and often ſees execution done by his elephants.

The Mogul's *court.*

Before my audience, I had obtained leave to uſe the cuſtoms of my country. At the *Durbar* I was conducted right before him; entring the outward rail, two noble ſlaves met to conduct me nearer. At the firſt rail I made a low reverence, at the next another, and when under the king a third. The place is a great court, to which all ſorts of people reſort. The king ſits in a little gallery over head; embaſſador

great

ROE. great men, and ſtrangers of quality within the inmoſt rail under him, raiſed from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and ſilk, and good carpets under foot. The next degree, like our gentry, are within the firſt rail, the commonalty without in a baſs court, yet ſo that all may ſee the king. In fine, it is riſing by degrees like a theatre. His reception was very favourable, but needs not particularizing.

A houſe of pleaſure of the Mogul's. *March* the 1ſt I rid out to ſee a houſe of pleaſure of the king, given him by *Aſaph Chan*, and two miles from *Adſmere*. It is ſeated betwixt two mighty rocks, ſo defended from the ſun, that it ſcarce any way ſees it. The foundation is cut out of the rock, as are ſome rooms, the reſt is free ſtone. There is a handſome little garden, with fine fountains, and two great fiſhponds, one thirty ſteps above another. The way to it admits of but one, or at moſt two men a-breaſt, and that very ſteep and ſtony. It is a place of melancholy, delight, and ſafety, all the company about it being wild peacocks, turtles, fowl, and monkeys that inhabit the rocks hanging every way over it.

Noroſe *the feaſt of the new year.* The 11th of *March* in the evening began the feſtival of the *Noroſe*. This is a cuſtom of ſolemnizing the new year, but the ceremony begins the firſt new moon after it. It is kept in imitation of the *Perſians* feaſt, and ſignifies in that language nine days, becauſe antiently it laſted no longer; but now it is doubled. The manner of it is thus. A throne is erected four foot from the ground in the *Durbar* court; from the back whereof to the place where the king comes out, a ſquare of fifty ſix paces in length, and forty three in breadth, was rail'd in, and covered with fair *ſemians*, or canopies of cloth of gold, ſilk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the ſame manner. At the upper end were ſet out the pictures of the king of *England*, the queen, the lady *Elizabeth*, the counteſſes of *Somerſet* and *Saliſbury*, and of a citizen's wife of *London*. Below them another of Sir *Tho. Smith*, governor of the *Eaſt-India* company. The ground is laid with good *Perſian* carpets very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the king, except ſome few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. Within this ſquare there were ſet out for ſhew many little houſes, one of them of ſilver, and ſome other curioſities of value. The prince ſultan *Corome* had on the left ſide a pavilion, the ſupporters whereof were covered with ſilver, as were ſome of thoſe alſo near the king's throne. The form of this throne was ſquare, the matter wood inlaid with mother of pearl, born up with four pillars, and covered with cloth of gold. About the edge over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and ſuch fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it the king ſat on cuſhions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompaſs'd the court, and lined them with velvet, damaſk, or taffety for the moſt part, but ſome few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and ſat to ſhew all their wealth. For antiently the kings us'd to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleaſed; but now it is changed, the king ſitting to receive what new-year's gifts are brought him. He comes abroad at the uſual hour of the *Durbar*, and retires in the ſame order. Here great preſents are offered him by all ſorts, tho' not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this feaſt, the king in return for preſents received, advances ſome, and adds to their entertainment ſome horſe at his pleaſure.

Audiences of S*t* Thomas. The next day, being the 12th of *March*, I went to viſit the king, and delivered him a preſent, where I ſaw abundance of wealth, but being of all ſorts put together without order, it did not look ſo regular. The ſame day the ſon of *Rama*, the new tributary before-mentioned, did his homage, touching the ground three times with his head. The thirteenth at night I had audience at the *Guzalcan*, and preſſed to have the peace and commerce with *England* ſettled after a ſolemn manner, and all the articles ſettled, which the *Mogul* ordered ſhould be done. The fifteenth I went again in the evening to the *Noroſe*, and according to the *Mogul*'s order choſe my place of ſtanding, which was on the right-hand of him on the riſing of the throne, the prince and young *Rama* ſtanding on the other ſide; ſo I had a full view of what was to be ſeen, preſents, elephants, horſes and whores. The twenty third the *Mogul* condemned one of his own nation upon ſuſpicion of felony; but being one of the handſomeſt men in *India*, and the evidence not very clear againſt him, he would not ſuffer him to be executed, but ſent him to me in irons for a ſlave to diſpoſe of at my will. This is looked upon as a great favour, for which I returned thanks: adding, that in *England* we had no ſlaves, nor thought it lawful to make the image of GOD equal to a beaſt, but that I would uſe him as a ſervant; and if he behaved himſelf well, give him his liberty. This the *Mogul* was well pleaſed with. The twenty ſixth I went to the *Guzalcan*, and delivered the articles I had drawn up, which were referred to *Aſaph Chan*, who a while after

ſent

ſent to me to remove from the ſtanding I had taken before the king, becauſe I ſtood alone, and that was not the cuſtom. I refuſed at firſt, but he inſiſting I ſhould rank my ſelf among the nobility, I removed to the other ſide, to the place where only the prince and young *Rama* were; which more diſguſted *Aſaph Chan*, who perſuaded the prince to complain of me, which he did; but the *Mogul* having heard their complaint, and my anſwer, that I removed by *Aſaph Chan*'s order, anſwered, I had done well, and they were in the wrong to offer to diſplace me in his ſight. So I kept my place in quiet.

Articles of peace offer'd the Mogul.

The ſubſtance of the articles delivered to the great *Mogul* was, 1. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of *Great Britain* and his *Indian* majeſty. 2. That the ſubjects of *England* have free trade in all ports of *India*. 3. That the governors of all ports publiſh this agreement three times upon the arrival of any *Engliſh* ſhips. 4. That the merchants and their ſervants ſhall not be ſearch'd, or ill uſed. 5. That no preſents ſent to the *Mogul* ſhall be open'd. 6. That the *Engliſh* goods ſhall not be ſtop'd above twenty four hours at the cuſtom-houſe, only to be there ſealed and ſent to the merchant's houſe, there to be opened and rated within ſix days after. 7. That no governor ſhall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the king's ſervice. 8. That the merchants ſhall not be hindered ſelling their goods to whom they pleaſe, or ſending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port. 9. That whatſoever goods the *Engliſh* buy in any part of the *Mogul*'s dominions, they may ſend down to the ports without paying any duty more than ſhall be agreed on at the port at ſhipping them, and this without any hindrance or moleſtation. 10. That no goods brought to any port ſhall be again opened, the *Engliſh* ſhewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought. 11. That no confiſcation ſhall be made of the goods or money of any *Engliſh* dying. 12. That no cuſtom be demanded for proviſions during the ſtay of *Engliſh* ſhips at any port. 13. That the merchants ſervants, whether *Engliſh* or *Indians*, ſhall not be puniſhed or beaten for doing their duty. 14. That the *Mogul* will puniſh any governor, or officer, for breach of any of theſe articles. 15. That the *Engliſh* ſhips ſhall ſuffer all others to paſs and repaſs freely to the *Mogul*'s ports, except their enemies; and that the *Engliſh* aſhore ſhall behave themſelves civilly as merchants. 16. That they ſhall yearly furniſh the *Mogul* with all rarities from *Europe*, and all other ſuch things as he ſhall deſire at reaſonable prizes. 17. The *Engliſh* to pay the duty of three and a half *per cent.* for goods reaſonably rated, and two *per cent* for pieces of eight, and no other duty elſewhere. 18. That the *Engliſh* ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the *Mogul* againſt all his enemies. Laſtly, That the *Portugueſes* may come into this peace within ſix months; or if they refuſe, the *Engliſh* be at liberty to exerciſe all hoſtilities againſt them. Theſe were the articles preſented, but they were delay'd and oppoſed, and what was the concluſion we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Roe.

The 31ſt of *March* the *Mogul* din'd at *Aſaph Chan*'s houſe, all the way from the palace to it, which was an *Engliſh* mile, being laid under foot with ſilks and velvets ſewed together, but roll'd up as the king paſs'd. They reported the feaſt and preſent coſt ſix *lecks* of *roupies*, which is 60000 *l.* ſterling. (*Note here, that* Thevenot *ſays a* leck *is* 100000, *and a* roupie *worth a crown* French *and five* Sols, *after which rate the ſix* lecks *muſt amount at leaſt to* 150000 *l.* ſterling.)

From this time ſir Tho. Roe *continues his journal as before; but there being nothing in it remarkable for many days, all the buſineſs being ſolliciting for money due to the merchants, and ſuch other affairs in which there is nothing worth obſerving, that part is thought fit to be wholly left out here, as it was alſo done by* Purchas *in his account of this embaſſy.*

Converſion out of malice.

June the 18th, the king commanded one of his brother's ſons, who had been perſuaded to become a Chriſtian, with a deſign to make him odious to the people, to lay his hand on the head of a lion that was brought before the king which he refuſed out of fear; upon which the king bid his youngeſt ſon go touch the lion, who did ſo without receiving any hurt: whereat the king took occaſion to ſend his nephew away to priſon, where he is never like to ſee day-light. The 19th, the king removed with the prince and all the court to *Havar Gemal.* The 23d, the king return'd to his own houſe, and ſat in publick according to cuſtom. The 24th, prince *Couron*, whoſe favour I was labouring to gain, and with whom I had many conteſts, had a ſon born; and he preparing to lead the army to *Decan*, the eyes of all men were fix'd on him; ſome flattering, others envying him, and others to make their advantage, but none loving him. He received twenty *lecks* of *roupies* towards his charge, which amounts to 200000 *l* ſterling, (*Note, that according to* Thevenot, *who ſays a* roupy *is worth a crown, this ſhould be*

ROE. *be* 500000 l.) and began to beſtow his money bountifully. Yet notwithſtanding this ſhew of his father's affection and greatneſs, a *chan* told the king that the expedition would prove dangerous in reſpect of prince *Pervis*, whoſe honour was ſo deeply concern'd that he would not go unreveng'd. The king anſwer'd, Let them fight, I am ſo ſatisfied, and he that proves himſelf the better commander ſhall purſue the war. The twenty fifth I had audience of the king, being ſent for by *Aſaph Chan*, and was receiv'd with the uſual courteſy by his majeſty. This *Aſaph Chan* was the prince's favourite, and therefore I was unwilling to diſoblige him, tho' he had given ſeveral provocations. And at this time *Mocreb Chan*, another great man, made me offers of his ſervice, being of a contrary faction to the other; but I thought beſt to make friends of them both. *Mocreb* told me, among other things, that the *Engliſh* carried too much cloth and bad ſwords, and ſcarce any thing elſe, and therefore adviſed to forbear two or three years, and rather bring ſuch rarities as *China* and *Japan* afforded, which would be more acceptable; and from *England* the beſt cloth of gold and the richeſt ſilks wrought with gold and ſilver, but above all a good quantity of *Arras* hangings. The thirtieth I viſited *Abdala Haſſan*, having need of his friendſhip; and what is rare in that country, he received no preſents. He has the command of all ſoldiers entertain'd at court, and is treaſurer to all the armies. He entertained me with much civility, and we ſat to ſee his ſoldiers ſhoot with bows and guns. Moſt of them with a ſingle bullet hit the mark, being about a hand's breadth in a butt.

Commodities proper for India.

July paſſed moſt away in ſolliciting the prince to ſign and ſeal the articles I had preſented to the king, of which an abſtract was given before. On the thirteenth at night I went to the *Durbar* to viſit the king, who ſent *Aſaph Chan* to tell me he was inform'd I had an excellent painter at my houſe, which I told him was only a young man that drew upon paper, and that very indifferently; however, I promiſed to bring him to his majeſty, who at this time uſed ſo many expreſſions of kindneſs to me that all men were amazed at it, and profer'd me any thing I would aſk for in his kingdom. I went from him to *Aſaph Chan*'s houſe, where I continu'd till the king came out again, when I was conducted back to him, carrying with me Mr. *Hughs* the ſuppos'd painter, with whom the king had ſome diſcourſe. After this I preſented the king with a curious picture I had of a friend of mine, which pleaſed him highly, and he ſhew'd it to all the company. The king's chief painter being ſent for, pretended he could make as good; which I denying, a wager of a horſe was laid about it between me and *Aſaph Chan*, in the *Mogul*'s preſence and to pleaſe him; but *Aſaph Chan* afterwards fell off. This done, the *Mogul* fell to drinking of *Alicant* wine I had preſented him, giving taſtes of it to ſeveral about him, and then ſent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup, ſent it to me, ſaying, It began to ſour ſo faſt it would be ſpoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turn'd to ſleep; the candles were popt out, and I grop'd my way out in the dark.

Painting valued in India.

This day a gentlewoman of *Normals*, the king's favourite queen, was taken in the king's houſe in ſome action with an eunuch. Another *capon* that loved her killed him. The poor woman was ſet up to the armpits in the earth cloſe ram'd about her, with her feet tied to a ſtake, ſo to continue three days and two nights without any ſuſtenance, her head and arms bare expoſed to the violent heat of the ſun. If ſhe died not in that time ſhe was to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damſel was found worth in pearls, jewels, and ready money, 160000 *roupies*.

A ſtrange execution.

The twenty ſecond I received letters from *Brampor*, in anſwer to others I had ſent long before to *Mahobet Chan*, who had granted all I deſired of him, ſending his order to *Baroche* in ample form to receive the *Engliſh* there, and give them a houſe for a factory near the governor, ſtrictly commanding all men not to moleſt them, either by ſea or land, not to take any cuſtom of them, or any way trouble them under ſuch pretence. In ſhort, that they might buy, ſell, and tranſport any commodity at their pleaſure, without any moleſtation, giving a ſtrict charge for the execution of this order. Beſides, I received a letter from him full of civility, and all kind offers, far exceeding all I had found in *India*. This was a noble and generous man, well beloved by all men, and the king's only favourite, but cared not for the prince, ſo that this was a good retreat in caſe the merchants ſhould be drove away from *Surat* by the prince. As for cuſtoms, the king takes none, but the governors exact them for their own private gain, which this worthy man ſcorn'd to do, ſaying, he would not abuſe the liberty of the king's ports.

Free trade ſetled at Baroche.

Nothing remarkable happen'd till *Auguſt* the ſixth: I was ſent for to the *Durbar*, where I had much talk with the king, who aſked me many queſtions to ſatisfy his curioſity, and bid me come to the *Guzelcan* at night, and I ſhould ſee my picture ſo exactly copied, that I ſhould not know the one from the other. I came at night

Good painters in India.

night and he ſhew'd me ſix pictures, five of them painted by his own painter, all paſted upon a board, and ſo like that by candlelight I could ſcarce know one from another. Neither did I at firſt ſight know my own, at which the *Mogul* was much pleaſed; but looking cloſer upon them I ſhew'd it, and the difference between it and the others. The *Mogul* was overjoy'd, and I ſurprized at their art, not thinking they could have performed ſo well; and the king after many civilities promiſed me his own picture.

Execution of juſtice. The 9th a hundred thieves were brought chain'd before the *Mogul* with their accuſation: Without further ceremony, as in all ſuch caſes is the cuſtom, he order'd them to be carried away, the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, the reſt put to death. This was all the proceſs and form. The priſoners were divided into ſeveral quarters of the town, and executed in the ſtreets, as in one by my houſe, where twelve dogs tore the chief of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellows having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a ſword, but not quite off, being ſo left naked, bloody and ſtinking to the view of all men, and annoyance of the neighbourhood. The *10th*, *11th*, and *12th*, I ſpent in giving the king and prince advice that a *Dutch* ſhip lay before *Surat*, and would not declare upon what deſign it came, till a fleet arrived; which was expected with the firſt fit ſeaſon. This I improved to fill their heads with jealouſies of the deſigns of the *Dutch*, and the dangers that might enſue from them, which was well taken; and being demanded, I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of *India*. The laſt of theſe days I went to viſit *Gemaldin-Uſſin*, viceroy of *Patan*, and ſeventy years of age. He received me with extraordinary courteſy, offering me a leck of roupies, or all his intereſt at court; informing me of all the cuſtoms of the country, and ſhewing me a book he had compoſed of all memorable things that had happen'd under three kings, whom he had ſerved; and offering me a copy, if I could get it tranſlated. It alſo treated of the king's revenue, and the manner of raiſing it. He ſhew'd me that the government of every province did pay a yearly rent; and for inſtance, he for his government of *Patan* gave the king eleven lecks of roupies, the roupie is two ſhillings two pence (Thevenot *ſays a roupie is a crown.*)

Mogul's revenue. All other profits were the governor's, and he had regal authority to take what he pleas'd; which in his viceroyſhip of *Patan* was valued at five thouſand horſe: the pay of each at two hundred roupies a year, whereof he kept a thouſand and five hundred, and was allowed the ſurplus as dead pay. Beſides this the king gave him a penſion of a thouſand roupies a day, and ſome ſmaller governments; yet he aſſured me there were ſeveral that had double his allowance, and above twenty equal to him. He praiſed the good profit *Jeſus*, and his laws, and had much pleaſant and profitable diſcourſe. Some days had paſſed after this viſit, and I thought his kindneſs had been at an end; when he borrow'd the king's pleaſure-houſe and garden called *Havar Gemal*, a mile out of the town, to treat me in, and invited me over night. At midnight he went himſelf, and carried his tents and all his furniture, and fitted up a place by the pond-ſide very handſomly. I went in the morning; he met me with much civility, and carried me into his room prepared for me, where he had ſome company and a hundred ſervants attending two of his ſons, he having thirty. He ſhew'd me the king's cloſets and retiring rooms, which were painted *al'antique*, and in ſome panes the pictures of the king of *France*, and other chriſtian princes. *The king's pleaſure-houſe.* He told me he was a poor man ſlave to the king; that he was willing to give me ſome content, and had therefore brought me to a ſlight banquet to eat bread and ſalt together to ſeal a friendſhip which he deſired me to accept; That others might treat me better, but were not ſo ſincere, but would deceive me, and my interpreters would never deliver the truth, but what thoſe men pleas'd; and therefore I ſhould never do my buſineſs to any purpoſe, till I had an *Engliſhman* that could ſpeak the *Perſian* tongue, and declare my mind freely, which the king would grant, if I could find one, becauſe he had conceived a good opinion of me; and the laſt night the jewels of *Sheck Ferid* being brought before him, he remember'd me of himſelf; and finding among them his own picture well done, he had delivered it to *Aſaph Chan* to ſend it to me to wear for his ſake, with many expreſſions of his favour, which would make all the great men reſpect me. By this time dinner came in, and we ſat down on carpets; a cloth being laid, and variety of diſhes ſet before us, as was a little on one ſide for the gentlemen that accompanied him, to whom he went to eat, they looking on it as a ſort of defiling to mix with us. *The vice-roy of Patan's treat* Hereupon I told him he had promis'd we ſhould eat bread and ſalt together, and that I had little appetite without his company. He roſe preſently and ſat by me, and we fell heartily to our meal; there being diſhes of ſeveral ſorts, as raiſins, almonds, piſtachoes, and fruit. After dinner he play'd at cheſs, and I walk'd; and after

Roe.

Roe. after ſome time offer'd to take my leave. But he ſaid he had deſired me to come to eat, and what we had before was but a collation, and therefore I muſt not depart till we had ſupp'd, which I readily conſented to. About an hour after the embaſſador of one of the *Decan* kings came to viſit him, whom he preſented to me, uſing him with civility, but much below the reſpect he ſhew'd to me. He aſked me whether his majeſty, my maſter, would not take in ſcorn the offer of ſervice from ſo poor a man, and would vouchſafe to accept of a preſent from a ſtranger; for he would ſend a gentleman with me to kiſs his majeſty's hands, and to ſee our country. I returned a civil anſwer; and he went preſently, and aſked one if he would undertake the voyage. The gentleman ſeem'd willing, and he preſented him to me, ſaying he would provide ſome trifles, ſuch as the country afforded for his majeſty, and ſend him in my company. This to me ſeem'd by the manner to be meant in earneſt. At laſt ſupper came; two cloths being ſpread, as in the morning, and before me and my chaplain were ſet ſeveral diſhes of ſallads, and meat roaſted, fry'd, boil'd, and variety of rice. He deſired to be excuſed himſelf, becauſe it was their cuſtom to eat among themſelves, and his countrymen would take it ill if he did not eat with them. So he and his gueſts, and I and my company made much of our ſelves. The meat was not amiſs, but the attendants and order much better; his ſervants being very diligent and reſpectful. He gave me for a preſent, as is the manner when any one is invited, five caſes of ſugar-candy dreſs'd with muſk, and one loaf of the fineſt ſugar as white as ſnow about fifty pounds weight, deſiring me to accept of a hundred ſuch loaves againſt I went away; which, ſaid he, you refuſe of me thinking I am poor, but it coſts me nothing, it is made in my government, and comes *gratis*. I offered to accept when I was going, but he preſs'd to take it now for fear he ſhould be then unprovided. Thus calling himſelf my father, and I my ſelf his ſon, we took leave of one another.

The Mogul *preſents his picture to* Sir Tho. Roe.

The 17th I went to viſit the king, who as ſoon as I came in, call'd to his women, and reach'd out his own picture ſet in gold, hanging at a gold wire chain, with one pendant of foul pearl, which he deliver'd to *Aſaph Chan*, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, but what I was willing to make; it being the cuſtom, whenſoever he beſtows any thing, for the receiver to kneel down, and put his head to the ground, which has been required of the embaſſadors of *Perſia*. *Aſaph Chan* came to me, and I offer'd to take it in my hand; but he made ſigns to take off my hat, and then he put it about my neck, leading me right before the king. I underſtood not his meaning, but feared he would require the cuſtom of the country mention'd above, which they call *Size-Da*; and was reſolved rather to return my preſent than ſubmit to it. He made ſigns to me to give the king thanks, which I did after my own manner; whereupon ſome officers call'd to me to make the *Size-Da*, but the king in the *Perſian* tongue ſaid, No, no. So I returned to my place: but that you may judge of the king's liberality, this gift was not worth in all 30*l.* yet was it five times as good as any he gives in that ſort, and look'd upon as a ſpecial favour. For all the great men that wear the king's image, which none may do but thoſe to whom it is given, receive only a medal of gold, as big as a ſixpence, with a little chain of four inches to faſten it on their heads, and this at their own charge; ſome ſet it with ſtones, or adorn it with pendants of pearls.

Sir Tho. Roe *treats the viceroy of* Syndu.

The 19th *Gemaldin-Uſſin*, who I ſaid before invited me to *Havar Gemal*, being newly made governor of *Syndu*, came to dine with me, with two of his ſons, two other gentlemen, and about a hundred ſervants. He eat ſome of the banquet provided in my houſe by a *Mooriſh* cook, but would not touch ſuch meat as I had dreſs'd after my own faſhion, tho' his appetite was very good; but he refrain'd out of a ſort of ſuperſtition. Yet he deſired that four or five diſhes might be ſent to his houſe, ſuch as he would chuſe, being all bak'd meats, which he had never ſeen before; and ſaid he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done. He offer'd me the town of *Syndu*, and all other courteſies in his power; made haſte to fill his belly, and I gave him a ſmall preſent according to cuſtom.

A mighty inundation.

The 20th, and the night before it, fell a ſtorm of rain, which they call the elephant, and is uſual at the end of the rainy ſeaſon; but this was extraordinary, for there ran ſuch ſtreams into the pond, that tho' it is inclos'd with ſtone, very ſtrong in appearance, yet the water was ſo fierce that it broke thro' in one place, which caus'd a ſudden fear and conſternation, leſt it ſhould drown all that part of the town where I dwelt: inſomuch that the prince and all his women forſook their houſe; my next neighbour carried away his wife and goods on his elephants and camels to fly to the hills ſide. All men had their horſes ready at their doors to ſave their lives; ſo that we were much frighted, and ſat up till midnight, becauſe we had no help but to fly

our

our ſelves, and loſe all our goods; for it was reported it would run three foot higher than the top of my houſe, and carry all away, being poor mud buildings: Fourteen years before having ſhew'd the diſmal experience, the bottom of the pond being level with our dwelling, and the water extraordinary great and deep, ſo that the top was much higher than my houſe, which ſtood in the bottom, in the courſe of the water; every ordinary rain making ſuch a current at my door, that it runs not ſwifter through the arches of *London* bridge, and is for ſome hours impaſſable for man or horſe. The king in the night caus'd a ſluice to be open'd to diſcharge the water another way, yet the very rain had waſh'd away a great part of the walls of my houſe, and ſo weaken'd it all, breaking in at ſeveral places, that I fear'd the fall more than the flood. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, ſmokes, floods, ſtorms, heat, duſt, flies, and no temperate weather or ſafe ſeaſon. The 27th I received advice from *Surat* that the *Dutch* had obtain'd leave to land their goods there in a warehouſe, and trade till the prince's pleaſure was known, upon condition they ſhould depart upon the firſt warning.

Mandoa a lone caſtle. The 29th the king went to *Havar Gomal*, and ſo a hunting. It was reſolved to remove to *Mandoa*, a caſtle near *Brampore*, where there is no town; that the king having ſent away his ſon ſultan *Pervis* to *Bengala*, might be near at hand to countenance his ſon ſultan *Coron*, who he deſigned ſhould command in *Decan* contrary to the inclination of all the great men. The 30th the king returning from hunting ſent me a wild boar ſo large, that he deſired that the tuſks might be ſent him back for their extraordinary ſize, ſending word he had kill'd it with his own hand, and bidding me eat it merrily.

The Mogul's birth-day ſolemnity. The ſecond of *September* was the king's birth-day, and kept with great ſolemnity. On this day the king is weigh'd againſt ſome jewels, gold, ſilver, ſtuffs of gold, ſilver, and ſilk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every ſort a little, which is all given to the *Bramas* or *Bramans*. The king commanded *Aſaph Chan* to ſend for me to this ſolemnity; who appointed me to come to the place where the king ſits at *Durbar*, and I ſhould be ſent for in: but the meſſenger miſtaking, I went not till *Durbar* time, and ſo miſs'd the ſight; but being there before the king came out, as ſoon as he ſpy'd me, he ſent to know the reaſon why I came not in, ſince he had order'd it. I anſwer'd according to the miſtake, yet he was very angry, and chid *Aſaph Chan* publickly. He was ſo rich in jewels, that I own in my life I never ſaw ſuch ineſtimable wealth together. The time was ſpent in bringing his greateſt elephants before him; ſome of which being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and ſilver, and many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, ſilk, and ſilver. In this manner about twelve companies paſſed by moſt richly adorned, the firſt having all the plates on his head and breaſt ſet with rubies and emeralds, being a beaſt of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bow'd down before the king, making their reverence very handſomly; this was the fineſt ſhow of beaſts I ever ſaw. The keepers of every chief elephant gave a preſent. Then having made me ſome favourable compliments he roſe up and went in. At night about ten of the clock he ſent for me. I was then abed. The meſſage was, that he heard I had a picture which I had not ſhew'd him, deſiring me to come to him and bring it; and if I would not give it him, he would order copies of it to be taken for his women. I got up, and carried it with me. When I came in, I found him ſitting croſs-leg'd on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all ſet with jewels, ſome very great and extremely rich, ſome of them of leſs value, but all of them almoſt cover'd with ſmall ſtones. His nobility about him in their beſt equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, ſeveral ſorts of wine ſtanding by in great flaggons. When I drew near, he aſked for the picture. I ſhew'd him two; he ſeem'd aſtoniſh'd at one of them, and aſk'd whoſe it was. I told him a friend of mine that was dead. He aſked if I would give it him. I anſwered I valued it above all things, but if his majeſty would pardon me, and accept of the other, which was an excellent piece, I would willingly beſtow it on his majeſty. He thank'd me, and ſaid he deſired none but that picture, and if I would give it him, he ſhould prize it above the richeſt jewel in his houſe. I replied, I was not ſo fond of any thing, but I would part with it to pleaſe his majeſty, with other expreſſions of reſpect. He bow'd to me, and ſaid it was enough, I had given it him; that he own'd he had never ſeen ſo much art, ſo much beauty, and conjur'd me to tell him truly, whether ever ſuch a woman liv'd. I aſſured him there did, but ſhe was now dead. He ſaid he would ſhew it his women, and take five copies, and if I knew my own I ſhould have it again. Other compliments paſs'd, but he would reſtore it, his painters being excellent

Roe.

ROE. excellent at copying in water colours. The other picture being in oil, he did not like. Then he ſent me word it was his birth-day, and all men made merry, and aſk'd whether I would drink with them. I anſwered, I would do whatſoever his majeſty commanded, and wiſhed him many happy days, and that the ceremony might be renewed an hundred years. He aſked me whether I would drink wine of the grape, or made, whether ſtrong or ſmall. I reply'd, what he commanded, but hoped it would not be too much, nor too ſtrong. Then he called for a gold cup full of mixed wine, half of the grape and half artificial, and drank; cauſing it to be filled again, and then ſent it by one of the nobles to me with this meſſage, that I ſhould drink it off twice, thrice, four, or five times for his ſake, and accept of the cup and appurtenances as a preſent. I drank a little, but it was ſtronger than any I ever taſted; inſomuch that it made me ſneeze, which made him laugh; and he called for raiſins, almonds, and ſliced lemons, which were brought me on a gold plate, bidding me eat and drink what I would and no more. I made reverence for my preſent after my own manner, tho' *Aſaph Chan* would have had me kneel, and knock my head againſt the ground; but his majeſty accepted of what I did. The cup was of gold, ſet all about with ſmall rubies and *Turky* ſtones, the cover with large rubies, emeralds, and *Turky* ſtones in curious works, and a diſh ſutable to ſet the cup on. The value I know not, becauſe the ſtones are many of them ſmall; and the greater, which are many, not all clean, but they are in number about two thouſand, and the gold about twenty ounces. Thus he made merry, and ſent me word, he eſteemed me more than ever he had done, and aſked whether I was merry at eating the wild boar ſent me a few days before; how I dreſs'd it, what I drank, aſſuring me I ſhould want for nothing in his country: the effects of all which his publick favours I preſently found in the behaviour of all his nobility. Then he threw about to thoſe that ſtood below two chargers of new roupies, and among us two chargers of hollow almonds of gold and ſilver mixed; but I would not ſcramble, as his great men did, for I ſaw his ſon take up none. Then he gave ſaſhes of gold, and girdles to all the muſicians and waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the ſame, his majeſty and all his lords became the fineſt men I ever ſaw, of a thouſand ſeveral humours. But his ſon, *Aſaph Chan*, two old men, the late king of *Candahar*, and my ſelf forbore. When he could hold up his head no longer, he lay down to ſleep, and we all departed.

The Mogul *makes merry on his birth-day.*

A noble preſent to Sir Tho. Roe.

Mogul *and all his lords drunk.*

Seven months were now ſpent in ſolliciting the ſigning and ſealing of the articles of peace and commerce ſet down above, and nothing obtained but promiſes from week to week, and from day to day; and therefore on the third of *September*, the *Engliſh* fleet being hourly expected at *Surat*, I went to the prince, and delivered him a memorial containing the articles I deſired him to give an order to be obſerved for the unloading of the ſhips. The articles were,

An order deſired of the prince but not obtained.

Firſt, That the preſents coming for the king and prince ſhould not be opened at the port, but ſent up to court ſealed by the cuſtom-houſe officers.

Secondly, That curioſities ſent for other preſents, and for the merchants to ſell, ſhould alſo be ſent up to court ſealed, for the prince to take the firſt choice.

Thirdly, That the groſs merchandize be landed, reaſonably rated for the cuſtom, and not detained in the cuſtom-houſe; but that the merchants paying the cuſtom, have full liberty to ſell or diſpoſe of it; and that the ſhips be ſupply'd with proviſions without paying cuſtom.

Another order demanded of the prince in behalf of the Engliſh.

On the fourth, *Aſaph Chan* ſent me back my firſt articles, after ſo long attendance and ſo many falſe promiſes, ſome of them altered, others ſtruck out, and an anſwer, that there was no articling at all, but it was enough to have an order from the prince, who was lord of *Surat*, to trade there: but for *Bengala* or *Syndu*, it ſhould never be granted. Notwithſtanding all this vexation, I durſt not change my method of proceeding, or wholly quit the prince and *Aſaph Chan:* Therefore I drew up other articles, leaving out what was diſpleaſing in the former, and deſiring *Aſaph Chan* to put them in form and procure the ſeal, or elſe to give me leave to apply my ſelf to the king, to receive his denial, and depart the country. The ſubſtance of the new articles was as follows. That all the ſubjects of the *Mogul* ſhould receive the *Engliſh* in friendly manner; to ſuffer them to land their goods peaceably; to furniſh them with proviſions for their money, without paying any cuſtoms for them; to have liberty, after paying cuſtom for their goods, to ſell them to any perſon, and none to oblige them to ſell any under rate; to have liberty to paſs with ſuch goods to any parts, without any thing being exacted further of them more than at the port; to have the preſents for the *Mogul* and prince ſealed without opening, and ſent to the embaſſador; to have the goods of any that die ſecured from confiſcation, and delivered to the other *Engliſh* factors; and in ſhort, that no injury in any ſort be offered to any of them.

The eighth of this month *Aſaph Chan* ſent me word in plain terms, he would procure

procure nothing for me ſealed; but I might be ſatisfied with an order ſigned by the prince: which made me reſolve to apply my ſelf directly to the prince, and to apply no more to *Aſaph Chan*. Accordingly I was with the prince the tenth, and the eleventh he ſent me an order, but ſo altered from what I had given in, that I ſent it back. But at night I received a new order from the ſecretary, containing all my articles; though ſome words were ſomewhat ambiguous, which the ſecretary interpreted favourably, and at my requeſt writ to the governor of *Surat*, explaining them to him, as he had done to me. He gave me many aſſurances of the prince's favour; and being a man not ſubject to bribery, I gave the more credit to him. So I accepted of the order, which when tranſlated, I found very effectual. The ſixteenth I viſited the prince, reſolving to ſeem wholly to depend on him, till I had heard what entertainment our ſhips met with. I found him ſad for fear of prince *Pervis's* coming to court, he being but eight coſſes from it; but the power of *Normahall* the favourite queen diverted it, and he was ordered directly away to *Bengala*. The *Mogul* was retired, but whither no man could certainly tell.

Chan's coming to court as a criminal.

Several days paſs'd in ſolliciting the king and great ones, and paying court to them, without any thing remarkable; till on the ninth of *October* I received letters from *Surat* with an account that four *Engliſh* ſhips were arrived there. *Abdala Chan* the great governor of *Amadabat* being ſent for to court in diſgrace, for many inſolencies and contempts of the king's authority: It was at firſt thought that he would ſtand on his guard, and refuſe to appear; but the prince *Sultan Corone*, whoſe ambition laid hold of every advantage, deſiring to oblige ſo great a man, as being one of the chief commanders in *India*, prevailed with him, on his word, to ſubmit. So he came ſixty miles on foot in pilgrim's clothes with forty ſervants, counterfeiting great humility, and performed the reſt of the journey in his palankine, till he came near the court; but had two thouſand horſe one day's journey behind him. On the tenth of *October* he was brought to the *Jarruco* (the place where the king ſits in publick to ſee ſports, and hear complaints) with chains at his heels, and barefoot, led between two noblemen. He pulled his turbant over his eyes, that he might ſee no man, before he had the happineſs to behold the king's face. After reverence made, and ſome few queſtions, the king forgave him, cauſed his irons to be knocked off, and him to be clothed with a new veſt of cloth of gold, with a turbant and girdle ſutable.

Roe

Sultan Corone's ambition.

The prince, who intended to advance his honour in the wars of *Decan*, which his elder brother had left with diſgrace, and the great commander *Chan-Channa* did not proſper in, as being ſuppoſed to receive a penſion from the *Decannins*; cauſed his father to recal *Chan-Channa*, who refuſing to come, deſired the king not to ſend *Sultan Corone* to that war, but one of his youngeſt ſons about fifteen years of age. This *Sultan Corone* took to heart, but holding his purpoſe of carrying on that war, promiſed *Abdala Chan* the command of the army under him, removing of *Chan-Channa*. The king fearing troubles, and being ſenſible of this ſon's ambition and factious contrivances, of the diſcontent of his two elder ſons, and the power of *Chan-Channa*, was deſirous to accommodate matters by accepting of peace, and confirming *Chan-Channa* in his poſt. To this purpoſe he ſecretly writ a favourable letter, and deſigned to ſend *Chan-Channa* a veſt according to the ceremony of reconciliation; but before he diſpatched it, he made it known to a kinſwoman of his living in the *Seraglio*. She, whether it was out of falſhood to her friend, or that ſhe was corrupted by *Sultan Corone*, or out of pride of heart, ſeeing the top of her family, who had ſo well deſerved, ſtand on ſuch tickliſh terms, ſaid plainly, ſhe did not believe *Chan-Channa* would wear any thing ſent by the king, knowing his majeſty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poiſon, which he putting into his boſom inſtead of his mouth, had made a trial of; therefore ſhe was confident he would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his majeſty. The king offered to wear it himſelf before her an hour, and that ſhe ſhould write to teſtify it. She reply'd, he would truſt neither of them with his life; but if he might live quietly in his command, would do his majeſty good ſervice. Upon this the king alter'd his purpoſe, and reſolved to ſend *Sultan Corone*; and to countenance his reception, would himſelf follow after with another army. *Chan-Channa* perceiving the ſtorm, practiſed with the *Decannins*, who where at his devotion, to offer terms of peace for ſome time, as finding no other way to diſpel this cloud that hung over both, till the king and prince were departed and ſettled further off. To this purpoſe two embaſſadors arrived at court this ſame tenth of *October* from the princes of *Decan*. They brought horſes with rich furniture for preſents. At firſt the king refuſed to hear them, or receive their gifts; but turned them over to his ſon, ſaying, it was in his breaſt to chuſe peace or war. The prince puff'd up with this favour, reſolved to proceed on his journey; tho' the conditions

The Mogul deſigns to pardon Chan-Channa.

ROE. conditions, I was told, were very honourable, and such as the king would have accepted of; answering, he would treat of no peace, till he was in the field with his army, and *Chan-Channa* should not so defraud him of the honour of finishing the war. This young prince's ambition is notorious, and become the common talk of the people; yet his father designs not the crown for him, for sultan *Corsorone* the eldest brother is beloved and honoured of all men, even to a degree of adoration, and that deservedly for his excellent qualities. The king knows it, and loves him, but thinks his liberty would be a lessening of his own glory, yet sees not that this sly youth darkens him more by his ambitious practices than the other would by virtuous actions. Thus he nourishes division and emulation among the brethren, and puts such power into the hands of the younger, believing he can reassume it at pleasure, that the wisest men foresee great distractions and troubles like to follow in this kingdom upon the king's death, and that it is in danger to be torn in pieces by a civil war. The history of this country for variety of matter, and the many subtle practices in the time of *Ezbar-Sha*, father to this king, and these later troubles, were well worth writing; but because they come from such remote parts, many will despise them; and by reason these people are esteemed barbarous, few will believe them, and therefore I forbear making them publick, tho' I could deliver as many rare and notable acts of state, subtle evasions, policies, answers and adages, as I believe, for one age, would not easily be equalled: Yet I cannot omit one thing that happened lately, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falshood in a brother, and impudent boldness in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the supreme majesty allows them a liberty beyond either the law of their own condition, or the bounds of policy and reason.

The Mogul's eldest son a virtuous prince.

Mistaken policy of the Mogul.

Wicked practice of sultan Corone against his brother.

The prince sultan *Corone*, *Normahall* the beloved queen aunt to this prince's wife, *Asaph Chan* his father-in-law, brother to the queen, and *Etiman Doulet* father to them both, being they that now govern all, and dare attempt any thing, resolved it was not possible for them to stand if prince sultan *Corsorone* lived, he being beloved by the nobility, and like to punish their ambition in time, if delivered: therefore they practised how to get him into their power in order to take him off by poison. *Normahall* attempts the king with crocodile tears, telling him that sultan *Corsorone* was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts laid aside. The king heard, and seemed to assent, but would not understand more than she deliver'd in plain terms. This failing, they took the opportunity of the king's being drunk, when prince *Etiman Doulet*, and *Asaph Chan* moved, that for the safety of sultan *Corsorone*, and his honour, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, that their company might be a comfort to one another, and he better taken care of than in the hands of a *Resbote* idolater, to whom the king had committed him: therefore they humbly desired his majesty that he might be delivered into the hands of his dear brother, which the king granted, and so fell asleep. They thought themselves so great, that using the king's authority no man durst refuse them, and if he were once in their possession they would dispute the restoring of him. So the same night *Asaph Chan*, sent by the prince in the king's name, came with a guard to demand and receive sultan *Corsorone* at the hands of *Annarah*, a *Rajah Rasboot*, that is, a prince, to whose custody the king had committed him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer; That he was sultan *Corone*'s humble servant, but that he had received his brother from the hands of the king, and would deliver him to no other: that he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himself to his majesty, and be wholly at his disposal. This answer broke the design. In the morning *Annarah* came to the king, and acquainted him with the prince's demand, his refusal, and answer, adding, That his majesty had given him charge of his son, and made him commander of four thousand horse, with all which he would die at the gate, rather than deliver up the prince into the hands of his enemies. If his majesty required, he was ready to obey his will, but he would clear his own innocency. The king replied, You have done honestly and faithfully; you have answer'd discreetly, continue your resolution, and take no notice of any orders; I will not seem to know this, nor do you stir further in it; preserve your fidelity, and let us see how far they will carry it. The prince and the faction the next day finding the king took no notice of any thing, and therefore hoping he had forgot what pass'd in his wine, made no mention of the grant, or of the refusal; but the business fell on both sides, yet not without jealousy. This I insert, that the company may not scatter their goods, or engage too far into the kingdom, because the time will soon come when all will be in a combustion; and if sultan *Corsorone* prevail in asserting his right, this kingdom will be a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour and warlike discipline, and abhorring covetousness, and

Fidelity of an idolater.

the baſe cuſtom of taking preſents uſed by his anceſtors and the nobility. If the other be ſuperior, we ſhall be loſers, for he is zealous in his ſuperſtition, an enemy to all Chriſtians, proud, falſe, and barbarouſly tyrannical.

The 13th of this month of *October* the king returning from hunting, ſent me a wild pig. I received advice that the four *Engliſh* ſhips before-mentioned were ſafe in the port of *Soali*. There came ſix out of *England*, but they loſt company of one in bad weather, and another was ſent to *Bantam*. By the way they had fought a *Portugueſe* galeon bound for *Goa*, which burnt it ſelf. Upon this news, on the 14th I ſent for a *Portugueſe* jeſuit reſiding at the court, and gave him an account of it, offering a peace upon equal terms, which he promiſed to acquaint the viceroy of *Goa* with. Then I viſited the prince, and propoſing to him that we might have a port and place to fortify, and we would defend his ſhips againſt the *Portugueſes*, he rejected it with ſcorn. In the evening I waited on the king with the ſame account of our ſhips arrival, and he preſently aſked me what preſents came for him, which I could not give him an account of. He ordered I ſhould have ſuch things as I required ſent up to court ſeal'd, without ſearching or paying any cuſtom. The 16th, being with the prince's ſecretary about the diſpatch of our affairs, he moved me by his highneſs's order to procure him two gunners out of our fleet to ſerve him in the *Decan* wars for good pay, which I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent artiſts would ſerve there. This day *Abdala Chan* came to viſit the prince, ſo greatly attended, that I have not ſeen the like: his drums and muſick a horſe-back, being about twenty, made noiſe enough, then followed fifty perſons carrying white flags before him, and two hundred ſoldiers well mounted in coats of cloth of gold, velvet and rich ſilks who entered the gate with him in order. Next his perſon were forty targetiers in ſuch like liveries. He made humble reverence and preſented a black *Arabian* horſe with his furniture ſtudded with flowers of gold, enammeled and ſet with ſmall ſtones. The prince according to cuſtom, returned a turbant, a veſt, and a girdle.

Abdala Chan's ſtate.

Prince ſultan Corſorone *at laſt delivered up to his brother.*

The prince holding a reſolution of finiſhing the *Decan* wars in perſon, would not give any anſwer to thoſe embaſſadors, but detained them till he came near the frontiers. Being to depart, neither he nor his party thought themſelves ſecure, if ſultan *Corſorone* remained in the hands of *Annarah*, becauſe in his abſence the king might be reconciled, and he getting his liberty, all the glory and hopes of their faction would vaniſh, and their ambition and ill practices hardly be pardoned. On the 17th of this month therefore they again attack the king's conſtancy, deſiring him to deliver up his ſon into the hands of *Aſaph Chan*, as his guardian under ſultan *Corone*, pretending it will fright *Chan-Channa* and the *Decans*, when they hear this prince is ſo favoured, who comes to make war upon them, that the king has delivered up his eldeſt ſon to him, and in him as it were the whole kingdom, the hope of ſucceſſion, and the preſent power. The king, who had yielded himſelf up into the hands of a woman, could not defend his ſon from her practices. He either ſees not the ambition, or truſts it too far in confidence of his own power, and conſents; ſo that this day he was delivered up, the ſoldiers of *Annarah* diſcharged, and a ſupply of *Aſaph Chan*'s placed about him, with an addition of two hundred of the prince's horſe. His ſiſter and many women in the ſeraglio mourn, refuſe their meat, exclaim againſt the king's dotage and cruelty, and declare that if he dies an hundred of his kindred will burn for him in memory of the king's inhumanity towards his worthieſt ſon. The king gives fair words, proteſts no harm is deſigned the prince, promiſes his delivery, and ſends *Normahall* to appeaſe theſe enraged ladies, who curſe, threaten and refuſe to ſee her. The common people murmur, and ſay the king has not delivered his ſon, but his own life into the hands of an ambitious prince, and a treacherous faction. That ſultan *Corſorone* cannot periſh without ſcandal to the father, or revenge from him, and therefore he muſt go firſt, and after him his ſon, and ſo through their blood this youth muſt mount the throne. New hopes are ſpread of his re-deliverance, and ſoon allayed; every man tells news according to his fears or deſires; but the poor prince remains in the paws of the tiger, refuſes meat, and requires his father to take his life, and not ſuffer it to fall a victim to his enemies. The whole court is full of whiſpers, the nobility are ſad, the multitude like itſelf, full of rumour and noiſe, without head or order, and rages, but applies not to any proper means. The conſequences of theſe troubles are much to be feared.

Roe.

Perſian embaſſador his entry and audience.

The 19th the *Perſian* embaſſador *Mahomet Raza Beg* made his entry into the town about noon, with a great train, partly ſent out by the king to meet him with a hundred elephants, and muſick, though no man of greater quality than the ordinary receiver of ſtrangers. The embaſſador's own retinue were about fifty horſe, well equipped, and in coats of cloth of gold;

Roe. their bows, quivers, and targets richly garniſhed, forty ſhot, and about two hundred common foot, and attendance on the baggage. He was carried to reſt in a room within the king's outward court till evening, when he came to the *Durbar*, before the king. I ſent my ſecretary to obſerve the faſhion of this ceremony. When he approached, he made at the firſt rail three *teſelins*, and one *ſizeda*, which is proſtrating himſelf and knocking his head againſt the ground; he did ſo again within, and ſo preſented *Sha Abas*'s letter, which the king took with a little motion of his body, only aſking, How does my brother? without mentioning the title of majeſty. After ſome few words he was placed in the ſeventh rank againſt the rail by the door, below ſo many of the king's ſervants on both ſides, which in my opinion was a very mean place for his maſter's embaſſador; but he well deſerved it, for doing that reverence which his predeceſſors refuſed, to the diſhonour of his prince, and the regret of many of his nation. It is ſaid he had order from the *Sophy* to give content, and 'tis therefore ſuppos'd his meſſage is for ſome ſupply of money againſt the *Turk*, which has been liberally granted, tho' at the ſame time it is pretended he comes only to mediate a peace for the *Decans*, whom *Sha Abas* pretends to protect, being jealous of the increaſe of this empire. The king according to cuſtom gave him a handſome turbant, a veſt of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which again he made three *teſelins*, and one *ſizeda*, or inclination down to the ground. He brought for preſents three times nine *Arabian* and *Perſian* horſes, this being a ceremonious number among them; nine mules very fair and large, ſeven camels laden with velvet, two ſutes of *European* hangings, which I ſuppoſe were not *Arras*, but *Venetian* velvet wrought with gold; two cheſts of *Perſian* hangings, one rich cabinet, forty muſkets, five clocks, one camel laden with *Perſian* cloth of gold, eight carpets of ſilk, two rubies ballaces, twenty one camel-loads of wine of the grape, fourteen camels of diſtill'd ſweet waters, ſeven of roſe-water, ſeven daggers ſet with precious ſtones, five ſwords ſet after the ſame manner, ſeven *Venetian* looking-glaſſes, and theſe ſo fair and rich, that I was out of countenance when I heard it. Theſe preſents were not delivered now, but only a note of them. His own equipage was rich, having nine led horſes trapped in gold and ſilver. About his turbant was wound a ſtring of pearls, rubies and *Turky* ſtones, and three pipes of gold anſwering to three feathers. I cauſed his reception to be diligently obſerved, and found he was not favoured above me in any point, but much leſs in many particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of town, which by reaſon of my ſickneſs was not demanded; nor did the king receive *Sha Abas*'s letter with ſuch reſpect as he did my maſter's, whom he called the king of *England* his brother, and the *Perſian* barely brother, without any addition; which was an obſervation of the jeſuit, who underſtood the language.

The 20th of *October* I received the prince's letter to ſend for *Surat*, with orders to the governor of that place to ſit with the judge of the cuſtom-houſe, and take care that no wrong was done the *Engliſh*. But as to the matter of ſending up the preſents to me ſealed and unſearched, 'twas ſo unintelligible that it was ſubject to various conſtructions, which I judged to be done deſignedly, that they might be ſent to him to be his own carver. This made me ſend it back to his ſecretary, and it being returned more intricate than at firſt, I went to the prince on the twenty firſt, and deſired him to have that part better explained. He aſked me how he ſhould have *his* preſents, or other ſuch curioſities as came up? and moved me to go with him where they were. I anſwered, I could not do it till I had delivered my meſſage and tokens to the king, but would then attend his highneſs with his preſents, and all rarities that came to my hands ſhould be ſent after him. He preſſed me to give my word for the performance, and ſo I obtain'd an order to my mind. His highneſs looking on a white feather in my hat, aſked if I would give it him. I reply'd, I would not offer that I had worn, but if he pleaſed to command it, that or any thing in my power was at his ſervice; and I took his acceptance as a great honour. He aſked whether I had any more; I ſaid, three or four of other colours: and he again, whether I would give them all, becauſe he was to ſhew his horſes and ſervants to the king within two days, and wanted ſome; they being very rare in thoſe parts. I promiſed to bring them all on the morrow, that his highneſs might take what he pleaſed.

Abdala Chan in a gallant equipage both as to his perſon and retinue, though the apparel was ſtrange and antick, but ſoldier-like in thoſe parts, preſented the prince a white horſe, the ſaddle and furniture of gold enammel'd; the beaſt of delicate ſhape, mettleſome, and bold. The prince returned a plain ſword with a leather belt. Many others were brought before him with ſilver hilts, and chapes ſet with ſmall ſtones, and targets covered with velvet wrought with gold, and ſome painted and boſſed with gold and ſilver, which he gave to his ſervants againſt the review. Many ſaddles

Abdala Chan *preſents the prince.*

The prince's wealth.

and furnitures of his own all of gold ſet with ſtones for led horſes were ſhewn, his boots embroidered, and all other accoutrements of ſtate. The value is wonderful, and the wealth daily ſeen ineſtimable.

It is reported, that this laſt night ſix of the prince's ſervants went to murder ſultan *Corſorone*, but were not admitted by the porter; and that the queen mother is gone to the king with an account of all the practice.

Perſian *embaſſador's audience and preſents.*

In the evening I went to the *Dunbar* to viſit the king, where I met the *Perſian* embaſſador with the firſt ſhew of his preſents. He appeared more like a jeſter or juggler, than a perſon of gravity, running up and down, and acting all he ſaid like a mimick. He delivered the preſents with his own hands, which the king received with ſmiles, a cheerful countenance, and expreſſions of ſatisfaction. His tongue was a great advantage to him in delivering his buſineſs; which he did with ſo much flattery and obſequiouſneſs, that it pleaſed as much as his gift: ever calling the *Mogul* king and commander of the world, forgetting his own maſter had a ſhare in it; and upon every ſlight occaſion he made his *teſelins*. When all was delivered for that day, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and knock'd it with his head as if he would have enter'd it. The gifts were a quiver for bow and arrows delicately embroider'd; all ſorts of *European* fruits artificial in diſhes; folding purſes, and knacks of leather wrought with needle-work in colour'd ſilks; ſhoes embroider'd and ſtitch'd; great glaſſes in frames inlay'd; one ſquare piece of velvet embroider'd high with gold in panes, between which were *Italian* pictures wrought in the ſtuff, which he ſaid were the king and queen of *Venice*; of theſe ſix pieces were given, but only one ſhew'd. There were beſides many other curioſities of ſmall value; after which came three times nine horſes, which had either loſt their fleſh or beauty, for I thought them all except two or three, unfit to be ſent to, or received by princes; the mules were handſome. After this he returned with many antick tricks to his place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone, and above all ſubjects. This is but the firſt act of his preſenting, the play will not be finiſh'd in ten days.

Sultan Corone's *faithleſs dealing.*

The 22d the letter the prince had promis'd me for the ſending up of the preſents unſearch'd, being again detained, I went to his ſecretary, who ſaid they could not be ſent up without viſiting, leſt the merchants under that pretence ſhould ſteal cuſtoms. I was offended and going away, but the ſecretary prevailed with me to go with him to the prince, who accepted of ſome feathers I brought him; and knowing my reſolution, ordered I ſhould be diſpatch'd to content. At night I went to the *Durbar* to obſerve the *Perſian* embaſſador, and found him ſtanding in his rank, but often removed and ſet lower, as great men came in. The king once ſpoke to him, and he danced to that muſick, but gave no preſent, and the *Mogul* order'd he ſhould be feaſted by the nobles. The 24th the king removed to *Havar Gemal*, and ſent for the *Perſian* embaſſador, who at night eat and drank before the king with the nobility in the ſame manner as I had done on the birth-day. The difference was, that the *Mogul* gave him twenty thouſand roupies for his expence, for which he made many *teſelins* and *ſizedaes*, not riſing from the ground for a conſiderable time, which extremely pleaſed the king, and was baſe, but profitable flattery. The 25th the king return'd to court, having been far gone over night in wine. Some either accidentally or maliciouſly ſpoke of the laſt merry night, and that many of the nobility drank wine, which none muſt do without leave. The king forgetting his order, aſk'd who gave it; and the anſwer was made, the *Buxy*, for no man dares ſay it was the king, when he ſeems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The cuſtom is, that when the king drinks, which is alone, ſometimes he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not, it is look'd upon as a crime; and ſo every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer, has his name writ down, and he makes his *teſelin*, tho' perhaps the king's eyes are clouded. The king not remembring his own command, call'd the *Buxy*, and aſk'd whether he gave the order; who falſly denied it, for he had it from the king, and by name call'd all that drank with the embaſſador. The king then call'd for the liſt, and perſons nam'd in it, and fin'd ſome one, ſome two, and ſome three thouſand roupies; and ſome that were nearer his perſon he caus'd to be whipt before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty ſtripes with a terrible inſtrument, having at the ends of four cords, irons like ſpur-rowels, ſo that every ſtroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the ſtanders by to ſpurn them, and after that the porters to break their ſtaves on them. Thus moſt cruelly mangled and bruiſed they were carried out; one of them dy'd on the ſpot. Some would have excuſed it by laying it on the embaſſador; but the king reply'd, he only ordered a cup or two to be given him. Tho' drunkenneſs be a common vice and an exerciſe of the king's, yet it is ſo ſtrictly forbidden, that no man can enter the *Guzelcan*, where the

Roe.

The Perſian *embaſſador's fawning.*

Drinking of wine cruelly puniſh'd.

ROE. the king ſits, but the porters ſmell his breath, and if he have but taſted wine, is not ſuffer'd to come in; and if the reaſon of his abſence be known it will be a difficult matter to eſcape the whip: for if the king once takes offence, the father will not ſpeak for the ſon. Thus the king made all the company pay the *Perſian* embaſſador's preſent.

The 28th, the king's day of removal being at hand, I ſent to *Aſaph Chan* for a warrant for carriages. The merchants having ſought all the town to remove their goods to *Agra*, could find none. I being enroll'd by his majeſty, received order for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches at the king's price. Of theſe I allowed the factors as many as they needed for their uſe. I cannot here omit a paſſage either of wonderful baſeneſs in this great monarch, or elſe a trial put upon me. The king had condemn'd divers thieves, among which were ſome boys. There was no way to ſave their lives, but to ſell them for ſlaves. His majeſty commanded *Aſaph Chan* to offer two of them to me for money; which he appointed the *cutwall*, that is the marſhal, to do. My interpreter made anſwer, without my knowledge, that Chriſtians kept no ſlaves; that thoſe the king had given me I had ſet free, and it was in vain to propoſe it to me. Yet afterwards of himſelf he told me of it. I ſuſpected it might be a trial of me, to ſee whether I would give a little money to ſave the lives of two children; or elſe, I thought, tho' it were in earneſt, it were no great loſs to do a good deed, and try the baſeneſs or ſcope of this offer. I commanded my interpreter to go to *Aſaph Chan*, and tell him he had acquainted me with the motion, and his anſwer; that I had reprov'd him for pretending to deliver my thoughts in any caſe: and therefore my own reply was, that if there were any money to be paid to redeem the lives of two children to thoſe whom they had robb'd, or to redeem them from the law, I was ready to give it both out of reſpect to the king's commands, and for charity; but I would not buy them as ſlaves, only pay their ranſom, and free them: and therefore if he would know the king's pleaſure, that I might give them their liberty without offence, I was very willing to do it. *Aſaph Chan* reply'd, I might diſpoſe of them as I pleaſed; that it was an extraordinary goodneſs, and with many commendations accepted of the money; deſiring me to ſend it to the *cutwall*, and to uſe my own diſcretion with the boys; never offering to inform the king, which was one end of my liberality. But I reſolving not to be impos'd upon, leſt this ſhould be only a trick of the officers to get money, ſent to let the *cutwall* know what had paſs'd between me and *Aſaph Chan*, and that if at night he would acquaint the king that I had offered to redeem the priſoners out of charity, and his majeſty would conſent to their liberty, I was ready to pay the money, but would not buy them as ſlaves; and deſired his majeſty to pardon them upon my redemption. Thus I put them to the teſt of their own offer. The ſum demanded did not exceed ten pounds. The *cutwall* anſwer'd, he would know the king's pleaſure. Some would perſuade me this is one of the *Mogul*'s ſignal favours, to pitch upon ſuch great men, to whom he will offer the opportunity of doing good, as the redeeming of priſoners; and that the money is to make ſatisfaction to the party that was robb'd; and that theſe ſo appointed by the king to ranſom others, make the *ſizeda*, as for ſome benefit received. I went to the *Durbar* to ſee if his majeſty would himſelf ſpeak to me; the *cutwall* made many motions, but I underſtood nothing. This day I ſent my ſecretary to the *Perſian* embaſſador, to let him know I would viſit him, if he would give his word to repay the viſit, with other compliments. Who anſwered with all reſpect, that it was the cuſtom of the country for embaſſadors not to viſit one another without the king's leave, which he would move for, and then receive me with all friendſhip, and repay my viſit; with many more expreſſions of civility.

Redemption of condemn'd criminals.

November the firſt, ſultan *Corone* took his leave and went to his tents. The king at noon ſat out in the *Durbar*, whither the prince brought his elephants, being about ſix hundred richly trap'd and furniſh'd, and his followers by computation one thouſand horſe; many of them in cloth of gold, with herons feathers in their turbants all very gallant. The prince himſelf in a coat of cloth of ſilver embroider'd with great pearl, and glittering with diamonds like the firmament. The king embrac'd, kiſs'd, and ſhew'd him much affection. At his departure he gave him a ſword, the ſcabbard all of gold ſet with ſtones, valued at 100000 roupies; a dagger at 40000; an elephant and two horſes, all their furniture of gold ſet with ſtones; and for a cloſe, one of the new coaches made in imitation of that ſent by the king my maſter; and commanded the *Engliſh* coachman to drive him to his tents. The prince went into the coach, and ſat in the middle, the ſides open, his chiefeſt nobles afoot walking by him to his tents about four miles diſtant. All the way he threw quarters of roupies, being followed by a multitude of people. He reached his hand

Sultan Corone's departure for the army.

to

to the coachman, and put into his hat about 100 roupies.

The Mogul's *ſitting in the* jarruco. The ſecond the king removed about three miles to his tents with his women and all the court. I went beforehand to attend him; and coming to the palace, found him at the *jarruco* window, and went upon the ſcaffold under him. Not having ſeen this place before, I was glad of the opportunity. Two eunuchs ſtood on two treſſels with long poles and feather fans at the end of them, fanning him. He beſtowed many favours, and received preſents. What he beſtowed he let down by a ſilk ſtring roll'd on a turning inſtrument; what was given him, a venerable fat deformed old matron, wrinkled and hung round with gimbels like an image, pulled up at a hole with ſuch another clue. At one ſide in a window were his two principal wives, whoſe curioſity made them break little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I ſaw firſt their fingers, and then they laying their faces cloſe, firſt the one, and then the other, I could ſometimes diſcern their full proportion. They were indifferently white, with black hair ſmooth'd up; but if there had been no other light, their diamonds and pearls had ſufficed to ſhew them. When I looked up, they retired; and were ſo merry, that I ſuppoſe they laughed at me. On a ſudden the king roſe, we retired to the *Durbar*, and ſat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and ſat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorn'd, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs all encloſed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of ſilver. Then the king came down the ſtairs with ſuch an acclamation of health to the king, as would have out-roar'd cannon. At the foot of the ſtairs, where I met him, and ſhuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a diſh of white ſtuff like ſtarch, into which he put his finger, and touch'd the fiſh, and ſo rubb'd it on his forehead; a ceremony uſed preſaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his ſword and hung on his buckler ſet all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold ſuitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a caſe, being the ſame that was preſented by the *Perſian* embaſſador. On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of herons feathers, not many but long. On one ſide hung a ruby unſet, as big as a walnut; on the other ſide a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart much bigger. His ſtaff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds drill'd.

The Mogul's *wives.*

Fifty elephants to carry the women.

Ceremony at the Mogul's *ſetting out.*

Dreſs of the Mogul, *and his attendants.*

About his neck he wore a chain of three ſtrings of moſt excellent pearl, the largeſt I ever ſaw. Above his elbows, armlets ſet with diamonds, and on his wriſt three rows of ſeveral ſorts; his hands bare, but almoſt on every finger a ring. His gloves which were *Engliſh*, ſtuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without ſleeves, upon a fine *ſemain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buſkins embroider'd with pearl, the toes ſharp and turning up. Thus arm'd and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new *Engliſh* ſervant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horſes, which were trapp'd and harneſs'd in gold velvets. This was the firſt coach he ever ſat in, made by that ſent out of *England*, ſo like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a *Perſian* gold velvet. He ſat at the end, and on each ſide went two eunuchs, who carried ſmall maces of gold ſet all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horſetail to ſlap the flies away. Before him went drums, baſe trumpets, and loud muſick, many canopies, umbrelloes, and other ſtrange enſigns of majeſty, made of cloth of gold ſet in many places with rubies. Nine led horſes, the furniture ſome garniſh'd with rubies, ſome with pearls and emeralds, ſome only with ſtuds enamel'd. The *Perſian* embaſſador preſented him a horſe. Next behind came three palankines, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, ſet at the ends with ſtones, and cover'd with crimſon velvet embroider'd with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it ſet with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footſtool of gold ſet with ſtones. The other two palankines were cover'd and lin'd only with cloth of gold. Next followed the *Engliſh* coach newly cover'd and richly adorned, which he had given to queen *Normahall*, who ſat in it. After them a third, in which ſat his younger ſons. Then followed about twenty elephants royal, led for him to mount, ſo rich in ſtones and furniture, that they glitter'd like the ſun. Every elephant had ſundry flags of cloth of ſilver, gilt ſattin and taffety. His noblemen he ſuffered to walk afoot, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carried half a mile behind him. When he came before the door where his eldeſt ſon is priſoner, he ſtay'd the coach, and called for him. He came and made reverence, with a ſword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a ſign of diſfavour. The king commanded him to mount one of the ſpare elephants, and ſo rode next to him, with extroordinary applauſe and joy

The Mogul's *eldeſt ſon taken out of priſon.*

Roe. of all men, who are now filled with new hopes. The king gave him one thouſand roupies to caſt to the people. His jailor *Aſaph Chan*, and all thoſe monſters were yet afoot. I took horſe to avoid the croud and other inconveniences, and croſs'd out of the *leſkar* before him, waiting till he came near his tents. He paſs'd all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his back, and on the four corners of each four banners of yellow taffety, and right before a piece of cannon carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball, the gunner behind it. They were in all about three hundred. Other elephants of ſtate went before and behind, being about ſix hundred, all which are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold, and had two or three gilded banners. Several footmen ran along the way with ſkins of water to lay the duſt before the king. No horſe or man was ſuffered to come within two furlongs of the coach, except thoſe that walked by afoot. So that I haſted to his tents to attend his alighting. They were walled in about half an *Engliſh* mile in compaſs in form of a fort, with ſeveral angles and bulwarks, and high curtains of a coarſe ſtuff made like arras, red on the outſide, and within figures in panes, with a handſome gatehouſe, every poſt that bore theſe up headed with braſs. The throng was great, I had a mind to go in; no man was permitted, the greateſt in the land ſitting at the door: However I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refuſed the *Perſian* embaſſador, and all the noblemen. Here firſt the *Perſian* embaſſador ſaluted me with a ſilent compliment. In the midſt of this court was a throne of mother of pearl born on two pillars raiſed on earth, cover'd over with a high tent, the pole headed with a nob of gold; under that canopies of cloth of gold, and under foot carpets. When the king drew near the door, ſome noblemen came in, and the *Perſian* embaſſador. We ſtood on both ſides making a line. The king entring caſt his eye on me; I made him reverence, and he laid his hand on his breaſt and bowed, and turning to the other ſide nodded to the *Perſian*. I followed at his heels till he went up, and every man cry'd, joy and good fortune; and ſo we took our places. He called for water, waſhed his hands, and departed. His women went in ſome other way to their apartment, and his ſon I ſaw not. Within this incloſure were about thirty diviſions with tents. All the noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent forms, ſome all white, ſome green, ſome mixed, all encloſed as orderly as any houſe, in the moſt magnificent manner I ever ſaw. The vale ſhewed like a beautiful city, for the baggage made no confuſion. I was ill provided with carriage, and aſhamed of my equipage; for five years allowance would not have provided me an indifferent ſuit anſwerable to others, and to add to the grandeur every man has two, ſo that one goes before to the next ground, and is ſet up a day before the king riſes from the place where he is. So I returned to my poor houſe.

The Mogul's *camp a glorious ſight.*

November the fifth I rode about five miles to the prince's tents. I made his highneſs my compliments of leave, wiſhing him proſperity and ſucceſs; but he ordered me to return and take my leave two days after, having preſented him ſome buſineſs about debts due to the *Engliſh*, which he promiſed to examine and diſpatch. He ſat with the ſame greatneſs and magnificence I mentioned of his father, his throne being plated over with ſilver, inlay'd with flowers of gold, and the canopy over it ſquare, born up on four pillars covered with ſilver; his arms, ſword, buckler, bows, arrows, and lance on a table before him. The watch was ſet, for it was evening when we came abroad. I obſerved him curiouſly now he was abſolute, and took notice of his behaviour and actions. He received two letters, and read them ſtanding before he aſcended his throne. I never ſaw ſo ſettled a countenance, or any man keep ſo conſtant a gravity, never ſmiling, nor by his looks ſhewing any reſpect or diſtinction of perſons, but an extreme pride and contempt of all. Yet I perceived ſome inward trouble now and then aſſail him, and a kind of interruption and diſtraction in his thoughts; anſwering ſuitors diſorderly, or in confuſion, or not hearing them. If I can judge of it, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom he has the liberty of converſing. *Normahall* the day before went to viſit him in the *Engliſh* coach, and took leave of him. She gave him a cloke all embroidered with pearl, diamonds, and rubies, and carry'd away, if I miſtake not, all his attention for buſineſs. The ninth the prince being to remove, ſent one of his guard in haſte for me. I was not provided to go but he preſs'd me, urging his maſter ſtay'd for me; that he ordered him not to return without me; that all the court did talk of the prince's favour to me; that it was reported he had deſired the king to let me accompany him to the army; and that he had promiſed to uſe me ſo well, that I ſhould confeſs his favour to our nation. This news made me take horſe after dinner; but I found him newly riſen and marching, but met a *Dutchman* his jeweller, who confirmed all the ſoldier had ſaid, and added ſo much more that I believed none of it. I ſent word I was come, and he returned anſwer, that I ſhould paſs

Sultan Corſorone's *camp and ſtate.*

His behaviour.

before

before to the tents, and ſit till he came; and he would ſpeak with me. It was night before he came; he only looked on me, ſat a little, and went in among his women. As he paſs'd he turned about, and ſent a ſervant to deſire me to ſtay a while, and he would come into the *Guzelcan*, and take his leave of me. Within half an hour he ſet out, but I could not get any man to put him in mind of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot it, or put a trick of ſtate upon me; ſo that I ſtay'd an hour. Being much troubled I went to the door, and told the waiters that the prince had ſent for me; that I came only to receive his orders; that I had ſtay'd long, and muſt return to my houſe, it being late; and if his highneſs had any buſineſs I deſir'd him to ſend it after me, for I ſcorned ſuch uſage; and ſo went away to take horſe. Before I could mount, meſſengers came running for me, and I went in. He excuſed himſelf, and blamed his officers, uſing me with much ſhew of civility; calling me to ſee his cards, and aſking me ſeveral queſtions. The eunuchs and officers told me the prince would make me a great preſent, and if I feared to ride home late, I ſhould have ten horſe to guard me. The preſent came, and was a cloke of cloth of gold which he had worn once or twice, and which they put upon my back: I made reverence for it very unwillingly; and it is here reputed the higheſt favour to give a garment that has been worn by the prince, or juſt lain on his ſhoulders; yet this would have become an actor that had repreſented his anceſtor *Tamerlan*. Then he bowed, and I had my diſcharge; yet firſt I urged ſome buſineſs, and having my anſwer, took my leave. Going out I was followed by his porters and waiters in ſuch ſhameful manner, that I half paid for my cloke before I got clear of them.

The prince's preſent to Sir Tho. Roe.

November the tenth almoſt all the town being removed, I was left behind, having got neither camels nor carts, notwithſtanding my warrant; and the *Perſian* embaſſador was under the ſame circumſtances, who complained and was ſoon redreſs'd: Whereupon I ſent to court, and on the eleventh received two warrants for carts or camels at the king's price; but it was not eaſy to get either, the great men having ſoldiers every way to take all up; and indeed it was wonderful how the whole town and two *leſkars*, or camps, that is the king's and prince's could remove at once. The ſixteenth the king gave orders to fire all the *leſkars*, or huts at *Adſmere*, to oblige the people to follow him; which was daily executed. The *Perſian* embaſſador and I were left in bad plight, in danger of thieves, who came daily from the camp to rob; and almoſt without bread to eat. This made me think of buying beaſts and carriages, which would prove as cheap as hiring; but firſt I ſent again to court to make one trial more. Having nothing material to ſpeak of during my ſolitude at *Adſmere*, I will here ſay ſomething of the condition of *Sultan Corſorone*, of whoſe late delivery into the hands of his enemies, before-mentioned, every man's heart and mouth was full. The king notwithſtanding he had ſo far condeſcended to ſatisfy his proud ſon at his departure, yet it ſeems deſigned not to wink at any wrong offered the elder; and therefore partly to ſecure him in the hands of *Aſaph Chan*, and partly to ſatisfy the people who murmured, and feared ſome treachery might be practiſed againſt him, took occaſion to declare his mind in publick. *Aſaph Chan* had viſited his new priſoner, and in his behaviour did not acknowledge him as his prince, but rudely preſt upon him againſt his will, and without reſpect. Some are of opinion he picked a quarrel, and knowing that the prince's brave nature would not bear an affront, tempted him to draw his ſword, or uſe ſome violence, which the guard ſhould preſently revenge, or elſe it ſhould be repreſented to the king as an attempt to kill his keeper, and make his eſcape. But the prince was more patient, and only got a friend to acquaint the king with his jailor's manners. The king called *Aſaph Chan* at the *Durbar*, and aſked when he ſaw his charge. He anſwered, two days before. His majeſty reply'd, What did you with him? He ſaid, only viſit him. The king preſs'd to know how he behaved himſelf towards the prince. *Aſaph Chan* perceiving the king knew what had happened, ſaid he went to ſee him, and to offer his ſervice, but the prince refuſed to admit him into his chamber; which, he having charge of him, thought neceſſary for himſelf to do, and uncivil for the other to refuſe, and therefore he preſt in. The king preſently reply'd, When you were in, what ſaid you, what did you, what duty ſhew'd you towards my ſon? *Aſaph* was blank, and confeſſed he did him no reverence. Whereupon the king told him, he would make his proud heart know him to be his eldeſt ſon and beloved heir, his prince and lord; and if once he heard the leaſt want of reſpect or duty towards him, he would command his ſon to ſet his foot upon his neck and trample on him: That he loved *Sultan Corone* well, but would make the world know, he did not intruſt his ſon among them for his ruin.

Roe.

Sultan Corſorone's *uſage.*

The twentieth of this month I received a new warrant for carriages, which procured me eight camels, but ſuch poor ones as would

Sir Tho. Roe *follows the king.*

ROE. would not ſuffice me, and therefore I was forced to take order to buy the reſt. The 22d I removed into my tents. The 25th I removed ſix coſſes, but ſtaid the following days for the caravan that was going from *Agra* to *Surat* to ſend my papers with ſafety. *December* the firſt I removed four coſſes to *Ramſor*, where the king had left the bodies of a hundred naked men, executed in the fields for robbing. The 2d ſeven coſſes, the 3d reſted becauſe of the rain, the *4th* five coſſes; in the way this day I overtook a camel laden with three hundred mens heads, ſent from *Candahar* by the governor as a preſent to the king, theſe men being in rebellion. The *5th* five coſſes, the *6th* four, where I overtook the king at a wall'd town call'd *Todah*, in the beſt country I ſaw ſince my landing; being a fair champaign, at every coſſe a village; the ſoil fruitful in corn, cotton, and cattle. The *17th* the king only removed from one ſide to the other of the town, which was one of the beſt built I ever ſaw in *India*, for ſome houſes were two ſtories high, and moſt of them ſuch as a pedlar might not ſcorn to keep ſhop in, all cover'd with tile. It had been the ſeat of a *raja raſhoote* before the conqueſt of *Ezbar Sha*, and ſtood at the foot of a great rock very ſtrong, had many excellent works of hew'd ſtone about it, many ponds arch'd, vaulted, and deſcents to them large and deep: By it was a delicate grove, two miles long and a quarter broad, planted on purpoſe with mangoes, tamarinds, and other fruit-trees divided into walks, and full of little temples, and altars of pagodes, and *Indian* idolatry, many fountains, wells and ſummer-houſes of carved ſtone curiouſly arch'd; ſo that a baniſh'd *Engliſhman* might have been content to live there. But it is a general obſervation, that all goes to ruin and deſtruction; for ſince the propriety of all is come to the king, no man takes care of any thing in particular, ſo that devaſtation and the ſpoils of war appear in every place without any reparation. The *8th* I was at the king's *Guzelcan*, and found him ſo near drunk that he made it up in half an hour, ſo that I could move no buſineſs to him.

Todah town deſcribed.

The 9th I took a view of the *leſkar*, or king's camp, which is one of the greateſt wonders I e'er beheld, and chiefly for that I ſaw it ſet up and finiſhed in leſs than four hours, except ſome of the great men, who have double ſuits of tents, it being no leſs than twenty *Engliſh* miles in compaſs, the length ſome ways three coſſes including the ſkirts: In the middle, where the ſtreets are orderly, and tents join'd, there are all ſorts of ſhops, and ſo regularly diſpos'd, that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of quality, and every trade being appointed how far from the king's tents they ſhall pitch, what ground they ſhall take up, and on what ſide, without ever altering. All which as it lies together is almoſt equal to any town in *Europe* for greatneſs; but no man muſt approach the royal *ataſckanha*, or quarter, by a muſket-ſhot every way; which is now ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the *Durbar* in the evening is omitted, and ſpent in hunting, or hawking on pools by boat, in which the king takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. He ſits on the ſides of theſe pools, which are often a mile or two over. At the *jarruco* in the morning he is ſeen, but buſineſs, or ſpeech prohibited, all being concluded at night in the *Guzelcan*, and there very often the opportunity is miſs'd, his majeſty being overcome by the fumes of *Bacchus*. There was now a whiſper at court about a new affinity of ſultan *Corſorone* and *Aſaph Chan*, and great hope of the former's liberty. *I will find an opportunity* to diſcourſe of it, becauſe the particulars are worth obſerving, and the wiſdom and goodneſs of the king appears above the malice of others; and *Normahall* fulfils that obſervation, that a woman has always a great hand at court and in faction: She ſhews they are not incapable of managing buſineſs. This will diſcover a noble prince, an excellent wife, a faithful counſellor, a crafty ſtep-mother, an ambitious ſon, a cunning favourite, all reconciled by a patient king, whoſe heart was not underſtood by any of all thoſe. But this will require a peculiar place. The *Engliſh* at *Surat* complained of ill uſage at this time, but their drunkenneſs and other exorbitances proceeding from it were ſo great in that place, that it was rather wonderful they were ſuffered to live.

The Mogul's camp deſcribed.

The 18th of this month of *December* I viſited the king, who having been at his ſports, and having all his game before him, deſir'd me to take my choice of the fowl and fiſh, and then diſtributed the remainder to the nobility. I found him ſitting on his throne, and a beggar at his feet, a poor ſilly old man all ragged and patch'd, with a young rogue attending him. The country abounds in this ſort of profeſs'd poor holy men, and they are held in great veneration; and in works of mortification, and voluntary ſufferings, they outdo all that ever has been pretended either by hereticks or idolaters. This miſerable wretch cloathed in rags, crown'd with feathers, cover'd with aſhes, his majeſty talk'd with about an hour ſo familiarly, and with ſuch ſeeming kindneſs, that it muſt needs argue

The Mogul's charity.

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all humility not found easily among kings. The beggar sat, which the king's son dares not do; he gave the king a present, a cake mix'd with ashes, burnt on the coals, and made by himself of coarse grain, which the king willingly accepted, broke a bit and eat it, which a nice person could scarce have done; then he took the clout and wrapt it up and put into the poor man's bosom, and sent for 100 roupies, and with his own hand pour'd them into the poor man's lap, and gather'd up for him what fell beside. When his collation, or banquet and drink came, whatsoever he took to eat he broke and gave the beggar half; and rising after many strange humiliations and charities, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, tho' no cleanly body durst have touch'd him, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, and calling him father, left him and all of us, and me in admiration to see such virtue in a heathen prince, which I mention with emulation and sorrow, that we having the true vine should bring forth the bastard stock of grapes; wishing either our christian princes had this devotion, or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the gospel.

Bad travelling in woods and mountains

The 23d being about three cosses short of a city call'd *Rantepoor*, where it was supposed the king would rest, and consult what way to take, he on a sudden turn'd towards *Mandoa*, but without declaring his resolution. I am of opinion he took this way for fear of the plague at *Agra*, rather than out of any design of being near the army; for we march'd every other day about four cosses, only with such a train of baggage as was almost impossible to be kept in order. The 26th we pass'd through woods and over mountains thick of bushes, where many camels perished, many people tir'd with the difficulties of an impassable way, went away to *Agra*, and all complain'd. I lost my tents and carts, but by midnight we met again. The king resteth two days, for the *leskar* could not in less time recover their order: many of the carts and camels lying in the woody mountains without meat or water. He himself got through on a small elephant that will climb up rocks, and pass such straits, that no horse or beast I have seen can follow him. The 29th we lay by the river of *Chambel*.

A notable elephant.

January the first I complained to *Asaph Chan* of the injuries offer'd to the *English* at *Surat*, tho' at the same time I was perplexed with several relations which gave as bad an account of their disorders and outrages. *Asaph* advised me not to make my complaint to the king, which would incense the prince, but to ask leave of the former to go visit the latter with a letter from him, recommending the dispatch of my business and good usage of our nation. That carrying his highness a present with this letter, I should please both parties, and succeed in my business. This was the same I had before proposed to my self, and therefore pleased me the better; the king being now certainly design'd for *Mandoa*, which is but eight days journey from *Brampore*, where the prince was, and I had as good ride over to him as lie idle in the fields. This day at noon I visited the *Persian* embassador, being the first time we had leisure to do it, and he received me with much respect and courtesy. After our first compliments, I proposed to him the settling of trade in his master's dominions, which he undertook to forward as much as in him lay. He made me a banquet of ill fruit, but being a good fellow it appeared well. In his courtesy he outdid all my entertainment in *India*. He rail'd at the court, at the king's officers and council, and used a strange liberty. He offer'd to be my interpreter, desiring I would pitch my tents by his, and he would propose whatever I would to the king. Much more pass'd between us, but at parting he press'd me to accept of a horse with a good furniture, which was brought to the door, but I refused him; and therefore he sent for nine pieces of *Persian* silks, and nine bottles of wine, that I might not depart without some testimony of his love, which I also refused with all expressions of affection. He looking earnestly upon my sword, I offer'd it, and he by my example would not receive. At night I visited the king, who spent his time sadly with an old man, after reading long letters, and few spoke to him. At his rising he gave this gentleman that sat by him, and was a cripple for age, 5000 roupies, and with many embraces took his leave. Here I met the *Persian* embassador again, who after some compliments, repenting that he had refused my sword, which he had a liking to, begged it, declaring that liberty among friends was good manners in his country. We continued removing every other day about four or five cosses, and on the 7th came to the goodly river *Shind*. The 18th the king pass'd between two mountains, having cut the way through the woods, but with so much trouble and incumbrance to the baggage, that it was left behind, without any provision for man or beast. I found my tents at midnight, having taken up my lodging till then under a tree. This country is full of thieves, and not perfectly under obedience, but as it is kept by force. It belongs to a *raja*, who desired not to see the king. The exactor complained, and some few of the people that fled being taken and chained by

Roe.

Sir Tho. Roe's *visit to the* Persian *embassador.*

A country not well subdued.

ROE. the necks, were preſented to the king, the reſt kept the mountains. At night the king fired the town by which he lay, and appointed a new governor of the quarter to re-edify and re-people it, and to reduce it to more civility. He left him ſome horſe to perform this. The 20th thoſe that had fled into the woods, in revenge for the burning of their town, ſet upon a company of ſtragglers left behind, killing many and robbing the reſt. The 22d having no news of the preſents I expected from *Surat*, I went to viſit the king at night, to obſerve how he received me: I found him ſitting after a new manner, ſo that I was to ſeek what place to chuſe. Being loth to mix with his great men, as was offered, and doubting to go into the room where the king was, which was cut down the bank of a river, and none near him but *Etimon Doulet* his father-in-law, *Aſaph Chan*, and three or four others; I went to the brink and ſtood alone. The king obſerved me and let me ſtay a while, and then ſmiling, call'd me in, and with his hand directed me to ſtand by him; a favour ſo unuſual that it pleaſed and honour'd me, and I ſoon found the effects of it in the behaviour of other men. He provoked me to talk, and I called for an interpreter, he refuſed it, preſſing me to make uſe of what *Perſian* words I had. Our diſcourſe had not much ſenſe or coherence, but he was pleaſed with it, and ſhewed his approbation in a very courteous manner.

The king of Decan *with fifty thouſand horſe defends his country.*

The 24th news came to court, that the *Decans* would not be frighted out of their liberty at the hearing of the *Mogul*'s approach, as *Aſaph Chan* and *Normahall* had pretended, to perſuade this expedition; but that they had ſent their baggage far into the country, and lay on the borders with fifty thouſand horſe, reſolving to give battle. That ſultan *Corone* was as yet advanced no farther than *Mando*, being afraid both of the enemy and *Chan Channa*. Hereupon theſe counſellors alter'd their advice, declaring to the *Mogul*, that they imagin'd the *Decan* would have yielded upon the dread of his approach, before he had paſs'd the laſt hills; but finding the contrary, they perſuaded him to convert it into a hunting journey, and to turn his face towards *Agra*, for that the *Decan* was not an enemy worth his expoſing his perſon. He replied, this conſideration came too late, for his honour was engaged, having advanced ſo far; and therefore he would follow their firſt council, and his own reſolution. He daily ſent away freſh troops to his ſon, both from his own army, and from ſeveral governments; they were reported to be thirty thouſand horſe, but the muſters were not ſo high. Water was ſometimes ſcarce in the camp, and proviſions grew daily dear, the country being not well reduced. The king not feeling it took no care, and his *Chans* are followed by their proviſions, ſo that they did not inform him: the whole burden lay upon ſtrangers, ſoldiers and the poor, who were worſt able to bear it. Every other day the king removed three, four or five coſſes, yet the 29th we were ſixty ſhort of *Mandoa*.

Scarcity in the camp.

February the 3d, leaving the road of the *leſkar* for my eaſe, and the benefit of the ſhade, and reſting under a tree, ſultan *Corſorone* on a ſudden came upon me, ſeeking the ſame conveniency. This was the king's eldeſt ſon before mentioned to have been confined by the practices of his brother ſultan *Corone*, and his faction, and taken out of their hands by the king at his ſetting out from *Adſmere*, as was there obſerved. He was now mounted on an elephant with no great guard or attendants. His people deſir'd me to give him room, which I did, but ſtaid to ſee him, who called for me; and having aſked ſome civil and familiar queſtions with much courteſy and affability, he departed. His perſon is comely, his countenance chearful, his beard grown to his girdle. This only I obſerved, that his queſtions ſhewed ignorance of all that was done at court, inſomuch that he had never heard of any *Engliſh*, or their embaſſador. The 4th and 5th we did not reſt, and the 6th at night came to a little tower newly repaired, where the king pitch'd in a pleaſant place upon the river *Sepra*, one coſſe ſhort of *Ugen* the chief city of *Mulwa*. This place, call'd *Calleada*, was formerly a ſeat of the heathen kings of *Mandoa*, one of whom was there drowned in his drink, who being once before fallen into the river and taken up by the hair of the head by a ſlave that div'd, and come to himſelf, it was told him to procure a reward. He call'd for his deliverer, and aſk'd how he durſt put his hands on his ſovereign's head, he cauſed them to be cut off. Not long after ſitting alone with his wife and drunk, he had the ſame fortune to ſlip into the water, but ſo that ſhe might eaſily have ſav'd him, which ſhe did not; and being aſked why? replied, ſhe knew not whether he might not cut off her hands for her reward. The 10th we removed one coſſe beyond *Ugen* The eleventh the king rode to *Ugen* to ſpeak with a *dervis*, or religious man living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old. I thought this miracle not worth my examining. This day I received advice by a foot poſt that the prince had ſtopt the preſents as they were coming to me, but not broken them open, hoping to compel the *Engliſh* to conſent to it, which by my orders they would not do.

Sultan Corſorone *ſeen by Sir* Tho. Roe.

Barbarity of an Indian *prince.*

Sultan Corone's *perfidiouſneſs.*

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The prince at the ſame time ſent to the king to acquaint him with his ſtopping ſome goods, without mentioning they were preſents, and to deſire his leave to buy what he thought fit. This faithleſs proceeding of the prince, contrary to his word, and orders under his hand, obliged me to have recourſe to the king for redreſs, being now blameleſs in the eyes of all the world for taking this courſe. I was afraid to go to *Aſaph Chan* to introduce me, leſt if he knew of the wrong done he ſhould prevent me; and yet I durſt not well provoke him by uſing any other means. The prophet, *Dervis*, or religious man the king went to viſit, offer'd me an opportunity of doing my buſineſs; and my new interpreter, a *Greek* I had ſent for from *Adſmere*, was ready. I rode and met his majeſty on his elephant, and alighted, making ſigns to ſpeak. The king turned his monſter to me, and prevented me; ſaying, my ſon has taken your goods and my preſents, be not ſad, he ſhall not touch nor open a ſeal or lock. At night I will ſend him a command to free them. He graciouſly added, That he knew I came full of complaint, and to eaſe me he began firſt. Upon the way I could do no more; but at night without further ſeeking to *Aſaph Chan*, I went to the *Guzelcan*, reſolving to proſecute the complaint of forcing back our goods, and all other grievances. As ſoon as I came in, the king called my interpreter, and declared by his own that he had written and ſent his command very effectually, that not a hair ſhould be diminiſhed. I replied, the injury was ſuch, and the charge and abuſes of our liberty by the prince's officers, that I deſired redreſs, being no longer able to endure it. It was anſwered, that what was paſt I muſt remit to his ſon; but by *Aſaph Chan*'s mediation I could procure nothing but good words, for he ſmoothed on both ſides. So I was forced to ſeem content, and to ſeek an opportunity in the abſence of my falſe friend and procurator. The good king fell to diſpute of the laws of *Moſes*, *Chriſt*, and *Mahomet*, and in his drink was ſo kind, that he turn'd to me, and ſaid, if I am a king you ſhall be welcome, *Chriſtians*, *Moors*, and *Jews*; he meddled not with their faith, they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong; they lived under his protection, and none ſhould oppreſs them. This he often repeated, but being very drunk fell to weeping and into divers paſſions, and ſo kept us till midnight.

Courteſy of the Mogul.

I was much concerned to ſee the factors had detained the preſent four months at *Surat*, and by this delay given occaſion for them to fall into the prince's hands. It was a ſecond wrong to us that we could receive no redreſs of the firſt. Therefore conſidering that the complaint I had already made againſt the prince had ſufficiently incenſed him, I thought ſince we muſt loſe him quite, the beſt way was to uſe all my intereſt with the king. I waited for an opportunity of doing it effectually; and immediately ſent back the meſſenger that came to me from Mr. *Terry*, with orders to ſtay wherever he met him and expect the king's commands. During this time the king had cauſed the cheſts to be privately brought to him, and had open'd them, which I reſolved not to put up; and having obtained audience, made my complaint. He received me with much mean flattery, more unworthy him than even the action he had done. I ſuppoſe he did it to appeaſe me, ſeeing by my countenance I was highly provoked. He told me he had found ſeveral things that pleaſed him extremely, and among them two embroidered ſweet-bags, two glaſs cabinets, and the maſtiff dogs. That if I would not give him any of theſe things, he would reſtore them, for he would have me pleaſed. I anſwered there was little but what was deſigned for him, but that this was not a civil way of dealing with the king my maſter, and I knew not how to give him to underſtand that his preſents had been ſeized, and not delivered by me as he had appointed. That ſome of the preſents were for the prince, and ſome for queen *Normahall*; the reſt to remain in my hands, to make uſe of as occaſion offer'd, to move his majeſty to protect us againſt the wrongs offer'd us by ſtrangers. That there were ſome few for my friends, and for my own uſe; the reſt belonged to the merchants, and were not at my diſpoſal. He deſir'd me not to take it ill that he had cauſed them to be brought to him; that thoſe things had pleaſed him ſo well, he had not the patience to ſtay till I preſented them, and he thought he had done me no wrong, believing it was my intention he ſhould be firſt ſerved in the diſtribution of the preſents. As for the king of *England* he would ſatisfy him, and make my excuſe. That the prince, queen *Normahall* and he were all one; and for the preſents to be kept to uſe as occaſion offered, that was a needleſs ceremony; for he would give me audience at any time, and I ſhould be well received, tho' I came empty-handed, he being ſenſible it was not my fault that I came ſo. Then he began to talk of his ſon, and told me he would reſtore part of what he had taken, and ſatisfy the merchants for what belonged to them. In concluſion, he deſired me not to take what he had done in ill part, for he had no deſign to wrong me. I made no anſwer to all this: Whereupon he preſs'd me to ſpeak my mind; aſking me ſeveral times whether

ROE.

Conteſt with the Mogul *about his ſeizing the preſents.*

I was

Roe. I was ſatisfied. I replied, I was very well pleaſed to ſee his majeſty was ſo. Then he began to reckon up all the things he had taken, beginning with the maſtiffs, the ſweet-bags, and the caſe for combs and razors; and ſmiling ſaid, You would not have me reſtore thoſe things, for I have a mind to them. Thus he proceeded, aſking about the reſt, and cauſed a cheſt of pictures to be brought, which were taken out; and there being among them one of a *Venus* leading a fatyr by the noſe, he ſhewed it to all about him, bidding them expound the ſignification of it, obſerving the fatyr's horns, the blackneſs of his ſkin, and other particulars. Every man ſpoke as he thought, but the king liked none of their expoſitions, yet reſerved his own thoughts, and aſked me what it meant, who told him it was only the painter's fancy, who often repreſented the fables writ by poets, which was all I could ſay of it. Then he put the ſame queſtion to Mr. *Terry* my chaplain, who could give him no better ſatisfaction. Whereupon he ſaid, Why do you bring me what you do not underſtand? I reply'd, the miniſter did not concern himſelf with ſuch things, and only came with them to look to them on the road. This I relate for the information of the gentlemen of the *Eaſt-India* company, and of all that ſhall hereafter come in my place, and adviſe them for the future not to ſend into thoſe parts things that may be liable to an ill conſtruction, for thoſe people are very jealous. For tho' the king would not declare his opinion, yet by what he ſaid I had ground to believe he thought that picture was made in deriſion of the people of *Aſia*, whom he ſuppoſed to be repreſented by the fatyr, as being of their complexion, and that *Venus* leading him by the noſe denoted the great power the women in that country have over the men. He was ſatisfy'd I had never ſeen the picture, and therefore preſſed no further for me tell my opinion of it, but believed me to be really ignorant, as I pretended. Yet this ſuſpicion remained in his mind, and without expreſſing any diſtaſte, he told me he accepted of the picture as a preſent from me. As for the ſaddle and other trifles, he ſaid he would have them ſent to his ſon for whom they were fit, promiſing to write to him ſo effectually that I ſhould not ſtand in need of any ſolicitor near him. After ſome more diſcourſe about other trifles, he ſaid I muſt need help him to one of our large horſes, to a brace of *Iriſh* greyhounds, dog and bitch, and other ſorts of dogs of all ſorts for game; which if I would procure him, he proteſted on the word of a prince he would gratify me, and grant me more privileges than I ſhould think of aſking. I anſwered, I would order them to be put aboard the next ſhips, but could not anſwer they would outlive ſo tedious a voyage; but in caſe they died, to convince him I had obeyed his commands, the ſkins and bones ſhould be brought him. Upon this promiſe he bowed to me ſeveral times, laid his hand on his breaſt, and ſhewed me ſo much kindneſs, favour, and familiarity, that all there preſent proteſted he had never done the like to any man. This was the reward I had; but he ſaid further he would make amends for the wrong he had done me, and ſend me home to my country loaden with favours worthy a perſon of my rank. Nevertheleſs perceiving I had only fair words for the merchandize, I again aſked his majeſty for the pieces of velvet and ſilks, as commodities belonging to the merchants, making him believe the merchants had put them into thoſe cheſts, only to prevent their falling into the hands of the prince's officers. He ſent for Mr. *Biddolfe* to agree with and ſatisfy him. Then I preſented a memorial containing the privileges and franchiſes I deſired, ſaying, if he would not grant them, I ſhould have the diſſatisfaction of being uſeleſs in my employment to my prince, and conſequently return home in diſgrace. I preſs'd the payment of a debt. He anſwered, I ſhould have ſatisfaction in all things, and return home to my prince with honour; that he would ſend him a noble preſent by me, and with it a letter certifying the good ſervice I had done. Then he preſs'd me to tell him what preſent I thought would be moſt acceptable. I ſaid, It would not look well in me to aſk a preſent; that it was not the cuſtom of our country; that it was againſt my maſter's honour to do any ſuch thing: but that I was ſure his majeſty would receive any thing he ſent with much ſatisfaction, as coming from a prince for whom he had a great eſteem. He was ſo earneſt with me, and made ſuch proteſtations of ſincerity, that I was forced to tell him that the great *Perſian* carpets were proper to ſend, becauſe my maſter did not expect preſents of great value. Whereupon he told me he would chuſe a good quantity of all ſorts and ſizes, and add what he thought moſt proper to convince the king of the eſteem he had for him. There was a quantity of all ſorts of game laid before him. He gave me half a buck, and told me at the ſame time he had killed it with his own hand, and deſigned the other half for his women. That half was accordingly cut in pieces of about four pounds weight each, and immediately the king's third ſon and two women came out of the *Seraglio*, and took up thoſe pieces of fleſh in their hands, and carry'd them into the *Seraglio*, as if they had been beggars that had received them for charity. He

The Mogul's *conceit on a picture.*

The Mogul's kind expreſſions.

then repeated his expreſſions of deſire to ſatisfy me; and added, I have often admired, that your maſter having ſent you with the character of embaſſador, your preſents have been inferior to thoſe a merchant you have ſeen here has brought, which have gained him the affection of all men. I own you as an embaſſador, your behaviour ſpeaks you a man of quality, and yet I cannot underſtand why you are kept here with ſo little of grandeur. I am ſatisfy'd it is not yours nor your prince's fault, and I will make you ſenſible I value you more than thoſe that ſent you. I will ſend you home with honour, and give you a preſent for your maſter without regarding thoſe I have receiv'd; and in return I deſire but one thing of you, which I do not care to commit to the merchants. It is to get me a quiver made in your country to carry my arrows, a caſe for my bow, a pattern whereof ſhall be given you, a pillow after my manner to ſleep on, a pair of buſkins, which you ſhall cauſe to be embroidered in *England* the richeſt that may be, and a coat of mail for my own wearing. I promiſed to ſend for them, and *Aſaph Chan* was commanded to give patterns. The night being ſpent in this diſcourſe, the prince roſe up and diſmiſſed me.

Mandoa, *city, and ſcarcity of water there.*

March the third I came to *Mandoa:* the king was expected to make his entry there, but the day was not yet fixed; for he expected the aſtrologers ſhould aſſign an auſpicious hour for performing that ceremony, ſo we ſtaid without, waiting that happy moment. The ſixth I went into *Mandoa.* My ſervants, whom I had ſent to take up my quarters, had taken poſſeſſion of a large incloſure ſhut in with good walls, where there was a temple and tomb. Some perſons belonging to the court had alſo taken up their quarters there; but that did not hinder me from keeping poſſeſſion, as being the beſt quarter in the town. It might have been made convenient in all reſpects with a very little charge. The air was wholeſome, and the proſpect pleaſant; for the houſe was on the top of a riſing ground. This inconveniency there was, that it was two miles from the king's palace. The eleventh I ſet out to go meet the king, but was told, that a lion having killed ſome horſes of his train, he was gone out to hunt him. I ſpent ſome time in ſeeking water; for tho' the city was on a hill, there were no wells nor ciſterns; ſuch is the forecaſt of thoſe people. All that multitude of people there was in danger of periſhing with thirſt. The great men at court had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe few wells there were in the country about, ſo that I could get no water. All the poor people were forced to leave the town; and an order was ſet forth for all beaſts and camels to be ſent out. All that had not favour, were forced to ſeek other habitations three or four leagues from thence. This produced much confuſion at court, and made proviſions dear. For my own part I was ſufficiently troubled to think what I ſhould do, for my houſe was very good; and tho' I was far from the markets and water, yet I thought I could live there more commodiouſly than in the open country, where I muſt have gone to encamp. I mounted on horſe back to ſeek for water my ſelf, and found a well that was guarded for a *Chan*, to whom the king had given it. I acquainted him how much I ſtood in need of his favour, and he granted me four loads of water a day. I valued this favour as it deſerved, and returned to my quarters well pleaſed; and having the following days ſold ſome goods and eaſed my ſelf of part of my carriages, I delivered my ſelf from the publick calamity. I cannot but declare, that in my travels following the *Mogul*'s court, I endured all the inconveniencies men are ſubject to under an ill government, and in an intemperate climate.

Roe.

The twelfth of *March* I preſented the king for a new-years gift a couple of fine knives and ſix glaſſes, from the company; and he took in good part the excuſe I made for the ſmalneſs of the preſent. He commanded one of his officers to call Mr. *Biddolfe* immediately, and to pay him what he demanded. All our creditors had orders at the ſame time to pay what they owed the company. Then the king ordered me to come up the ſteps of his throne, and draw near him: I obeyed, and found the *Perſian* embaſſador on the one ſide of him, and the old king of *Candahar* on the other. As ſoon as I had taken my place near that prince, he aſked me for a knife, which I ſent him the next day. Then the king called the *Perſian* embaſſador, and gave him ſome ſtones and a young elephant. He knelt, and knocked his head againſt the ſteps of the throne to thank him. This was the ſame throne that ſerved the year before, and was then mention'd, having the ſame ornaments about it. Over the throne were the pictures of the king my maſter, the queen, the lady *Elizabeth*, ſir *Tho. Smith*, and ſome others. Under it were two very fine *Perſian* carpets. The throne itſelf, as has been ſaid, was of gold ſet with rubies, emeralds, and *Turky* ſtones. On one ſide upon a little ſtage or ſcaffold was a company of women-muſicians. The 30th of this month I ſent *Aſaph Chan* a complement with a preſent of a pair of gloves and a curious night-cap. He ſent back the gloves, as of no uſe in that country;

ROE. try; but the cap he received, and ſent to beg ſome *Spaniſh* wine of me, which I ſent him the next day. The twenty firſt I diſcovered the *Mogul* was jealous that the *Engliſh* intended to ſteal away out of his country, and that they had ſome deſign of ſurprizing *Surat*; which the prince had inſtilled into him, that he might have an opportunity of fortifying that place for his own uſe: but I ſatisfied his majeſty as to both points. The complaints made at that court of the miſdemeanors of officers are ſo odious there, that they gained me the ill-will of all the men of note; who made this their own concern, as being the common cauſe. For they farm all the governments in the kingdom, where they exerciſe all manner of tyrannical exactions upon thoſe under their juriſdiction, and will not ſuffer the knowledge of the wrongs they do to reach the king's ear. They grind the people under their government to get money out of them, and are afraid the king ſhould know it; and this made me be looked upon, and hated in the *Mogul's* court as an informer.

Jealouſy of the Mogul.

Tyranny of the governors in India.

The 30th of *April* the *Perſian* embaſſador ſent to excuſe himſelf to me, for going away without paying his reſpects to me. His meſſenger told me he was not ſick as he pretended; but that finding no ſucceſs in his negotiations with the king, he had taken his leave, and at parting gave him thirty fine horſes. The king, in return, preſented him three thouſand crowns, and the embaſſador teſtified his diſſatisfaction at that gift. The king to juſtify himſelf, cauſed two liſts to be drawn; one of them of the embaſſador's preſents, with the price ſet on every one, but lower much than what they were really worth. In the other were ſet down even the meaneſt things the king had given him, not omitting the melons, pine-apples, and *Spaniſh* wine ſent him, with their prices; but much above the real value. Theſe two liſts being laid before the embaſſador, they offered him the reſt of the money to make up the balance. This ill uſage made the *Perſian* feign himſelf ſick of a fever to avoid viſiting *Aſaph Chan* and *Etiman Doulet*. Therefore he ſaid he could not croſs the town to ſee me without diſcovering the counterfeit; but to make amends had ſent to let me know the truth, and would ſerve my nation in his country to the utmoſt of his power. I preſented him ſome *Spaniſh* wine, and a few knives.

Perſian embaſſador's preſents valued.

May the 12th a lion and a wolf by night broke into my quarters, and fell upon ſome ſheep there were in the court. I ſent to aſk leave to kill them; for in that country none but the king may hunt a lion. Leave being granted, I went out into the court, the lion quitted his prey, and fell upon a little *Iriſh* maſtiff. One of my ſervants killed the wolf, and I ſent it the king.

None to hunt the lion, but the king.

June the 14th there was brought to the king a trunk, which the jeſuits had ſent from *Cambaya*, in which there were medicines and a letter. It was betrayed into the king's hands by him that was intruſted with the carriage of it. The king open'd the trunk, cauſed a jeſuit that was then at court to be brought to read the letter, and looked into all the boxes; but finding nothing for his turn, reſtored all to the jeſuit. This I mention here as a caution to thoſe who deal in that country to take care what they write or ſend; for it is that prince's humour to look into the meaneſt things, and the moſt inconſiderable trifles are in danger when in his hands.

Mean curioſity of the Mogul

The 30th of *July* I received advice from *Surat* that two *Dutch* ſhips were run aground on the coaſt of *Damam*. They were loaded with ſpice and *China* ſilks, and bound for the *Red Sea*; but meeting with bad weather, they had loſt the ſeaſon for getting into that ſea. They tried to recover *Socotora*, or ſome port on the coaſts of *Arabia*; but failing, reſolved to run as far as *Surat*, hoping to ride it out in that road, as they had done other years: but now they found all years are not alike; for when they were come to an anchor, they were obliged by ſtorms to cut down their maſts by the board. After which, their cables failing, they were caſt upon a bank of ſand. The leſſer veſſel of fifty tun was beaten all to pieces; the other ſaved all the men, and moſt of the goods.

Dutch *ſhips caſt away.*

Auguſt the 21ſt, *Marre Ruſtan* king of *Candahar* came to viſit me. I treated him with wine and fruit. He ſtaid with me about half an hour, and concluded his viſit, begging a caſk of wine. This day prince ſultan *Corſorone* went out of his priſon, and came to take the air in a houſe near mine. The other prince ſultan *Corone* had taken a wife at *Brampore* againſt the king's will, who had declared his diſlike of it; and at the ſame time there was a diſcovery of ſome practice of his againſt his brother's life. He was ordered to come to court to clear himſelf. Queen *Normahall* and *Aſaph Chan*, by the advice of *Etiman Doulet*, propoſed an alliance with ſultan *Corſorone*. This news produced an univerſal joy among the people, who now began to hope that good prince would be reſtored to his full liberty.

The firſt of *September* being the king's birth-day, and of the ſolemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine garden, where beſides others there was a great ſquare pond with trees ſet about it, and in

The ceremony of weighing the Mogul.

the midſt of it a pavilion or tent, under which were the ſcales the king was to be weighed in. The ſcales were of beaten gold, ſet with ſmall ſtones, rubies, and turkoiſes; they hung by chains of gold, and for more ſurety there were ſilk ropes. The beam was covered with plates of gold. The great lords of the nation ſat about the throne on rich carpets, expecting the king's coming out. At length he appeared covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. He had ſeveral ſtrings of them about his neck, arms, wriſts and turbant, and two or three rings on every finger. His ſword, buckler, and throne were alſo covered with precious ſtones. Among the reſt I ſaw rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls of a prodigious magnitude. He got into one of the ſcales, ſitting on his legs like a tailor. Into the other ſcale, to weigh againſt him, were put ſeveral parcels, which they changed ſix times. The country people told me they were full of ſilver, and that the king that day weighed 9000 roupies. Then they put into the ſame ſcale gold and precious ſtones; but being packed up, I ſaw them not. After that he was weighed againſt cloth of gold, ſilks, callicoes, ſpices, and all other ſorts of precious commodities, if we may believe the natives, for all thoſe things were packed up. Laſtly, he was weighed againſt honey, butter, and corn, and I was informed all that was to be diſtributed among the *Banians*; but I think that diſtribution was not made, and all thoſe things were carefully carried back. They told me all the money was kept for the poor, the king uſing to cauſe ſome to be brought at night, and to diſtribute that money among them very charitably. Whilſt the king was in one of the ſcales, he looked upon me and ſmiled, but ſaid never a word, perhaps becauſe he did not ſee my interpreter, who could not get in with me. After being weighed, he aſcended the throne. Before him there were baſons full of almonds, nuts, and all ſorts of fruit artificially made in ſilver. He threw about a great part of them, the greateſt noblemen about him ſcrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do ſo; and the king obſerving it, took up one of thoſe baſons which was almoſt full, and poured it out into my cloke. His courtiers had the impudence to thruſt in their hands ſo greedily, that had I not prevented them, they had not left me one. Before I came in, they had told me thoſe fruits were of maſſive gold; but I found by experience they were only ſilver, and ſo light, that a thouſand of them do not weigh the value of twenty pounds. I ſaved the value of ten or twelve crowns, and thoſe would have filled a large diſh. I keep them to ſhew the vanity of thoſe people. I do not believe the king that day threw away much above the value of an hundred pounds. After this ſolemnity, the king ſpent all the night a drinking with his nobles: I was invited, but deſired to be excuſed, becauſe there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are ſo hot they will burn a man's very bowels. I was then ill of a flux, and durſt not venture ſuch a debauch. Roe.

September the ninth the king went to take the air upon the banks of the river *Darbadat*, and I took horſe to meet him. It is the cuſtom there that the maſters of all the houſes by whoſe door the king paſſes muſt make him ſome preſent; which gift is called *maubarech*, ſignifying good news, or good ſucceſs. Theſe preſents the king takes as a good omen of the ſucceſs of what he has in hand. I had nothing to give him, and it was a ſhame to appear before him empty handed; beſides, it had been ill manners in me not to be at home upon that day: I reſolved therefore to preſent him an Atlas neatly bound, and make him this compliment, that my houſe affording nothing worthy the acceptance of ſo great a prince, I preſented him with all the world, he being maſter of ſo conſiderable and ſo wealthy a part of it. He received my preſent very courteouſly, often putting his hand to his breaſt, and proteſting that any thing from me was always very acceptable to him. After other courteous expreſſions, he told me he received ſome wild boars ſent him from *Goa* extraordinary fat, and if I would eat any he would ſend me ſome. I made my profound obeyſance, and anſwered, I ſhould receive any thing that came from his majeſty with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and reſpect. He mounted his elephant, and having made a little halt before my lodging, liked it very well; for it was one of the beſt in the camp, and I had built it out of the ruins of a temple and an antient tomb. He took leave of me ſeveral times, and would needs have me return to my lodging becauſe the way was very bad. I took my leave, and obeyed him. *The maſters of houſes preſent the king as he paſſes by them.*

The ſixteenth I went to pay the king of *Candahar* his viſit, who ſent me word at his door, that he could not receive me without the king's leave, or acquainting *Etimon Doulet*, or *Aſaph Chan*, which he would do at the *Durbar*. I ſent him word he might ſpare his labour, for I would take care not to come a ſecond time to a perſon ſo ill bred. His ſervants would have ſtaid me to carry in my anſwer; but I went away, and at night was at court, where the king aſked me ſeveral queſtions about my book of maps. *The king of* Candahar *refuſes ſir* Tho. Roe's *viſit.*

The 25th tho' I was very weak, I went again to court to ſee whether there was any

ROE. any thing to be expected from the king in relation to our debts. One of our debtors had lately given me to understand, he could not pay without selling his house. I presented the merchant's petition to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, and would hear the names of the debtors, what security they had given, and what sums they owed. *Asaph Chan* read it: Then the king called *Aradet Chan* the lord steward of his household, and the *cutwall*, and gave them some directions which I understood not. As the names were read he inquired into their quality, and what commodities had been sold them. It appeared that some of them were dead, and others were not the king's subjects. As for what concerned *Sulph*, *Asaph Chan* undertook to speak to the prince about it, and conclude that affair when he came. Then my interpreter was called in, and the king turning to me, told me our merchants had trusted that money according to their own fancies, and to whom they pleased: That they had not presented him an inventory of their goods, and therefore if their debtors were not solvent it was their own fault, and they could not expect he should pay the debts of private persons. I thought he meant that of *Ergon* an officer of his, who was lately dead, and all his goods seized for the king. His majesty added, that this being the first time he would ease me of my trouble, and see me paid; but that if for the future the merchants sold their goods to his officers without acquainting him, it should be at their own peril; but if when the *English* ships came they would deliver him an inventory of all their goods, he would take what was for his own turn, and distribute the rest among others; and if any of those proved insolvent, he would pay it out of his own pocket. This is the custom of the merchants of *Persia*, who carry all they have to the king; and he having taken what he likes for himself, distributes the rest among his nobility. His notaries enter what every man receives, and another officer settles the price. The merchant has a copy of this entry given him, and he has nothing to do but to go to their houses for his money. If they happen to be backward, there is a proper officer that makes them pay by force. Then my interpreter was informed what order the king had given, which was, that *Arad Chan* should make the creditors appear before him, and oblige them to pay. Our merchants were not pleased with this answer, but I thought it very just, and more favourable than could be expected by private persons from so great a prince.

The Mogul's goodness to the English merchants.

The 26*th* the king sent two *Omrahs*, who are great commanders, with some forces, to apprehend a *Raja* of the *Rasboots*, who had rebelled, and was in the mountains twenty coss from the camp. That rebel stood his ground, and in a battle killed one of the *Omrahs*, and twelve captains. This news being brought to the king he thought it proper to send his son to reduce the *Raja*.

A rebel defeats the loyal party.

October the second, prince sultan *Corone* made his entry into the town, attended by the chief nobility in great splendor. The king, contrary to our expectation, received him as if he had been his only son: All the great men and the king's mother went five coss out of town to meet him. I excused my self on account of my weakness.

Sultan Corone comes to court.

The fifth I received advice that our admiral was not yet arrived at *Surat*, and that the ships of the company in their way thither had rescued a ship of the queen mother's coming from the *Red-Sea*, which was chased by two *English* pirates. If this ship had been taken, it would have been of very ill consequence to us. The sixth I went to visit the prince upon his arrival, having need of him for our business. I designed to offer him the service of our nation, and present him with a gold chain made in *China*. When I sent to desire audience, word was brought me I might come in the morning at break of day, or stay till he went out to see the king, which I must have done at the door. I took this as an affront, having never been refused audience by his father; and therefore shewed my resentment, saying, I was none of his slave, but free, and the embassador of a king, and would take care not to visit, or make court to him any more; and since he refused me justice, I would for the future seek it elsewhere: Accordingly at night I went to the king, who received me with much civility. I bowed to the prince, and he would not take notice he saw me. I gave the king an account of what he had required of me, and told him, I had brought an inventory of goods in pursuance to his commands. He asked several questions, and seemed well pleased at what was in the inventory, promising me all favours and privileges I could desire. He asked whether our ships had brought any pearls, or precious stones; to which I answered, they were dearer in *England* than in his dominions: which answer seemed to satisfy him. I durst not say there were pearls, fearing that would set the prince upon persecuting our people; besides, I thought those pearls would be the more valued being the less expected, and hoped to make a friend with them: and therefore when *Asaph Chan* press'd me to tell him whether we had any jewels, I declared to him, I would have him

He refuses Sir Tho. Roe *audience.*

him ſecond the anſwer I had given, that they were dearer in *England* than in *India*, and I had ſomething to ſay to him in private: He took me at half a word, and ſaid no more. The king ſeeming to me to be then in a good diſpoſition towards us, I thought it a proper ſeaſon to mention our debts; and having then the petition ready drawn about me, took it out, and held it up to preſent it. The king having his thoughts perhaps otherwiſe employed at that time, did not obſerve it; but his courtiers preſently imagined what it might be, and believing he would be very angry that his orders were not obey'd, one of them ſlily drew near, and pulled down my hand, deſiring not to preſent that petition to the king. I told him, *Aradeth* had refuſed to do me juſtice. He hearing what I ſaid was very uneaſy, and applying himſelf to *Aſaph Chan*, deſired him not to let me make my complaint. I urged, our ſhips being now come, we could ſuffer no longer delays and loſs of time. They conſulted what was to be done, and calling for the *cutwall*, told him he muſt execute the king's orders. That ſame night our debtors tents were beſet, others were purſued, ſo that I believe this time we ſhall have juſtice done us. I had many thanks returned me for civility us'd by the *Engliſh* towards the paſſengers that were aboard the queen mother's ſhip, and for protecting that veſſel againſt the pirates of our nation. They repreſented the thing well to the king, and the great men told me they had reaſon to love the *Engliſh*, that they would do us all ſervice in their power; but that they wondered our king could not command his ſubjects, and that any ſhould preſume to take ſhips out of the kingdom without his leave. *Aſaph Chan* and I withdrew to tranſlate the inventory into *Perſian* for the king: I ſomewhat increaſed the article of the money, that he might have the better opinion of our trade. I concluded, deſiring his majeſty to allow us the liberty of ſelling the reſt. That done, *Aſaph Chan* put me in mind I had ſomething to ſay to him in private. I told him it was true, I had ſome rarities come, but I had fared ſo ill the laſt year by having my ſecret divulged, that now I durſt truſt none but him; and therefore on his word of ſecrecy and advice, I declared I had a pearl of a great value, and ſome other rarities, and knew not whether I ſhould tell the king, leſt the prince ſhould become our utter enemy. I gave him an accouut of what happened going to viſit him in the morning, that I was ſtill ſenſible we ſtood in need of his favour, and had therefore kept that pearl to make him our friend, to which I deſired his advice. He embraced me, and ſaid I had done wiſely, but muſt keep the ſecret, or it would breed me trouble: that the prince was a tyrant, and miſuſed all ſtrangers. All this I ſaw tended to get the pearl out of my hands, adviſing me to ſend for it and truſt no man, telling me inſtances of the ill-uſage of the *Portugueſes* upon the like occaſions: that if I would ſell him the pearl, he would depoſite the money I ſhould value it at in the hands of a third perſon; and in return for the confidence I repoſed in him, he would ſollicite our buſineſs, which could never be done without him. I ſaid I would ſerve him, but feared he would reveal the ſecret: he ſwore he would keep it, and to make the oath the more ſolemn, we ſqueezed one another's thumbs, as is the cuſtom of the country. I promiſed on my part to rely wholly on him, and do all things according to his direction. He ſaid he would get me orders that our goods ſhould not be touch'd, but left wholly at my diſpoſal; that he would reconcile the prince and me, and I ſhould be better uſed than I had been; have a particular judge aſſign'd that ſhould take care of our buſineſs, and all the ſatisfaction we could wiſh. He ſaid it would be proper to make his ſiſter queen *Normahall* a preſent, and ſhe would prevail with the king to give me money. To this I reply'd, I had rather his majeſty ſhould beſtow his favours on our nation in general. Then he carried me to the king, to whom I preſented the inventory tranſlated: I had a favourable reception. He aſked me whether there was any tapeſtry? I ſaid ſome was ſent me, if it were not ſeized by the way by the prince's order. He ſaid he would take a good quantity of our cloths, and other commodities, directing me to have them brought, and *Aſaph Chan* to draw up the order for their free paſſage. I was well pleaſed with this day's ſucceſs; for though experience had taught me, that there was no faith among thoſe barbarians, yet I had no cauſe to miſtruſt *Aſaph Chan*, when it was his intereſt to be faithful to me, till he had got the pearl, which he might otherwiſe have miſſed of; nor could I ſuſpect him afterwards, becauſe he could not betray my ſecret without diſcovering his own falſhood to the prince.

Debts like to be recovered.

ROE.

Aſaph Chan gained by Sir Tho. Roe.

The 12th *Aſaph Chan* according to promiſe went with me to the prince, who received me in his chamber, where I preſented him a ſmall gold chain made in *China*, on a ſalver of that country. *Aſaph Chan* perſuaded him to deal more kindly with us than he had done, repreſenting the profit our trade would yield him, and the loſs it would be if we went away. The prince immediately directed his ſecretary to draw

Sir Tho. Roe *gains the prince.*

ROE. draw the order to our mind, and write a letter to the governor to ſee it executed; adding I ſhould have any other letter I deſired. This made me ſenſible of the poor ſpirits of thoſe people. *Aſaph Chan* was become ſo much our friend in hopes to buy ſome trifles, that he would have betrayed his own ſon to ſerve us, and was my humble ſervant. He would needs ſend one of his ſervants aboard our ſhips to this purpoſe, which I could not refuſe him; beſides, it is no loſs to us, for he is a good pay-maſter, bought by wholeſale what we muſt have ſold by retail, and ſav'd us the charge of carriage. He obtained an order from the prince to this effect, and writ a kind letter to the governor in our behalf. I now alſo obtained an order from the prince for *Bengala*, which before he would not hear me ſpeak of. Afterwards I found he proſecuted our debtors, as if they had been his own; and as he paſſed before the *cutwall*'s houſe, called him out to bid him be ſpeedy in our buſineſs, which was an unparallel'd favour. The next day *Aſaph Chan* ſent one of his ſervants in the queen's name to acquaint me ſhe had obtained another order from the prince, that all our goods for the future ſhould be under her protection; that this was done, and ſhe was about ſending one to ſee what elſe we wanted, and take care that no wrong was offer'd us. *Aſaph Chan* ſent word he had done this for fear of the prince's paſſionate temper, and his delays in thoſe affairs; but now we might be ſecure, ſince his ſiſter had undertook our protection, for the prince would meddle in it no more; and that he ingaged on his honour that all things directed for me ſhould be deliver'd to me. That ſhe had ſent a poſitive order directing the perſon that carried it to be aſſiſting to our factors, that they might have no cauſe to complain of the officers of *Surat*. She further deſired me to write to the captain of the ſhip and to the factors, to be kind to her meſſenger, and let him buy ſome of thoſe toys that had been laid aſide. This I could not refuſe, but gave her a liſt of them, upon condition ſhe would ſhew me a copy of the order, which was ſealed. This ſhews how eaſy it is to ſell ſuch commodities here. Laſt year they did not regard us, now the liſt or inventory is tranſlated; yet without mentioning the pearls I had given the king, every one runs to buy. Moſt of the great men at court deſired me to give them letters to ſend their ſervants to deal with our factors; ſo that if I had been furniſhed with three times the quantity of goods, they had been ſold aboard the ſhips, and we had ſaved the duties, carriage, and the ſeizures made before. I writ to our factors to ſell to *Normahall*'s and her brother's ſervants what goods they deſired, even of thoſe ſet apart, that I might be ſupported by their intereſt at court.

Sordid ſpirits.

The favourite queen gain'd.

Good ſale of Engliſh *commodities.*

The 24th the king went twenty four coſſes from *Mandoa*. He went from place to place on the mountains; and no body knowing what he intended, we were at a loſs what way to take. The 26th I got an order for ten camels at the king's rates. The 29th I ſet out, being forc'd to quit my quarters which were ſo inconvenient. The 31ſt I came to the king's tents, who was gone a hunting for ten days, none going with him, but ſuch as he had named. His camp was diſperſed and ſcattered about the country, the water was bad, and proviſions dear, much ſickneſs, and other inconveniences; but nothing diverts him from taking his pleaſure, when he ſets on it. I was informed he had not yet reſolved whether he ſhould go to *Agra* or *Guzurat*; the latter was moſt talk'd of, but the former ſeemed more probable, becauſe his counſil thought that a more commodious and pleaſant place than the other. To me either was indifferent, becauſe I had no proſpect but the compaſſing my buſineſs. Therefore ſeeing he might ſtay there a month, I concluded it was the beſt way to have my preſents brought thither, and endeavour to conclude my buſineſs: hoping after that I might obtain ſome reſt, which I needed; being very ill, and wanting conveniences, whilſt I followed the court, to recover my health.

Inconveniences in following the Mogul's *camp.*

November the ſecond, *Steele* and *Jackman* came to me with their pearls, and ſome other inconſiderable things they had brought aſhore privately by my order. Theſe men came with projects of water-works to me, made to advance the ſale of lead, which I did not approve of for good reaſons; but was ſatisfied they ſhould make a trial to pleaſe them; and bid them bring their workmen to *Amadabat*, where with the aſſiſtance of *Mocreb Chan*, the only man there that loves new inventions, I would offer their ſervice to the king, and ſee what conditions he would propoſe; tho' I was of opinion it was labour and money loſt. The company ſhould not ſo eaſily give ear to theſe projectors, who generally mind their own profit more than theirs that employ them. The other project to oblige the caravans and merchants of *Lahor* and *Agra*, who travel generally into *Perſia* through *Candahar*, to change their method, and ſend their goods down the river *Indus*, to be put aboard our ſhips, and ſo conveyed into the gulph of *Perſia*, is a mere chimera never to be reduced to practice: For tho' it is eaſy to run down the river, the *Portugueſes* have a reſidence at the mouth of it; and

Engliſh projects to advance trade in India.

and then it is a matter of much difficulty to return up the river, beſides that they muſt enſure their commodities. There are many other reaſons againſt this deſign too long to inſert, and needleſs, becauſe there is no probability the thing ſhould ever be put execution. The third project of uniting the trade of the *Red Sea* with this, is what I have always recommended, and has already begun to be practis'd. The danger of pirates in theſe ſeas is great, and therefore I did not queſtion but many merchants would put their goods aboard our ſhips, which would make our friendſhip neceſſary to theſe people; and I adviſed to employ one of our ſhips this year in that trade, which might return in *September*. This I earneſtly recommended to the captains and factors; and if executed, the company would find the advantage. Were it my own concern, moſt of the ſhips being light by reaſon of the ſmall ſtowage the goods here take up, I would ſend them to the *Red Sea*, tho' they were empty, for there are many good hits in that ſea; and tho' they did nothing but bring back the goods you have at *Mocca*, and other ports in that ſea, it would pay the charge of the voyage. *Steele*, *Kerridge*, and others are very fond of their notions, inſomuch that they do not pay me the reſpect they ought, and are every day at daggers-drawn with my parſon. I have told *Steele*, his wife cannot live in this country, for ſhe would draw many inconveniences on us, and therefore he muſt ſend her back into *England*.

Kindneſs of Aſaph Chan *to Sir* Tho. Roe.

The *6th* I went to *Aſaph Chan*, and ſhew'd him the pearls according to promiſe. He told me they were not fit for that country, which was afterwards confirm'd to me by others; yet he was ſo pleaſed I had kept my word with him, that I believe I may ſay as *Pharaoh* did, *The land is before you, ſettle where you pleaſe*. We ſpoke not of the price of the great pearl. He promiſed to keep the ſecret, aſſuring me that for my ſake, and becauſe I had confided in him, he would give more for it than it was worth, and pay ready money; for he had a great deal, and would lend me ſome if I had occaſion. I had all imaginable good words from him, and ſome good actions. He further told me there was little difference in that country between giving and ſelling, which I found by experience to be true. After this familiar diſcourſe in his bed-chamber, he roſe up to go to dinner, and invited me and my retinue. I dined at a table apart, becauſe they make a ſcruple of eating with us.

I mention'd before that the king had ſent me three criminals condemn'd to death, offering them to me to buy them as ſlaves, which is there look'd upon as a favour, and what anſwer I returned. The king order'd the priſoners to be ſent to me, and expected I ſhould ſend him the money; but I hearing no more of him, hoped it was forgot, and took no care to pay it. One night the king's officers brought the priſoners to my ſteward's houſe; and took his word for ſixty roupies, which I paid, and ſet them at liberty. This money is pretended to ſatisfy thoſe that have been wrong'd; but the king takes it himſelf, and makes his advantage of his great men's charity, who look upon it as a favour that he gives them this occaſion to exerciſe it.

Roe.

The *10th* I viſited *Aſaph Chan* on account of a complaint I received that we were not allowed to lay our ſhips aſhore, the prince having been informed we intended to build a fort at *Soali*, and that our ſhips were to that purpoſe loaded with bricks and lime. This jealouſy ſprung from our mens bringing their ſhips aſhore to careen them. The report was ſo hot that I was forced to go to court to clear my ſelf, and had much ado to undeceive the king; this conceit being more ſtrongly fixed in them, becauſe I had not long before aſked a port of the king for that purpoſe. Yet this did not prevent his ſending down a body of horſe to demoliſh a brick fort that was at the mouth of that river. They diſarmed our men, but the arms were put into the cuſtom-houſe, and only the ſailors had theirs taken away. I told *Aſaph Chan* I could not live in ſervitude; that there was no honour in a prince who granted a favourable order one day, and recall'd it the next; and that I ſhould be blamed if I ſtaid any longer after ſuch uſage. He ſaid he would that night acquaint the king before the prince, and return me his anſwer. The *30th* he told me wonders of the *Mogul*'s kindneſs for the king my maſter, my nation, and for me in particular; adding, he had run the hazard of loſing the prince's favour to ſerve us, but that he ſhould ſoon be in a condition to do it effectually; for he was about being governor of *Surat*, which the prince muſt quit, having the government of *Amadabat* and *Cambaya* conferr'd on him: and to demonſtrate he was real, deſired me to be with the king at night, with the king my maſter's letter tranſlated into *Perſian*, adviſing me to complain and deſire leave to be gone, and I ſhould ſee how he would ſecond me. In the evening I attended the king, found a great court, preſented my letter; and *Etimont Doulet* at the requeſt of *Aſaph Chan* read the *Perſian* tranſlation. The king ſaid he would take upon him to conclude a peace between us and the *Portugueſes*, anſwer his majeſty's letter, and perform all he deſired in it. However I aſk'd leave

Jealouſy of the Indians.

to

ROE. to return to *England.* The king and prince had ſome conteſt about this matter, the latter ſaying he got nothing by our ſtay at *Surat*, and was willing we ſhould be gone. Here *Aſaph Chan* ſtood up boldly, and ſaid the kingdom gain'd conſiderably by our trade, and was in ſome meaſure ſecured by it; that the prince's officers us'd us ill, and it was impoſſible for us to ſtay without redreſs; and therefore it were better for his majeſty to diſmiſs us, than keep us to ſuffer new wrongs. The prince in a paſſion ſaid he had never wronged us, but that on the contrary, at his ſuit he had lately granted us an order. It is true, replied *Aſaph Chan*, you granted them the order as they deſired it, but ten days after you ſent another to recal it: Adding, that his honour ſuffer'd by this breach of faith; that he had no intereſt in it, and only ſpoke with reſpect to the king's juſtice and reputation. For our uſage *Aſaph Chan* referr'd it to me who had often complained that our goods were taken from us forcibly theſe two years laſt paſt; that we could never get payment, and his officers ſtill uſed the ſame violence every fleet that came; that if the prince was weary of us, it were better for him to turn us out, and he might be ſure we would do our ſelves right upon the ſea. Does the prince, or the king, ſaid he, maintain this embaſſador? He is a ſtranger that follows the court at his own expence; if his goods are forcibly taken from him, and he can procure no payment, how can he ſubſiſt? This was ſpoke with much heat, and the king two or three times repeated, violence, violence, ſeverely checking the prince. This open breach with the prince ſucceeded as *Aſaph Chan* had forecaſted; for we were paid all that was due to us at *Surat*, and the cuſtom-houſe officers had orders to treat us better for the future. I am ſatisfied had I not fallen out with the prince, I ſhould never have made good of it. I told the prince's meſſenger before the *Engliſh* merchants, that if he offered any violence to me, or my merchants it would coſt him ſome blood; that I would ſhip my ſelf aboard his own veſſels, taking them out of his ports, and would carry them into *England.*

Dutch come with a preſent to the Mogul.

January the 30*th* the *Dutch* came to court with a preſent of ſeveral rarities brought out of *China.* They were not permitted to come near the third aſcent. The prince aſked me who they were. I told him they were *Dutch*, and lived at *Surat.* He aſked, whether they were our friends. I anſwer'd, they were a nation that depended on the king of *England*, and were not well received in all parts; that I knew not what brought them thither. Since they are your friends, ſaid he, call them. I was forced to ſend for them to deliver their preſents. They were placed near our merchants, without holding any diſcourſe with them.

Here ends all that is to be found of Sir Thomas Roe's *journal, the reſt being loſt; tho'* Purchas *in his extract ſays, there was nothing more material in it, but only what peculiarly related to trade, and the buſineſs of the company. It will not be amiſs to add what little matter could be found worth the reader's knowledge in two volumes of Sir* Thomas *his letters, which have been peruſed to take out all that might be of uſe.*

An extract of a letter of Sir Thomas Roe's *to the company, dated at* Adſmere, January *the* 25th 1615. *Containing only what is remarkable, and not mentioned in the Journal.*

AT my firſt audience the *Mogul* prevented me in ſpeech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the king my maſter; and after many compliments I delivered his majeſty's letter, with a copy of it in *Perſian:* then I ſhewed my commiſſion, and delivered your preſents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a ſcarf embroidered, and a rich ſword of my own. He ſitting in his ſtate could not well ſee the coach, but ſent many to view it, and cauſed the muſician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night having ſtaid the coach-man and muſician, he came down into a court, got into every corner of it, cauſing it to be drawn about. Then he ſent to me, tho' it was ten a clock at night, for a ſervant to put on his ſcarf and ſword after the *Engliſh* faſhion, which he was ſo proud of, that he walk'd up and down drawing and flouriſhing it, and has never ſince been ſeen without it. But after the *Engliſh* were come away, he aſked the jeſuit, whether the king of *England* were a great king, that ſent preſents of ſo ſmall value, and that he looked for ſome jewels; yet rarities pleaſe as well: and if you were yearly furniſhed from *Frankfort*, where there are all ſorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go further than five hundred laid out in *England*, and be more acceptable here. This country is ſpoiled by the many preſents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever ſee men ſo fond of drink, as the king and prince are of red wine

The company's preſents to the Mogul.

The Mogul *and prince fond of red wine.*

wine, whereof the governor of *Surat* ſent up ſome bottles, and the king has ever ſince ſollicited for more: I think four or five caſks of that wine will be more welcome than the richeſt jewel in *Cheapſide*; large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they muſt be good, and for variety ſome ſtory with many faces. For the queen, fine needle-work toys, bone-laces, cutwork, and ſome handſome wrought waſte-coats, ſweet-bags, and cabinets will be moſt convenient. I would wiſh you to ſpare ſending ſcarlet, it is dear to you, and no better eſteemed here than ſtammel. I muſt add that any fair *China* bedſteds, or cabinets, or trunks of *Japan*, are here rich preſents.

Preſents fit for India.

Lately the king of *Viſapour* ſent his embaſſador with thirty ſix elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of ſilver, the reſt of braſs, and four rich furniſh'd horſes, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of roupies. Yet withal he ſent *China* ware, and one figure of cryſtal, which the king valued more than all that maſs of wealth.

ROE.

A rich preſent.

This place is either made, or of it ſelf unfit for an embaſſador; for tho' they underſtand the character, yet they have much ado to underſtand the privileges due to it, and the rather becauſe they have been too humbly ſought to before.

Privileges of embaſſadors not underſtood.

Extract of a Letter to the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury. *Dated at* Adſmere, January 29. 1615.

No laws in India.

LAWS theſe people have none written; the king's judgment binds, who ſits and gives ſentence once a week, with much patience, both in civil and criminal cauſes, where ſometimes he ſees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

Governors

His governors of provinces rule by his *firmaes*, which are his letters, or commiſſions authorizing them, and take life and goods at pleaſure.

Religion.

There are many religions, and in them many ſects. *Moors* or *Mahometans* following *Hali*; and ſuch is the king. *Banians* or *Pythagoreans*, believing the tranſmigration of ſouls, and therefore will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of diſlodging the ſoul. They often buy many days reſpite from killing any fleſh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolaters there are of ſeveral ſorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and caſting themſelves into the flames with great joy.

Extent of the Mogul's *empire.*

The extent of this dominion is on the weſt to *Syndu*, on the north-weſt to *Candahar*, on the north almoſt to the mountain *Taurus*, on the eaſt to the borders of *Ganges*, and ſouth-eaſt all *Bengala*, the land forming the gulph down to *Decan*. It is much greater than the *Perſian* monarchy, almoſt, if not quite equal to the *Turkiſh*. *Agra* the ordinary reſidence of the king is near a thouſand miles from any of the borders, and farther from ſome. The right iſſue of *Porus* is here a king in the midſt of the *Mogul*'s dominions, never ſubdued till laſt year; and to ſay the truth, he is rather bought than conquer'd, won to own a ſuperior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by *Alexander* is yet ſtanding at *Delli*, the antient ſeat of the anceſtors of *Rama* the ſucceſſor of *Porus*.

Buildings.

The buildings are all baſe of mud, one ſtory high, except in *Surat*, where there are ſome of ſtone. I know not by what policy the king ſeeks the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, and now lie deſolate and in rubbiſh. His own houſes are of ſtone, handſome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance; but as far as I have yet ſeen, live in tents, or houſes worſe than our cottages. Yet where the king likes, as at *Agra*, becauſe it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair and of carved ſtone.

In revenue he doubtleſs exceeds either *Turk*, or *Perſian*, or any eaſtern prince, the ſums I dare not name; but the reaſon. All the land is his, no man has a foot. He maintains all that are not mechanicks by revenues beſtowed on them reckoned by horſes, and the allowance of many is greater than the eſtates of *German* princes. All men riſe to greater and greater lordſhips as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent preſents rich and rare. The *Mogul* is heir to all that die, as well thoſe that gain'd it by their induſtry, as merchants, *&c.* as thoſe that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleaſes. To the ſons of thoſe that die worth two or three millions, he gives ſome ſmall lordſhip to begin the world anew.

Revenues.

The king ſits out in three ſeveral places at three times of the day, except ſomething extraordinary hinder him. An hour at noon to ſee his elephants fight; from four till five to entertain all comers, to be ſeen and worſhipp'd; from nine till midnight amidſt his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

The Mogul *ſeen thrice a day.*

All the policy of his ſtate is to keep the greateſt men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no council, but every officer gives the king his opinion apart.

Policy.

ROE. He (*meaning* Jehan Guire) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and cuſtom; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle converſation.

There is an account in this letter of Sir Tho. Roe's *audience, but that is to be ſeen before in the journal.*

An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe *to the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury. *Dated at* Adſmere *the* 30th *of* October 1616.

Mahometaniſm *introduced in* India.

BEfore the inundation of *Temer* the great, that is *Tamerlan*, the ninth anceſtor of this king, theſe countries were governed by divers heathen petty princes, worſhipping all ſorts of creatures after their ſeveral manners. *Tamerlan*'s off-ſpring brought in the knowledge of *Mahomet*, but impoſed it on none by the law of conqueſt, leaving conſciences at liberty. So that the natives from the circumciſion brought in by the *Mahometans*, called them *Moguls* or chief of the circumciſed. Among the *Moguls* there are many ſtrict *Mahometans*, many that follow *Hali* his ſon in law, and other later prophets, who have their *Xerifes*, *Mulhaes*, and prieſts, their moſques, religious votaries, waſhings, praying, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitents, no ſect in the world can ſhew ſuch ſtrange examples, nor boaſt of ſuch voluntary poverty, puniſhments, ſufferings, and chaſtiſements as theſe, who are all eſteemed holy men, but of a mixt religion, not upright with their prophet. *Sir* Thomas Roe *ſhould have excepted the idolaters in* India, *who far outdo the* Mahometans *in this particular*. The *Gentiles* are of more ſorts, ſome valiant good ſoldiers, drinking wine, eating hogs-fleſh, but worſhipping the figure of a beaſt. Some who will not touch the fleſh that is not holy by imputation; others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the ſame cup with thoſe that do, ſuperſtitious in waſhing, and moſt zealous in their profeſſion; but all of them aſcribe a ſort of divinity to their river *Ganges*, at which once a year forty or fifty thouſand meet, and caſt in gold and ſilver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a *pagod* near this city, and all living cows, and ſome other beaſts and creatures. Theſe have their *pagods*, and holy men, prophets, witches, ſoothſayers, and all other impoſtures of the devil. The *Mahometan Mulhaes* know ſomewhat in philoſophy and the mathematicks, are great aſtrologers, and can talk of *Ariſtotle*, *Euclid*, *Averroes*, and other authors. The learned tongue is the *Arabian*. In this confuſion they continued till the time of *Ezbar Sha*, father to this king, without any knowledge of Chriſtianity. *This is another miſtake in Sir* Thomas Roe, *for they had always heard of Chriſtianity, and there were many Chriſtians both in* Perſia *and ſome parts of* India. *Ezbar Sha* being a prince by nature juſt and good, inquiſitive after novelties, curious of new opinions, and excelling in many virtues, eſpecially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three jeſuits from *Goa*, the chief of whom was *Jerom Xaverius*, a *Navarois*. After their arrival he heard them diſcourſe with much ſatisfaction, and diſpute of religion, and cauſed F. *Xaverius* to write a book in defence of his religion againſt both *Moors* and *Gentiles*, which when finiſhed he read in every night, and had ſome part diſcuſſed. Finally he granted *them his* letters patents to build, preach, teach, convert, and to uſe all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in *Rome*, beſtowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. In this grant he gave liberty to all ſorts of men to become Chriſtians, even to his own court and blood, profeſſing it ſhould be no cauſe of diſfavour. *Ezbar Sha* himſelf continued a *Mahometan*, yet he began to make a breach into the law; for conſidering that *Mahomet* was but a man, and a king, as he was, and therefore reverenced, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himſelf. This defection of the king ſpread not far, a certain outward awe with-held him, and ſo he dy'd in the formal profeſſion of his ſect. *Jehan Guire Sha*, his ſon, the preſent king, being the iſſue of this new fancy, and never circumciſed, bred up without any religion at all, continues ſo to this hour, and is an atheiſt. Sometimes he will profeſs himſelf a *Mahometan*, but always obſerves the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the *Gentiles*. He is pleaſed with all religions, but loves none that changes; and falling into his father's conceit, has dar'd to proceed further in it, and to profeſs himſelf for the main of the religion to be a greater prophet than *Mahomet*, and has formed himſelf a new one, being a mixture of all ſorts, which many have received with ſuch ſuperſtition, that they will not eat till they have ſaluted him in the morning; for which purpoſe he comes at ſun riſing to a window open to a great plain before his houſe, where multitudes attend him. When the *Moors* about him talk

Idolaters there.

Chriſtianity.

talk of *Mahomet*, he will ſooth them; but is glad when any one will laſh out againſt him. Of CHRIST he never utters any diſreſpectful words, nor do any of all theſe ſects; which is a wonderful ſecret working of GOD's truth, and worth obſerving.

As for the new-planted chriſtian church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, ſpending two hours every night for a year in hearing diſputes; often dropping words of his converſion, but to a wicked purpoſe. To give more hopes he delivered many youths into the hands of F. *Franciſco Corſi* ſtill reſident here, to teach them to read and write *Portugueſe*, and to inſtruct them in human learning, and in the law of CHRIST. To that purpoſe the father kept a ſchool ſome years, to which the king ſent two princes his brothers ſons, who being brought up in the knowledge of GOD, and his Son our bleſſed Saviour, were ſolemnly baptized in the church of *Agra*, with great pomp; being firſt carry'd up and down all the city on elephants in triumph; and this by the king's expreſs order, who would often examine them to ſee what progreſs they had made, and ſeemed well pleaſed with them. This made many bend towards the ſame way, being ignorant of his majeſty's intention; others that knew him better, ſuppoſed he ſuffered this in policy to render thoſe children odious to the *Moors* for their converſion, the ſtrength of his eſtate conſiſting in them: but all men miſtook his deſign, which was thus diſcovered. When theſe and ſome other children were ſettled, as we thought, in the chriſtian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, *&c.* the king ſet the two boys to demand *Portugueſe* wives of the jeſuit; who thinking it only an idle motion of their own, chid them, and ſuſpected no more: But that being the end of their converſion to get a woman for the king, and no care being taken in it, the two princes came to the jeſuits, and delivered up their croſſes, and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Chriſtians, becauſe the king of *Portugal* ſent them no preſents nor wives, as they expected. The fathers ſeeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boy diſcovered; eſpecially ſeeing their confidence that had caſt off the awe of pupils: and examining the matter, they confeſs'd the king commanded them. The jeſuits refuſed to receive the croſſes, anſwering they had been given by his majeſty's order, and they would not take notice of any ſuch ſurrender from the boys, but bid them deſire the king to ſend one of thoſe who are, according to order, to deliver all his majeſty's commands, whoſe words are by privilege a ſufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the king would not diſcover himſelf to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this meſſage, which inraged the king; but being deſirous to break up the ſchool, and withdraw the youth without noiſe, he bid them call the jeſuits to the womens door, where by a lady he gave the order, and without ever taking any notice ſince of any thing, his kinſmen were recalled, and are now abſolute *Moors*, without any taſte of their firſt faith: and here have ended the converſions of theſe infidels.

ROE.

Villanous diſſimulation of the Mogul.

I will add one or two more pleaſant relations, and ſo conclude. Not long ſince the jeſuits houſe and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The king, who never lets ſlip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the jeſuit, and queſtions him about it. He anſwers ambiguouſly; whereupon his majeſty aſked, whether he did not deſire to convert him? And being anſwered in the affirmative, reply'd, You ſpeak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet: If you will caſt the crucifix and picture of CHRIST into a fire before me, if it burn not I will become a Chriſtian. The jeſuit refuſed the trial, as unjuſt, anſwering, That GOD was not ty'd to the call of man, that it was a ſin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to caſt himſelf into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the king would not allow of. Here aroſe a great diſpute, begun by the prince, a moſt ſtiff *Mahometan*, and hater of all Chriſtians, urging, that it was reaſonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the jeſuit ſhould be obliged to turn *Moor*. He urged examples of miracles ſaid to be wrought for leſs purpoſe than the converſion of ſo mighty a king, and ſpoke ſcornfully of CHRIST JESUS. The king took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with thoſe of their abſurd ſaints, inſtancing the raiſing of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The prince reply'd, that to give ſight to one born blind was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both ſides, a third man interpoſed to end the controverſy, ſaying, that both the father and the ſon were in the right as to their opinions; for to raiſe a dead body to life muſt be owned to be the greateſt miracle ever done, but that to give ſight to an eye naturally blind was the ſame work, becauſe a blind eye was dead, ſight being the life of it; therefore he that

The Mogul *like* Herod *would ſee a miracle.*

gave

ROE. gave ſight to a blind eye, did as it were raiſe it from death. Thus this diſcourſe ended.

A ſtrange ſtory of an ape. The other ſtory is this. A juggler of *Bengala*, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the king a great ape, which as he ſaid could divine and propheſy; and to this beaſt ſome of the *Indian* ſects attribute a ſort of divinity. The king took a ring off his finger, and cauſed it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen preſent; then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child, and took it out. His majeſty being ſomewhat more curious, cauſed the names of twelve law-givers, as *Chriſt*, *Moſes*, *Mahomet*, *Haly*, and others to be writ on twelve papers in the *Perſian* tongue; and ſhuffling them in a bag, bid the beaſt divine which was the true law, who putting in his paw, took out that inſcribed with the name of *Chriſt*. This amazed the king, who ſuſpecting the ape's maſter could read *Perſian*, and might aſſiſt him, wrote them anew in court characters, and preſented them the ſecond time. The ape found the right, and kiſſed it. At this a great officer grew angry, telling the king it was ſome impoſture, and deſiring he might have leave to make the ſcrolls anew, offering to undergo any puniſhment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in a bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey ſearch'd, but refuſed all; the king commanding it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made ſigns the true law-giver's name was not among them. The king aſked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inſcribed with the name of CHIRST JESUS. The king was concerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in publick before thouſands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact.

Part of a Letter to the Eaſt-India *Company, dated at* Adſmere, *Nov. 24. 1616.*

My honoured friends;

I Received your letter, *&c. (the firſt part omitted, as nothing material.)*

Temper of the Mogul *and his court.* Concerning the aiding the *Mogul*, or wafting his ſubjects into the *Red-Sea*, it is now leſs uſeleſs, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a courteſy, they regard it, as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The king has peace with the *Portugueſes*, and will never make a conſtant war, except firſt we diſplant them; then his greatneſs will ſtep in for a ſhare of the benefit; which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they ſcorn our aſſiſtance, and ſpeak as loud as our cannon; if war oppreſs them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You muſt remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwiſe than defending your ſelves, and leaving them to their fortune: You can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will ſooner fear than love you. Your reſidence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the *Portugueſes*, therefore avoid all other charge as unneceſſary. At my firſt arrival I underſtood a fort was very neceſſary, but experience teaches me we are refuſed it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. Firſt, where the river is commodious the country is barren, and has no trade; the paſſages to better parts ſo full of thieves, that the king's authority avails not, and the ſtrength of the hills ſecures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives would have choſen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a bared haven; and it is argument enough of ſome ſecret inconveniency, that they make not uſe of it: but if it were ſafe without the walls, yet it is not an eaſy work to divert the courſe of trade, and draw the reſort of merchants from their accuſtomed mart, eſpecially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called ſtaple. Secondly, The charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a gariſon will eat out the profit: An hundred men will not keep it, for once the *Portugueſes* ſee you take that courſe, they will uſe all their endeavours to ſupplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my conſent you ſhall never engage your ſelves but at ſea, where you are like to gain as often as to loſe. The *Portugueſes*, notwithſtanding their many rich reſidences, are beggared by keeping of ſoldiers, and yet their gariſons are but mean. They never made advantage of the *Indies* ſince they defended them. Obſerve this well. It has been alſo the error of the *Dutch*, who ſeek plantations here by the ſword; they turn a wonderful ſtock, they prole in all places, they poſſeſs ſome of the beſt, yet their dead pays conſume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, ſeek it at ſea, and in quiet trade; for without controverſy it is an error to effect gariſons and land wars in *India*. If you made it only againſt the natives, I ſhould agree to it; but to make it for them they do not deſerve it, and you ſhould be very wary how you ingage your reputation in it. You cannot ſo eaſily make a fair retreat as an

Reaſons againſt having a fort in the Mogul's *country.*

onſet.

onſet. One diſaſter would either diſcredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger, and doubtful event: beſides an action ſo ſubject to chance as a war, is moſt unfitly undertaken, and with moſt hazard, when the remoteneſs of the place for ſupplies, ſuccours and counſel, ſubjects it to irrecoverable loſs; for where there is moſt uncertainty, remedies ſhould be ſo much the nearer upon all occaſions. At ſea you may take and leave, your deſigns are not publiſh'd. The road of *Soali*, and the port of *Surat* are the fitteſt for you in all the *Mogul*'s territories. I have weigh'd it well, and deliver to you that which ſhall never be diſproved. You need no more.

The fitteſt parts in the Mogul's *dominions.*

It is not a number of ports, reſidences and factories that will profit you; they will increaſe charge, but not recompenſe it. The conveniency of one with reſpect to your ſails, and to the commodity of inveſtments, and the well employing of your ſervants, is all you need. A port to ſecure your ſhips, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The road at *Soali*, during the ſeaſon, is as ſafe as a pond. *Surat*, *Bambaya*, *Baroche*, and *Amadabat*, are better traded than all *India*, and ſeated commodiouſly. The inconveniences are, the *Portugueſes* at ſea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the firſt, you muſt bring to paſs that your lading be ready by the end of *September* at the port, which may be effected by a ſtock beforehand, or by taking up money for three months; and ſo you may diſcharge and lade at once, and depart in excellent ſeaſon for *England*, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived: and if the preparation be of longer date, we ſhall know it. For the ſecond, to land goods without danger of frigats, and to ſave the carriage over land, you muſt ſend a pinnace of ſixty tuns with ten guns, that draws but 7 or 8 foot water, to paſs up the river between *Soali* and *Surat*, and ſo your goods will be ſafe and in your own command, to the cuſtom-houſe-key, and it will a little awe the town; ſhe may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you ſell paſs beſt in that quarter, the goods you ſeek being indigo and cloth; no one place is ſo fit for both, and the leſs inconveniences are to be choſen. *Syndu* is poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſes*; or, if free, were no fitter than *Surat*, nor ſafer; as it is, will be more ſubject to peril.

Strength the ſupport of trade in India.

For the ſettling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reaſonable deſire, my credit is ſufficient with the king, and your force will always bind him to conſtancy. It will not need ſo much help at court as you ſuppoſe, a little countenance, and the diſcretion of your factors will with eaſy charge return you moſt profit, but you muſt alter you ſtock. Let not your ſervants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quickſilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you muſt ſuccour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain, want of preſents has diſgraced me, and yet by piece-meals I have got as much as I deſired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day, or at leaſt an honourable compoſition.

ROE.

Preſents to be made to ſucceed at court.

The preſents ſent are too few to follow examples, they will ſcarce ſerve the firſt day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the *Mogul*, and the prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal preſent and ſome letter from the king, our ſollicitor from you, which need not be dear if well choſen. Your agent muſt be furniſhed with a *China* ſhop to ſerve ſmall turns; for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment; it cannot be avoided, and I have been ſcorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the firſt ſent by me, contentment outwardly appeared; but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were taken and argued by the king and his great ones. Firſt it was cenſured to name preſents in a king's letter, to be ſent by a principal man his embaſſador; and ſuch poor ones delivered, meaner and fewer than when they came with leſs oſtentation. That if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been leſs deſpicable; for ſuch is their pride, that tho' the coach for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was ſcorned, and it was never us'd till two others of rich ſtuff were made by it, and that cover'd with cloth of gold, harneſs and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with ſilver, or hatch'd: ſo that it was nine months a repairing, and when I ſaw it I knew it not. 2. Exception was taken that his majeſty did write his name before the *Mogul*, but it matters not for that dull pride. 3. That his majeſty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit ſhould ariſe to this prince by the *Engliſh* and their trade, which he ſo much ſcorns to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us if he durſt. The forgetting to ſend me letters diminiſhes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremonies, and ſultan *Corone* expected one as an honour to him.

The Mogul's *exceptions againſt the embaſſy.*

Voluntiers not to be ſent into India.

The ſuffering of voluntiers to paſs in your fleets is an extreme incommodity. How to diſpoſe of one here honeſtly, I know not. Aſſure your ſelves they are either ſome unruly youths that want ground to

ROE. ſow their humours, and are expoſed to be tamed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of ſome taken by my ſelf in good nature. Here is ſubject to practiſe all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned: Or elſe they are ſent at your charge to learn to diſcover the ſtraits and fitteſt place of interception of *Indian* goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you a miſchief who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extreme glad to rob you of it; you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but your ſelves, or at leaſt as many as neceſſity does not oblige you to uſe.

Practice againſt the Dutch. The *Dutch* are arrived at *Surat* from the *Red Sea* with ſome money and ſouthern commodities. I have done my beſt to diſgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the ſame ground we ſtand on, fear of their ſhips, againſt which I ſuppoſe you will not warrant the ſubject of this king. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

Concerning *Perſia*, the factors do not underſtand what they have undertaken. *Jaſques* is no port or place for ſale of goods, and thoſe they have ſent not ſaleable. In order to ſecure your ſafety and the *Portugueſes*, there are but two ways, peace or compulſion. The firſt I have undertaken by means of a jeſuit, but deſpair of ſucceſs. The next is force, which is always uſed to diſadvantage when you are only upon the defenſive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them, and that as you now ride at *Soali* road to protect one ſhip, you would ſend that guard the next year to ride before *Goa*, to brave or burn them, or at leaſt to ſtop them that they may not put to ſea in *December*; ſo you will make them loſe their ſeaſons, and one or two returns ſtopt would undo them. On my word they are weak in *India*, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by ſupplies from *Liſbon*, where you muſt endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your ſtrength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cauſe, and force them to that which their pride will never ſuffer them to ſee they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffick into the *Red Sea*, it is more important than all other projects: my council is, that one of your ſmalleſt ſhips with the fitteſt *Engliſh* goods, and ſuch others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the *Guzarats*, and trade for themſelves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in *September* with them to ſupply this place. The profit exceeds all the trade of *India*, and will drive this alone. The danger is rather a jealouſy than ſubſtantial. When the *Turks* betray'd Sir *Henry Middleton*, our factories and courſes in thoſe parts were unknown to them; and doubtleſs we being ſtrangers in that ſea, were miſtruſted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the *Guzarats*, for their ſake whom they cannot ſpare, we ſhall be admitted. The king would write to the admiral to entertain our conſort-ſhip, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the beſt ſecurities of our friendſhip. The *Dutch* have practiſed it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own wareneſs might ſecure us. They muſt ride ſix months for winds, time enough to ſend all the goods aſhore by parcels, and never truſt above one or two factors, and a ſmall quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the *Grand Signior*'s command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of ſuch importance. Port *Pequenho* in *Bengala* you are miſinform'd in, there is no mart, or reſort of merchants; it is traded to by the *Portugueſes* from *Pegu* with rubies, topaces and ſaphires, and returns cloth which is fine, but you may be furniſh'd nearer hand.

Port Pequenho in Bengala.

How to deal with the Portugueſes *in* India. I will ſettle your trade here ſecure with the king, and reduce it to order, if I may be heard; when I have ſo done, I muſt plead againſt my ſelf, that an embaſſador lives not in fit honour here. I could ſooner die than be ſubject to the ſlavery the *Perſian* is content with. A meaner agent would among thoſe proud *Moors* better effect your buſineſs. My quality often for ceremonies either begets you enemies, or ſuffers unworthily. The king has often demanded an embaſſador from *Spain*, but could never obtain one, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe they would not give preſents unworthy their king's greatneſs; next, they knew his reception ſhould not anſwer his quality. I have moderated according to my diſcretion, but with a ſwoln heart. Half my charge ſhall corrupt all this court to be your ſlaves.

No embaſſador ſhould be ſent to India.

POSTSCRIPT.

The beſt way to do your buſineſs in this court is to find ſome *Mogul* that you may entertain for a thouſand roupies a year, as your ſollicitor at court. He muſt be authorized by the king, and then he will ſerve you better than ten embaſſadors. Under him you muſt allow five hundred roupies for another at your port to follow the governor, and cuſtomers, and to adverti ſe his

Trade in the Red Sea.

his chief at court. Theſe two will effect all, for your other ſmaller reſidences are not ſubject to much inconvehiency.

No private trading to the East-Indies *to be allow'd.*

Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you abſolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures; for your buſineſs will be the better done. All your loſs is not in the goods brought home; I ſee here the inconveniences you think not of. I know this is harſh to all men, and ſeems hard; men profeſs they come not for bare wages: but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from, but then you muſt make good choice of your ſervants, and uſe fewer.

ROE.

The ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces ſubject to the great Mogul, SHA-SELIM JEHAN-GUIRE: *with the principal Cities and Rivers, their Situation, Borders and Extent in length and breadth, as near as I could gather by common Computation. The Names I took out of the King's Regiſter, and begin at the North-Weſt.*

1. *Candahar.* The chief city and kingdom both of the ſame name, it lies N. W. from the heart of the *Mogul*'s territories, and was formerly a province of *Perſia*, on which it borders.

2. *Tatta.* A kingdom and chief city ſo called, is divided by the river *Indus*, which falls into the ſea at *Syndu.* It lies ſouth of *Candahar*, and weſt ſomewhat ſoutherly from *Agra.*

3. *Buckor.* The chief city call'd *Buckorſuckar*, lies upon the river of *Syndu* or *Indus* to the northward, ſomewhat eaſterly of *Tatta*; and on the weſt borders on the *Baloaches*, a kind of rude warlike people.

4. *Multan.* The chief city called by the ſame name, lying alſo upon *Indus*, ſouth-eaſt from *Candahar*, northerly from *Backar.*

5. *Hajacan.* The kingdom of the *Baloaches*, north of *Tatta* and *Backar*, and on the weſt borders on the kingdom of *Lar*, ſubject to the king of *Perſia*; *Indus* winds it ſelf along the eaſt-ſide of it, and it has no city of note.

6. *Cabul.* The city has the ſame name. It is a great kingdom, the moſt northerly of this empire, and runs up to the confines of the great *Tartary.*

7. *Kyſhmier*, or *Cachimir.* The chief city of it is called *Sirinakra*, the river *Bhat* paſſes through it, and falls into *Ganges*, tho' others ſay it runs into the ſea in the north part of the bay *Bengala:* the kingdom of *Cabul* is bordered by it on the eaſt, ſoutherly it is all mountains.

8. *Bankiſh.* The chief city of it is called *Beiſhar*, it lies eaſt of *Cachimir.*

9. *Atack*, or *Attock.* The chief city of the ſame name, it lies on one ſide of the river *Nilob*, which runs on the north-weſt into the river *Indus.*

20. The kingdom of the *Kakares.* Lies at the foot of the mountains. Its principal cities are *Dankely* and *Purchola*, and borders on the north-eaſt-ſide of the kingdom of *Cachimir.*

11. *Penjab.* Which ſignifies five waters, becauſe it is ſeated within five rivers. The chief city is called *Lahor.* It is a great kingdom, and very fruitful. The city is the mart of *India* for traffick, it borders on the eaſt-ſide of *Multan.*

12. *Jenba*, or *Jamba.* The chief city of the ſame name, it lies eaſt of *Benjab*, and is very mountainous.

13. *Peitan*, or *Pitan.* The chief city ſo called lies north-eaſt of *Jenba*, and north of *Patna*, and is full of mountains.

14. *Naugracut.* The chief city of the ſame name, it lies north between *Benjab* and *Jamba*, and is very mountainous.

15. *Siba.* The chief city of the ſame name, north of *Jamba*, and the bay of *Bengala*, and very mountainous.

16. *Jeſval.* The chief city is called *Rajapore*, it reaches down to the kingdom of *Bengala*, and lies north of it, and eaſt of *Patna* full of mountains.

17. *Delli.* The chief city of the ſame name: It lies on both ſides of the river *Gemmi*, which falls into *Ganges*, and runs through *Agra.* It is an antient city, and the ſeat of the *Mogul*'s anceſtors, but ruined. Some affirm it to have been the ſeat of *Porus* conquered by *Alexander* the great, and that there ſtill ſtands a pillar with a *Greek* inſcription.

18. *Mevat.* The chief city called *Narval*, it lies on the eaſt of *Ganges*, and *Gemna*, to the north-eaſt of their meeting.

19. *Sambal.* The chief city bears the ſame name: It lies betwixt the rivers *Ganges* and *Gemna*, north of their meeting.

20. *Bakar.* The chief city is called *Bikaner*, *Ganges* boarders on the eaſt, and the province of *Delli* on the weſt.

21. *Agra*, A principal and great kingdom, the chief of the ſame name, the heart of the *Mogul*'s dominions, in about 28 degrees and half of north latitude: It lies moſt on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the river *Gemna*, the city upon the river where one of the emperor's treaſuries is kept. From

ROE. *Agra* to *Lahor* there are three hundred and twenty coſſes, which is no leſs than ſeven hundred miles, all a plain, and the high-way planted on both ſides with trees, like a delicate wall. It is one of the great works and wonders of the world.

22. *Jenupar.* The city of the ſame name upon the river *Kaul*, which I ſuppoſe to be one of the five rivers incloſing *Lahor*; and the country lies between it and *Agra*, north-weſt from the one, and ſouth-eaſt from the other.

23. *Bando.* The chief city is ſo called: It borders on *Agra* on the eaſt, and *Jeſſelmere* on the weſt.

24. *Patna.* The chief city has the ſame name: It is incloſed by four great rivers, *Ganges*, *Jemna*, *Serſeli* and *Kanda*, and lies north-eaſt from *Agra*, and north of the bay of *Bengala*, where all theſe rivers pay tribute.

25. *Gor.* The chief city is alſo ſo called: It lies in the northern part of the *Mogul*'s dominions, and towards the heads of the rivers *Ganges* and *Kanda*.

26. *Bengala.* A mighty kingdom encloſing the eaſt and north ſide of the bay of that name; whence winding towards the ſouth, it borders on *Coromandel*, or rather *Golconda*. The chief cities are *Ragmehal* and *Dekaka:* There are many havens, as port *Grande*, port *Pequenha*, reſorted to by *Portugueſes*; *Piliptan*, *Siligam*, &c. It contains divers provinces, as that of *Prurop*, *Patan*, &c.

27. *Udeza.* The chief city called *Jakanat.* It is the utmoſt extent eaſtward of the *Mogul*'s dominions, north of the bay, and borders on the kingdom of *Maug*, a ſavage people lying between *Udeza* and *Pegu.*

28. *Kanduana.* The chief city is called *Karakatanka.* This and *Gor* are the north-eaſt bounds of this monarchy, on the weſt of it is *Pitan.*

29. *Gualeor.* The chief city bears the ſame name, where the *Mogul* has one of his great treaſuries, with an exceeding ſtrong caſtle, where priſoners are kept. It lies ſouth of *Agra.*

30. *Candis.* The chief city here is *Brampore.* It is a great kingdom, and the city one of the antient ſeats of the kings of *Decan*, taken from them: It lies eaſt of *Guzarat*, ſouth of *Chitor*, weſt of *Golconda*, and north of *Decan.* It is watered by the river *Tabeti*, which runs weſtward into the bay of *Cambaya.*

31. *Malva.* The chief cities here are *Ugen*, *Nar* and *Seringe:* It lies north-eaſt of *Chandis*, and ſouth-eaſt of the country of *Rama*, and weſt of the province of *Prurop* of the kingdom of *Bengala.*

32. *Berar.* The chief city is called *Shakpur:* It is incloſed by the provinces of *Malva*, *Candis*, *Golconda* and *Prurop.*

33. *Guzarat.* A noble kingdom, incloſing the bay of *Cambaya*, the chief city is *Amadavat.* Within it is contained the city and government of *Cambaya*, the beauty of *India.* The territory and city of *Surat*, and that of *Baroche.* It is watered by many goodly rivers, as that of *Cambaya*, once falſly ſuppoſed to be *Indus*; the river of *Narbadah* falling into the ſea at *Baroche*, that of *Surat*, and divers others. It trades into the *Red-Sea*, and many other places.

34. *Soret.* The chief city called *Gunagur:* It lies to the north-weſt of *Guzarat.*

35. *Narvar.* The chief city of *Ghebud*, lies eaſt of *Gualeor*, and ſouth of *Sambal.*

36. *Chitor.* The antient great kingdom: The city of the ſame name, walled, and about ten *Engliſh* miles in compaſs, on a mighty hill. There are ſtill above one hundred churches ſtanding, the king's palace, and many fine pillars of carv'd ſtone. There is but one aſcent to it cut out of the rock, on which are four magnificent gates. The ruins of above one hundred thouſand houſes all of ſtone are ſtill to be ſeen, but it is not inhabited. It was doubtleſs one of the ſeats of *Porus*, and taken from his ſucceſſor *Rama* by *Ezbar-Sha*, father to *Jehan Guire* the *Mogul. Rama* flying into the ſtrength of his kingdom, among the mountains, ſeated himſelf at *Odepore*, and was brought to acknowledge the *Mogul* for his ſovereign lord by ſultan *Corone* third ſon to the preſent emperor, in the year 1614. This kingdom lies north-weſt from *Candis*, and north-eaſt from *Guzarat*, in the way between *Agra* and *Surat. Rama* himſelf keeps the hills to the weſt nearer *Amadavat.*

The Length of the Mogul's *Dominions, North-Weſt and South-Eaſt.*

FROM *Candahar* to *Lahor* 350 coſſes, being about 800 miles.

From *Lahor* to *Agra* 320 coſſes, about 750 miles.

From *Agra* to *Hagipore Patna* 300 coſſes, 680 miles.

From *Hagipore Patna* to *Kiraſnad* 300 coſſes, about 670 miles.

The whole length 1270 coſſes, about 2872 miles.

The breadth in all north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt from *Harduar* to *Duarſa* 630 coſſes, about 1500 miles.

The length north and ſouth about 1400 miles.

A Note of ſuch things as Sir Thomas Roe *would have had ſent him to beſtow as Preſents, inſerted for the Reader's Satisfaction, to ſhew what Curioſities were acceptable in* India *to give or ſell.*

KNIVES large and fair, wrought with amber, coral, gold or ſilver, or inlaid with glaſs.

The figures of the lion, the buck, the grey-hound, the bull, the horſe, the talbot, provided they be well formed, and good ſhapes, ſuch toys will pleaſe well for ordinary turns.

Pieces of velvet and ſattins, if they be good and rich, and freſh colours; blue is not eſteemed.

Fowling-pieces, if they be fair, elſe none.

Branches of poliſh'd coral, of the largeſt.

Some of the faireſt amber and coral beads.

Cryſtal boxes.

Rich embroidered ſweet-bags.

Embroidered fowling caſes.

Embroidered pillows.

Saddles rich, with capariſons and furniture.

Swords, if they be very good, and with fine hilts, inlaid with gold or ſilver, or well cut in iron.

Choice pictures, eſpecially hiſtories, or other that have many figures, as church-work, night-work, or land-ſkip, but good, for they underſtand them as well as we.

Hats.

Alicant-wine, *Malvaſy*, or any that will make *Hipocras*, and will keep.

Cloth of gold or ſilver, ſattins or flower'd ſilks of gold, or ſilver, or ſilk, *French* ſhags; fine *Engliſh Norwich* ſtuffs, half ſilk, theſe of light, freſh and choice colours.

Fine light armour.

Agats well cut, eſpecially black and white, are highly eſteemed.

Emeralds of the old rock, or any other ſtones, finely ſet and enamell'd.

Enamell'd work.

Cloth of *Arras*, ſo it be good, great imagery, and freſh.

Good croſs-bows.

Fine *Engliſh* long bows and quivers of fair arrows; the caſes ſhould be made of velvet. ROE.

Looking-glaſſes of two foot over, in frames of colour'd wood, or covered with cloth of gold; ſmall ones are traſh.

Figures of braſs or ſtone curiouſly cut.

China ware, or large counterpoints embroider'd with birds in ſilver, and colour'd ſilks.

Fine cabinets, embroidered purſes, needle-work, *French* eſtuges, or twizer caſes, fine table-books, perfum'd gloves, girdles and belts, rich perfumed ſkins, bone-lace, cut work, any ſort of embroidery.

Water and land-ſpaniels, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* greyhounds, *Engliſh* hounds, eſpecially blood-hounds, and good maſtiffs.

Scarlet, tho' in ſome eſteem, is not according to its value.

Plumes of feathers, ſo they be large and of good colours; eſpecially ſome herons feathers, pure white and whole.

Comb-caſes covered with velvet, laced or embroidered with handſome glaſſes and all neceſſary furniture.

Some paper cuts, eſpecially of kings, queens, and other great perſons.

Some burning-glaſſes.

Gold chains of curious workmanſhip.

Watches.

Caſes of bottles of ſtrong-waters.

Drinking *Venice*-glaſſes.

Proſpective glaſſes.

Fine baſons and ewers.

In general, any thing curious for workmanſhip, rare, and not ſeen in *India*, or rich in value, is very acceptable; and theſe people know the beſt of all kinds, and are ſerved by the *Portugueſes*, *Venetians* and *Armenians*, with all the rarities of *Europe*. All theſe things will ſell for ready money at the *noroſe*, or feaſt of the king's birth-day, at good prices.

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